Automotive History Review

Spring 2019 Issue Number 59

The Society of Automotive Historians, Inc.
An Affiliate of the American Historical Association

My "tour guides" at the Second International Drive History Conference in Allentown were HVA's Casey Maxon (left) and Erin Kleinbohl. Behind us are some of the 15,000 pieces (mostly automotive magazines and books) I donated to the HVA in 2016 to preserve them for future generations. I couldn't be happier that they are here.

Editor's Note

The Second International Drive History Conference, which was held at the Historic Vehicle Association National Laboratory in Allentown, Pennsylvania, was easily one of the most significant moments in my 30+ year career in automotive journalism and historical research. To be sure, the facility is huge and impressive, the collection of cars on display is spectacular and the people who gathered there were a multi-generational assemblage of people from all over the world who came together in the interest of preserving automotive history, presenting their research and bouncing new ideas off of one another.

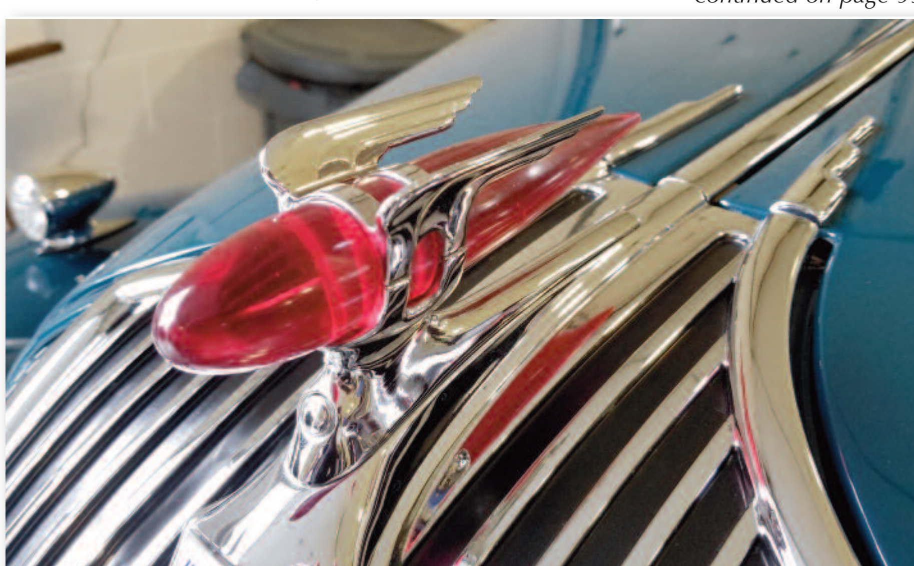
Without a doubt, the conference meant as many different things to as many people one could ask. Depending on one's age, a participant could have been a college student, a professor, a journalist, or just someone interested in how the automobile changed life for people around the world.

Being a middle-aged guy, there aren't many "first rodeos" left for me. I am a little bit jaded, yet not so much that it would stop me from looking for those rare moments when I see something truly new and interesting or experience it for the first time. After all, I have been to so many press previews for new cars, have attended and even participated in countless races and conventions and ate more rubber chicken dinners at awards presentations than just about anyone I know. What I experienced here in Allentown was truly profound and deeply encouraging.

After years and perhaps decades of being told by older enthusiasts that there was no way to attract younger people to the car hobby or automotive history in general, I saw clear evidence and many examples of that simply not being true. To say that it was inspiring would be a gross understatement. I was deeply moved. After more than 20 years of looking for new ways to attract younger readers, enthusiasts and historians, here I was, in the midst of dozens of young people truly inspired by old cars and history.

It was more than just that however. So many of these people were actively engaging in research

continued on page 99



Automotive History Review (ISSN 1056-2729) is a periodic publication of the Society of Automotive Historians, Inc.

Don Keefe, Editor

 Correspondence in conjunction with Automotive History Review should be directed to:

Don Keefe, Editor
1448 Seagull Drive, Apt. 312,
Palm Harbor, FL 34685 USA
donaldjkeefe@aol.com

Further information about the Society may be obtained by writing to The Society of Automotive Historians, Inc., c/o Cornerstone Registration, Ltd., P.O. Box 1715, Maple Grove, MN 55311-6715 USA or at www.autohistory.org.

Automotive History Review

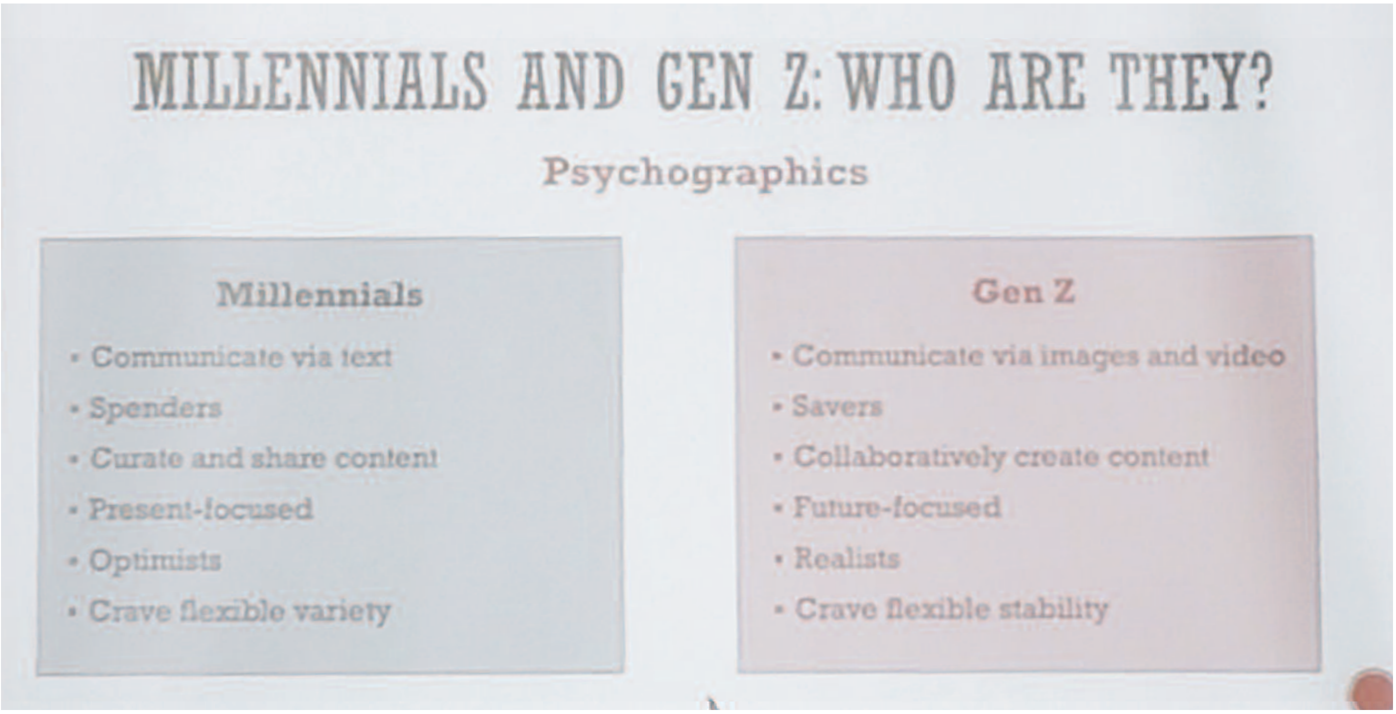
Spring 2019 Issue Number 59

CONTENTS

Front Cover: The actual Mustang used by Steve McQueen in the movie *Bullitt,* at the Second International Drive History Conference. Photo by Don Keefe.
Back cover: "Studebaker Legends" display at 2016 Muscle Car and Corvette Nationals in Rosemont, Illinois. Photo by Don Keefe.

Authentic Nostalgia:

Engaging Millennials and Gen Z with Our Automotive Heritage



By Katya O. Sullivan

Illustrations by the author

Popular wisdom in the classic car field holds that young people today have no interest in vintage vehicles. Collectors and preservationists alike lament how smartphones and laptops have replaced cars as the object of teens' affection and fret—often loudly—about how wonderful pieces of our motoring past will soon be consigned to the scrap heap because "kids these days" don't appreciate them. Thousands of pages of sky-is-falling screeds and hundreds of blog posts have been devoted to decrying this horrifying fate for the field.

And yet how true is this perception? Do millennials and Gen Z actually have no interest in automotive heritage, or is this a false alarm sent up by older enthusiasts who have inferred a trend where none exists, much like those media pundits who blame everything from real estate slumps to avocado price booms on millennial consumer habits?[1]

In this article, I aim to examine millennial and Gen Z values along with their attitudes towards cars, consumption, and cultural heritage, separating lived experience from projected assumptions made by older generations. Synthesizing current research on millennial and Gen Z demographics, values, consumer attitudes, and areas of interest, I suggest that these upcoming generations' focus on authenticity, self-expression, and community in fact creates an ideal platform for engaging young people with the active preservation of automotive artifacts both rare and common. Moreover, I suggest ways to leverage these attitudes to engage today's youths with classic cars, ensuring that our automotive legacy is cherished and maintained now and in the future.

Terminology

There is no common agreement for what constitutes a "millennial" or a "Gen Z'er" as an age cohort; various think tanks and researchers set the benchmark at different years.[2] For the purposes of this article, I will adopt the cutoffs set by the Pew Research Center for use in their consumer analyses: "millennial" refers to those born between 1981 and 1996 (ages 22-37 in 2018), whereas "Gen Z," sometimes referred to as "post-millennials," are those born from 1997 to 2010.[3]

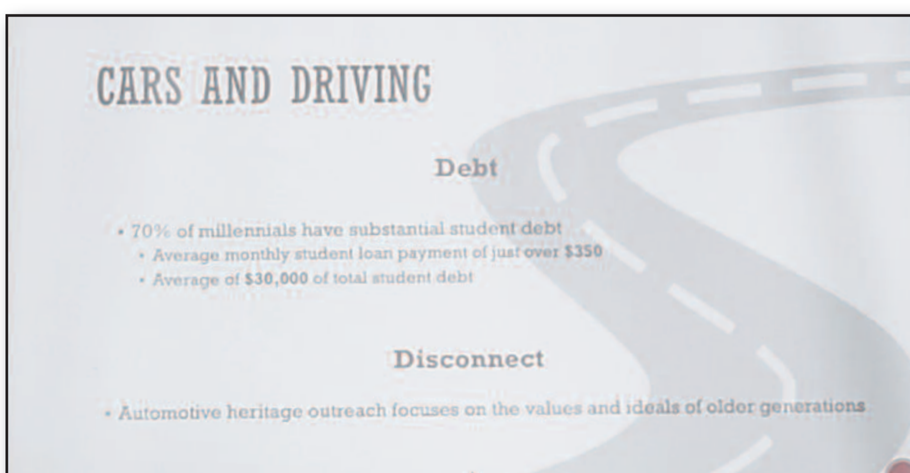
Notably, this wide age range means that some older millennials are in different life stages (e.g., marriage, starting a family) than their younger cohorts. Those millennials in their thirties may have different values and consumption patterns than those in their early twenties, both of which may be markedly different from their Gen Z neighbors.[4]

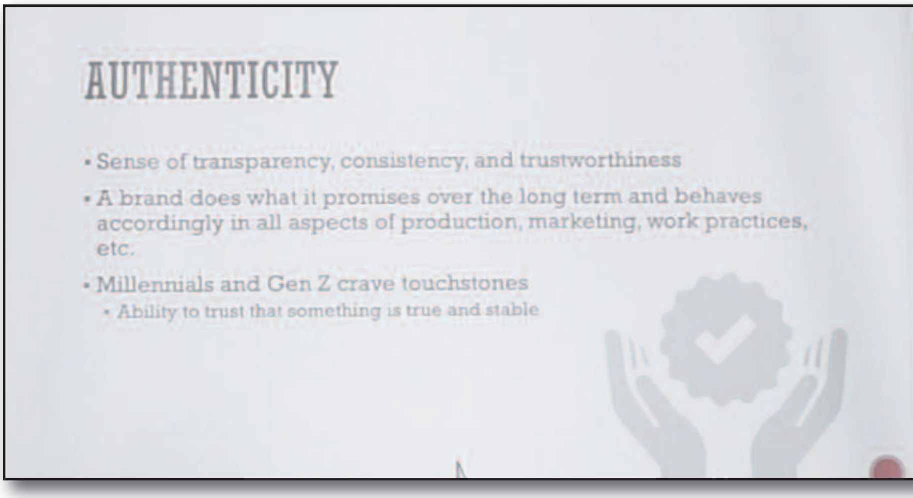
Thus, as with all aspects of consumer psychology and marketing, careful segmentation is required to ensure that the right message reaches the right target group at the right time—while this paper aims to elucidate broad patterns of interest and values among those 37 and under, practical application should take a tailored, segment-specific approach.

The Graying of Vintage Motoring

Although reports of the death of the classic car field may have been greatly exaggerated, there is no denying that it is dominated by older generations. According to the Hagerty Group, which sells classic car insurance, there are approximately five million collector-car owners in the United States, of which 58 percent are baby boomers; the median age of historic vehicle owners is estimated at 56.[5] This is borne out by a survey of readers of *Hemmings Motor News*, one of the largest publications targeting classic car enthusiasts, which reports that its readership is 97 percent male, overwhelmingly between the ages of 35 and 64, and owns an average of 4.4 collector vehicles.[6]

In contrast, markedly few young people seem to own classic cars. Nonetheless, they do remain in the ranks of car owners in general. Although driving behaviors have changed in the past few decades—only about 60% of today's 18-year-olds have a driver's license, compared with 80% in the 1980s, according to a study from the University of Michigan[7]—cars are still necessary for nearly every youth who lives outside an urban center with mass transit options. For this generation, automobiles have become less of an aspirational purchase and more of a utilitarian one, necessary to get to school, work, or activities.[8] Thus, contrary to media reports that millennials and Gen Z simply aren't purchasing cars, studies have shown that many do, in fact, own personal transportation. A survey by AutoTrader.com indicates that 84% of older millennials, aged 25





and up, own cars; though half of younger millennials don't own a car, 73% say they intend to purchase one within about a year.[9]

Among Gen Z, car ownership is even more desirable. According to respondents to a 2016 survey by *AutoTrader* and *Kelley Blue Book,* 92% of Gen Z'ers own or plan to own a vehicle, and have an emotional attachment to the idea of cars much like the Baby Boomers before them. Respondents stated that they look forward to owning a car, noting that driving "makes them feel free (32%), responsible (29%), and excited (23%)."[10] Interestingly, this intersects with the common consumer behavior observation that millennials and Gen Z'ers are more concerned with activities than objects; they would rather spend money on experiences than material goods. As will be discussed, this may be the key to engaging youth with automotive heritage: refocusing the field on experiential value rather than monetary worth or mechanical accuracy may entice more young people to participate.

However, though the average millennial or Gen Z'er may own or wish to own a car, the vast majority do not own more than one vehicle; consumer surveys indicate that most millennials and Gen Z'ers struggle to afford housing, let alone purchase and maintain multiple vehicles. Car ownership is a necessity to get to work for many, but owning a hobby vehicle isn't a viable economic choice.

That's likely due to the staggering debt load carried by the average U.S. youth. Millennials and Gen Z worry about their student loans and adjust their spending and consumption patterns accordingly, planning to put off major purchases such as homes or avoid discretionary purchases such as vintage vehicles.[11] With an average monthly student loan payment of just over $350[12] and an average of $30,000 of total student debt,[13] more than 70% of today's youths are starting their professional lives at a severe economic disadvantage. Add the effects of the Great Recession and the chronic underemployment noted in today's economy, and it becomes apparent why many millennials and Gen Z'ers are not buying vintage cars: they can't afford to. This is particularly true of Gen Z, which is notable for being more focused on security and economic pragmatism than previous generations, exhibiting a scarcity mentality not seen since the Depression.[14]

And yet the values and consumer patterns of these generations, contrary to popular portrayals and lamentations within the heritage automotive field, indicate that millennials and Gen Z'ers are ideal potential participants, ready to embrace and preserve automotive history if engaged on their own level.

Values, Ideals, and Consumer Patterns

If millennials and Gen Z'ers do own and appreciate cars, why are they not more involved with matters of automotive heritage and preservation? Once again, popular wisdom may not paint an accurate picture here. As current preservationists and classic car hobbyists decry youths' lack of interest, claiming that younger generations are only interested in high-tech modern cars and the possibilities of ride-sharing and autonomous vehicles, they seem to be ignoring the stated and demonstrated values, ideals, and consumer patterns of these younger cohorts.

In reality, an examination of millennial and Gen Z consumer psychology indicates that they would be highly open to engagement with automotive preservation activities, but have not been given the opportunity framed in a manner that seems accessible to them. In this section, I outline some of the major consumer psychographic trends among millennials and Gen Z which may potentially contribute to engaging them more strongly with our automotive heritage.

Authenticity

Both members of the millennial generation and Gen Z are widely recognized for pursuing and valuing "authenticity" in their consumer habits. Authenticity, in this context, conveys a sense of transparency, consistency, and trustworthiness: it means that a brand does what it promises over the long term and behaves according to its promises and image throughout all aspects of its production, sourcing, marketing, and work practices.[15] Companies which manage to demonstrate such consistency over the long term are valued more

highly by these younger generations, as this legacy imbues such brands with a sheen of "authenticity" and "heritage" that newcomers to the market are challenged to match.[16]

Millennials are, crucially, thoroughly in favor of heritage preservation activities. Fifty-two percent of millennials prefer to engage with historic locales in pursuit of authentic experiences, while a full 97 percent state that they support historic preservation efforts.[17] Even in their domestic styles and activities, millennials and Gen Z tend towards nostalgia; they engage with handicrafts and vintage styles strongly, perhaps seeking security in economically and politically unstable times.[18] These attitudes towards historic locales and aesthetics are likely to be transferrable to other cultural artifacts such as automobiles. Viewed in the light of interest in heritage preservation and authenticity, vintage vehicles are a perfect match for millennial and Gen Z tastes. Brands which have been around for close to 100 years and which have been proven performers in their fields radiate authenticity.[19] Indeed, when it comes to new cars, even notoriously fickle Gen Z prefers heritage brands: Generation Z respondents overwhelmingly named Ford, Chevrolet, and Honda as their preferred automotive brands in a consumer survey, describing them as traditional, practical and trusted, while only 1% cited Tesla as a top preferred brand.[20]

Moreover, orphan or defunct

marques may also appeal to the millennial and Gen Z yearning for authenticity and heritage. Millennials, in particular, tend to prefer smaller, niche, and local brands, while Gen Z consumers prefer brands which support their personal stories and values.[21] Thus, smaller historic automotive brands with compelling stories may be appealing—scrappy makes from the turn of the century and odder automotive artifacts such as cyclecars could make engaging entry points for teaching millennials and Gen Z'ers about automotive heritage.[22] Additionally, the hero-worship of entrepreneurs among today's youth could easily transfer to the automotive innovators of the past, such as Karl Benz or John Z. DeLorean, allowing a personal route into engagement with automotive heritage.

Active Engagement

One of the most frequently remarked-on facets of millennial and Gen Z consumer psychology is the preference for spending on experiences rather than objects. This transition to the so-called experience economy marks a radical shift in consumer preference,[23] and a key point of consideration for any industry focused on physical goods, including the automotive heritage field.

Both millennials and Gen Z'ers often report that they prefer to spend money on experiences rather than goods. In one survey, 78% of young people indicated that they prefer to spend money on an experience or event instead of buying something.[24] Moreover, these same youths are sharing documentation of their event experiences widely via social media, encouraging others to pursue similar activities. This no doubt plays into the general perception that youths are ignoring the joys of owning a vintage car in favor of documenting their latest brunch outing or snowboarding excursion. However, most classic car owners will readily opine that one of the great pleasures of engaging with automotive heritage involves its experiential nature—the tactile sensation of manual gear shifts or the purr of a throaty V-8 engine, or the thumbs-up from pedestrians and other motorists when on the road. Shifting the focus of the classic car hobby from the traditional ownership model to a more experiential paradigm may encourage broader engagement.[25]

Indeed, while a millennial or Gen Z'er may not have the resources or desire to purchase a vintage vehicle, given the opportunity, they may be enticed to engage with automotive heritage via participation. Based on the research of Pine and Gilmore, this shift may also encourage additional investment in automotive preservation, as experiential engagement tends to run hand-in-hand with premium pricing.[26]

Self-Expression

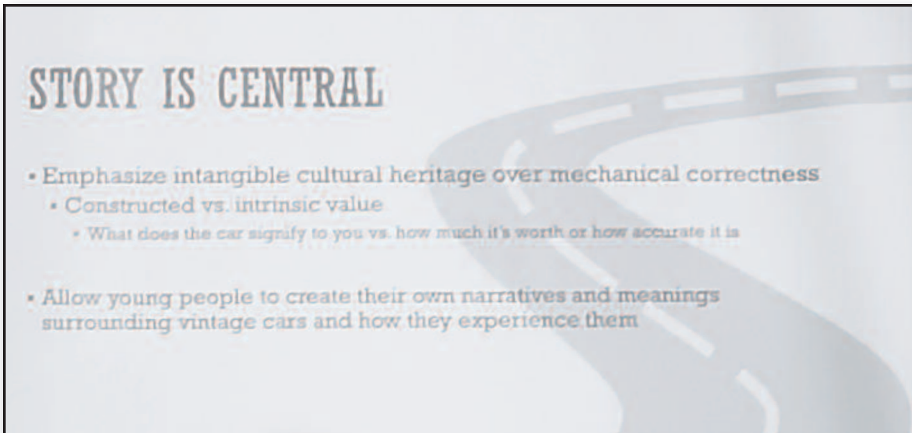
As suggested by the proliferation of selfie culture, social media, and constant public life documentation, millennials and Gen Z'ers

tend to strongly value self-expression, creating a public, performative version of their lives while also maintaining a private existence. Research indicates that millennials are more concerned with maintaining consistency between all aspects of their lives, whereas Gen Z is more open to personal segmentation, constructing an array of identities to cope with various social circumstances.[27] Nonetheless, both groups value transparency and freedom of self-expression, strongly supporting each individual's right to construct, perform, and reinvent his or her personal brand and story through a form of social postmodernism.[28]

This narrative, constructive approach to social identity plays out in youths' consumer habits, with nearly half of millennials (46%) willing to pay more for products that are consistent with their self-image, as opposed to 20 percent of Baby Boomers.[29] Today's youths are more motivated by a sense of uniqueness and personal expression than by pride of ownership or accomplishment.[30] They prefer to engage with brands and products that support their ongoing construction of personal narrative, rather than choosing to make a purchase based strictly on utility value, implied status, or other signifiers.

Choosing a vehicle, whether new, used, or vintage, exemplifies Bellah's model of expressive individualism, in which each person must develop and express his or her unique sense of self and pursue personal emotional satisfaction in order to feel "fully realized."[31] As Seiler points out, embracing consumer culture—and classic cars in particular, with all their distinctive quirks—can allow the "construction and performance of a distinctive individual identity," something of particular importance to millennials.[32]

Goods are always symbolic of personal attributes, goals, meanings, and social standing and, thus, their valuation is closely tied to the construction of personal identity.[33] By recognizing that this dynamic plays out even more strongly among millennials and Gen Z, given their emphasis on self-determination and self-expression, we may begin to formulate new ways to engage them with automotive heritage. Rather than viewing classic cars strictly from the perspective of intrinsic economic worth—the "investment" perspective—or asserting that their value is based on their historical legacy—the "preservationist" perspective—taking a more fluid approach that uses a narrative, constructivist framework may prove useful. When humans and objects interact, we develop new meanings, narratives, and values and shift the importance we place on certain goods and experiences.[34] In the context of classic cars, we move from intrinsic, economics-based valuation to the embrace of a more experiential form of value that acknowledges the inherent worth of meaning, memory, and symbolism attached to a material object. For high-involvement products, in



particular, such as second vehicles, offering both brand heritage and an avenue for personal involvement and identity construction may be critical for encouraging purchasing decisions among younger generations.[35]

This dovetails neatly with the millennial and Gen Z yearning for self-expression and fluid construction of identity, personal brand, and narrative, and may offer a means to encourage deeper engagement with the automotive preservation field.[36]

Community

Millennials and Gen Z, while pursuing self-expression and multivalent social identities, nonetheless crave community membership.[37] The explosive rise of social media is, in many ways, both an outgrowth of this desire and a key contributor to it: today's youth has the capacity to form communities of interest with people from across the planet and to engage asynchronously with their peers, constructing personal networks with a degree of robustness and flexibility never before seen.

In the automotive context, scholars have convincingly argued that cars and automobility are about more than unfettered mobility or the perpetuation and transfer of a useful object: vehicles form a key part of a "mammoth social institution."[38] Even today, one's choice of car brand indicates something about personal preferences, socioeconomic status, aesthetic style, and values; indeed, even the choice not to own a car transmits certain signifiers about personal identity and values, and expresses membership in a different transportation community.

The millennial desire for community belonging further manifests itself in consumer patterns as fandom behavioor. Although fan studies have been a recognized part of marketing and cultural studies scholarship since at least the early 1990s,[39] current scholarship in the field is beginning to recognize how thoroughly millennials and Gen Z are embedded in various fandoms. Not only do youths become sports fans, as with previous generations, but they also engage stridently with pop culture and even product brands, forming fandoms around TV shows, movies, books, theme parks, and even sneakers.[40] As Motchika points out, "A material culture is evident in most fan circles; a certain collection of physical objects is central to admission."[41]

If millennials and Gen Z'ers crave a sense of belonging, and if that community can be established through shared patterns of consumption and interest, as in fandom, then it holds that these generations may be attracted to classic car circles for the shared social opportunities they offer. Creating a community identity through shared consumption is a key feature of many automotive subcultures, as examined by Virginia D'Antonio in her investigation of Corvette culture. She notes, "The consumers in this research inhabit the meaning of the Corvette through a lifestyle of ritual leisure activities and social relationships that reify the car's iconic status."[42] Notably, too, younger consumers see preservation activities as directly related to community membership: fifty-three percent of millennials view historic preservation as a way to protect the unique, cultural wealth, and diversity of communities.[43] Emphasizing this aspect of automotive preservation experience—shared social identity construction and socialization—may encourage more millennials and Gen Z'ers to participate with automotive heritage. In particular, encouraging brand fandom and co-creation via social media may drive deeper engagement among these generations.[44]

Shifting Models of Engagement

Clearly, given the attitudes and ideals espoused by millennials and Gen Z'ers themselves, the gloom-and-doom scenarios predicted for the classic car field by many older generations may be projections based in fear rather than fact. It's typical for each generation, as it ages, to look skeptically at the values and behaviors of those rising into adulthood: Baby Boomers and Gen X'ers, in their turns, were also seen as shiftless, self-centered, or focused on the wrong priorities according to their elders. However, this tendency to project negative attitudes onto younger generations hinders efforts to engage them with preserving the heritage that matters to us all—expecting the next generation to behave exactly as their elders do is unrealistic and counterproductive. Instead, if we wish to ensure that our automotive heritage is preserved into the future, we must examine what matters to the next generation and adapt to those interests, rather than insisting that they adopt the patterns of their elders.[45]

What, then, does this mean for the classic car field? Nothing short of a wholesale reevaluation of priorities, public presentation, and focus. However, many of the key changes that may make the field more appealing to millennials and Gen Z are simple and affordable, relying on a change of perspective to concentrate on experiential value rather than intrinsic worth. In this section, I propose several practical avenues to shift the focus of the automotive heritage field's public presentation away from the interests of older generations to align more closely with the stated values of younger generations, thus making vintage vehicles seem more relevant to their interests and lifestyles.[46]

Experience, Not Ownership

While many in the classic car field are aware that quite a few makes and models of vintage vehicles are affordable, costing less than $10,000 for a streetworthy specimen, these are not the cars that are presented in media, or even at many car shows. Rather, multi-million-dollar concours-quality restorations make the TV news, while even local car shows give pride of

place to nut-and-bolt restorations. This makes it difficult for the average millennial or Gen Z'er, who may not have been raised in a "car family," to become acquainted with the more affordable spectrum of automotive heritage. Moreover, the focus on ownership and restoration may be detrimental to the field; with the decline of shop class and automotive tech training at most high schools, few youths are exposed to the mechanical skills necessary to keep older cars running and on the road. Lacking confidence in their ability to repair an older car, they may shy away from a hobby that appears to require either money, technical expertise, or both in order to participate.

Thus, to entice millennials and Gen Z to embrace our automotive heritage, it may be necessary to shift from a model that insists that ownership is the only means of engagement to one that welcomes participation, sharing, collaboration, community, and experience.[47] Research among millennials has shown that they need not actually own a product in order to believe in the authenticity and desirability of its parent brand.[48] Instead, youths prize the ability to co-create identity and experience in partnership with a brand.

Mehmetoglu and Engen assert that "experiences function as a personal source of information for the stories people tell about their lives and are important for their self-perception."[49] By deemphasizing ownership as a central, let alone necessary, component of engaging with the classic car field, we open that field up to many more participants. Taking cars into the community, offering ride-along experiences, marketing classic car events on popular social media channels, and allowing youths to co-create the meaning of these experiences will encourage both broader and deeper interaction with younger populations.[50] Focusing on a constructivist, participatory framework[51] and embracing the tandem elements of agency and community offered by fandom models creates a welcoming, approachable context for millennials and Gen Z to begin to embrace automotive heritage.[52] In essence, I suggest loosening the reins on what constitutes "acceptable" entry into the classic car field and allowing youths to determine for themselves what establishes what is, at base, a fandom construct.

Building Community to Build Buy-In

By opening the classic car field up to a wider range of experiences and "approved" forms of engagement, it may be possible to draw in more new participants, particularly among millennials and Gen Z. Reframing the automotive heritage area as a distinctive fandom subculture based on interest, aesthetic, and experience, rather than one defined strictly by ownership, will allow it to take advantage of the deep ties created by shared meaning-making while appealing to the youth craving for group identity and belonging.

Moreover, research has shown that members of hobbyist communities engage most strongly when their participation in a subculture supports both their individual and group identities.[53] From this foundation, the desired consumer behavior can be encouraged. That is, by creating a community based on shared interests, rather than one predicated on ownership, we can actually encourage that ownership and consumption behavior to take place. Millennials and Gen Z prefer to experience an authentic connection with a brand or community before spending their limited resources of time or money[54]—but few have been actively courted by those in the classic car field in any meaningful way that seeks to engage their interests, rather than imposing existing values upon them.

The constructivist, social nature of object-based fandom is critical to this element of expanding automotive heritage engagement. Those currently in the preservation field, as well as the champions of various brands, including show organizers and car clubs, must relinquish some control over how the field is perceived and how participants engage, allowing new generations to define their own roles, spaces, and identities through their creative labor.[55]

Story Is Central

Traditionally, the classic car field has focused on matters of mechanical integrity and historical accuracy—objective, intrinsic qualities that may be categorized, judged, and rated for correctness. In the subdomain of concours restorations, in particular, mechanical and cosmetic perfection are valued above all else. While the field is coming to embrace the importance of unrestored cars, and while preservationists are more open to sharing and valuing the intangible cultural heritage represented by various automobiles, the traditional emphasis on mechanical accuracy and high-dollar restorations may well turn off millennials and Gen Z'ers.

Because of the perception that involvement with classic cars is predicated on ownership, and that ownership is contingent on having an expensive car and/or being able to service the car's mechanicals oneself, debt-burdened and mechanically disinclined youths may not see the field as welcoming or accessible.

To invite more millennials and Gen Z to interact with our automotive heritage, a focus on the intangible aspects of culture tied to the physical automotive artifacts may be beneficial. Millennials and Gen Z'ers appreciate storytelling—they craft personal narratives every day and welcome the opportunity to become part of a long history of style, culture, and innovation such as that demonstrated by historic automotive brands. Thus, refocusing the vintage car field on telling the stories of brands, inventors and innovators, daring drivers, and historical figures may offer an accessible entry point for these youths—47 percent of millennial women know the origin stories of their favorite brands, indicating that brand storytelling is an immensely powerful tool to reach this demographic.[56]

Moreover, the ascendance of Apple and other design-focused brands demonstrates the power of design thinking in the lives and purchasing decisions of today's youth. Research in several fields has begun to show that millennials in particular are highly influenced by packaging and product design in their purchasing decisions, choosing nontraditional branding and preferring bold, dynamic imagery.[57] Producing outreach campaigns and media products that emphasise design, history, style, and culture rather than mechanical traits may attract more younger people to engage with automotive heritage activities and, from this foundation in the intangible aspects of heritage, develop a deeper appreciation for vintage vehicles that may pave the way to eventual ownership and stewardship of classic cars.

Practical Implications and Directions for Automotive Heritage Preservation

The values, interests, and consumer preferences of millennials and Gen Z'ers presented here have several practical implications for those seeking to encourage younger generations to become actively involved with automotive heritage activities and the preservation of automotive artifacts. Here, I suggest several potentially fruitful areas of expansion for groups seeking to bolster engagement among these demographics.

Opportunities for Experiences

Experiential engagement is critical for reaching millennial and Gen Z consumers. A full 54 percent of millennial women state that their biggest purchases in the coming year will be based on experiences, rather than products or services.[58] Moreover, because these generations meticulously document their experiences on social media, encouraging others to try the same activities, experience-based marketing has an abnormally strong knock-on effect among this demographic.[59]

Making it possible for more millennials and Gen Z'ers to experience the joys of interacting with classic cars may therefore be the strongest motivating factor to encourage them to engage more fully with automotive heritage. Because many grew up in families that were not engaged with the field, they lack direct experience with old cars and, because of traditional car show modes and features, may not be aware of the various benefits and pleasures of the hobby.

Practical ways to leverage the power of experience for automotive heritage marketing include offering free ride-alongs at car shows, but more importantly, at non-car-focused events. Concerts, parades, neighborhood gatherings, and community events all offer excellent opportunities for classic car owners and automotive preservation groups to offer direct access to vintage vehicles, while also taking advantage of the millennial and Gen Z craving for community engagement.

A more ambitious avenue for experiential engagement would be the creation of an "Uber for classics," wherein classic car owners can offer either ride-sharing services or special occasion rentals using their vintage vehicles. This would, naturally, require the development and marketing of a dedicated app, as well as potentially requiring a special insurance class approved by the major vintage insurers, but would offer a great many marketing benefits while also letting current vintage owners monetize their vehicles at will. Such a classic ride-share app would allow more people to experience the unique nature of riding in a vintage car and to have conversations with current car owners, who could share their enthusiasm and interest. The majority of millennials and Gen Z (84%) strongly value personal testimony when making purchasing decisions, meaning that this direct communication could prove a powerful marketing influence.[60]

Storytelling

Storytelling is another critical means of engaging the younger generations. At present, most vintage vehicle publications focus on technical specifications and restoration accuracy, placing proportionally less emphasis on personal stories, design or style development, and historical context. Flipping this ratio may encourage more engagement from youths; one need only look at the popularity of *Top Gear* and *The Grand Tour*, with their experience-based narrative segments, to understand how engaging storytelling can interest vast audiences who otherwise evince little interest in cars.

The Historic Vehicle Association's "This Car Matters" project is a prime example of how outreach efforts can take advantage of this format to offer identifiable entry points for youth engagement. This effort to "collect, preserve, and share stories that celebrate the automobile's historic impact on modern culture and the lives of everyday people" speaks to the millennial desire for authenticity and narrative, showing how cars have impacted both individuals and the broader culture throughout their history.[61] Work in the archival sciences supports the supposition that millennials will engage more strongly with historic materials given enhanced access to historical documentation and rich social media campaigns centered around heritage subjects.[62] Creating more videos, websites, and media projects that engage with this fundamental desire for narrative will undoubtedly attract more youth consumers to become curious about classic cars, an interest which can be cultivated to encourage future ownership and preservation activities.

Engaging youths via social media is also a strong potential marketing strategy. Sixty-two percent of millennials state that they are more likely to become a loyal customer if a brand engages with them on social networks; they desire a two-way conversation rather than merely a passive follower experience.[63] Again, the notion of co-creation and community becomes important; even more than Baby Boomers do, millennials and Gen Z want a hand in crafting the narratives with which they engage, and want to feel as though they are part of a brand-based community that supports their creative efforts and self-constructions.[64] Rather than using push media and static communications, automotive heritage groups and media channels must strive for participatory engagement through creative use of hashtags, contests, and calls for co-created content that engage youths actively.

Conclusion

These strategies for engaging millennials and Gen Z require a significant paradigm shift among the older generations who currently represent most of the classic car field's participants and who largely dictate how the field functions. Rather than a top-down, push media model, today's youth prefer participatory, ongoing narrative development; rather than being passive bystanders, they prefer active engagement and hands-on experiences. They crave community, participation, and authentic heritage. We must, therefore, rethink our approach to both marketing the automotive heritage field and engaging with that field as a whole, moving to a postmodern, constructivist perspective that prioritizes iteration, collaboration, and the creation of narrative identity.[65]

For a debt-burdened generation, we cannot expect an immediate and costly financial buy-in via classic car ownership. Instead, we can pave the way for eventual ownership activity through offering access to intangible cultural heritage and participatory experiences. Millennials and Gen Z are drawn to a past they never experienced, romanticizing bygone eras and the innovations and aesthetics of the past—qualities embodied in tangible form by vintage vehicles.[66] By embracing the fandom model presented by media properties and sports teams and opening up our garages and our streets to today's youth, we may encourage a lifetime of interest and engagement, as well as the transmission of that interest to a broader community of young people.[67]

This, in the end, is the real goal. For automobiles, while amazing creations, are themselves merely vehicles for a less tangible heritage: the ideas, values, thoughts, and aspirations of the innovators who created them and the everyday people who drove them. By embracing that history and valuing both the material objects and the intangible culture they are imbued with, we can foster a love of automotive heritage that transcends generational lines and ensures the preservation of this critical part of our industrial legacy.

References

"2017 Consumer Content Report: Influence in the Digital Age." *Stackla*, 2017. https://stackla.com/go/2017-consumer-content-report-influence-in-digital-age/

Barker, Valerie. "A Generational Comparison of Social Networking Site Use: The Influence of Age and Social Identity," *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 74, no. 2 (2012): 163–187.

Beirne, Mike, and Neil Howe. "Generation Gab." *Brandweek*. July 2, 2008.

Bellah, Robert N., et al. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, 2nd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.

Bennett, Andy, and Keith Kahn-Harris. "Introduction." In *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*, ed. Andy Bennett, and Keith Kahn-Harris, 1–18. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Beverland, M.B., F. Farrelly, and P.G. Quester. "Authentic Subcultural Membership: Antecedents and Conse-quences of Authenticating Acts and Authoritative Performances," *Psychology & Marketing, 27*, no. 7 (2010): 698-716.

"Consumer Credit: January 2018." U.S. Federal Reserve (March 7, 2018). https://www.federalreserve.gov/releases/g19/current/default.htm

Coppa, Francesca. "Fuck Yeah, Fandom Is Beautiful." *The Journal of Fandom Studies, 2*, no. 1 (1 April 2014): 73-82.

D'Antonio, Virginia. "'It's Not Just a Car, It's a Lifestyle': Exploring the Social World of Corvette Consumers." *Inter-Disciplinary.net* (August 2016): 1. http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Virginia-D%E2%80%99Antonio-dpaper-cars1.pdf

Day, G. S. *Buyer Attitudes and Brand Choice Behavior*. New York, Free Press, 1970.

Debevec, Kathleen, Charles D. Schewe, Thomas J. Madden, and William D. Diamond. "Are Today's Millennials Splintering into a New Generational Cohort? Maybe!" *Journal of Consumer Behavior, 12*, no. 1 (2013): 20-31.

"Defining Generations: Where Millennials End and Post-Millennials Begin." *Pew Research Center*. 1 March 2018. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/01/defining-generations-where-millennials-end-and-post-millennials-begin/

Etehad, Melissa and Rob Nikolewski, "Millennials and Car Ownership? It's Complicated." *LA Times* (23 December 2016). http://www.latimes.com/business/autos/la-fi-hy-millennials-cars-20161223-story.html

Featherstone, Mike. 1991. *Consumer culture and post-modernism*. London: Sage Publications.

Gray, Jonathan, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington. *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.

Hakala, U., S. Lätti, and B. Sandberg. "Operationalising Brand Heritage and Cultural Heritage." *Journal of Product & Brand Management, 20*, no. 6 (2011): 447–456. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/10610421111166595

Hannabuss, Stuart. "Postmodernism and the Heritage Experience," *Library Management, 20*, no. 5 (1999): 295-303, https://doi.org/10.1108/01435129910276280

Harris, Lisa and Alan Rae. "Building a Personal Brand through Social Network- ing," *Journal of Business Strategy, 32* no. 5 (2011): 14-21, https://doi.org/10.1108/02756661111165435

Howe, N. and Strauss, W. *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*. New York: Vintage, 2009.

Iovino, Serenella and Serpil Oppermann. "Material Ecocriticism: Materiality, Agency, and Models of Narrativity." *Ecozon 3*, no. 1 (2012): 75–91.

Jenkins, Henry. *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Lantos, G.P. "Marketing to Millenials: Reach the Largest and Most Influential Generation of Consumers Ever," *Journal of Consumer Marketing, 31*, no. 5 (2014): 401-403.

Levy, Sidney. "Symbols for Sale." *Harvard Business Review 37*, no. 4 (1959), 117–124.

Linden, Henrik and Sara Linden. *Fans and Fan Cultures*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2017.

"Make It Happen for Gen Z." *NPD Group*. January 2018. https://www.npd.com/wps/portal/npd/us/news/press-releases/2018/unintentional-foodies-gen-zs-expect-food-brands-to-follow-their-needs-rather-than-the-other-way-around/

Mehmetoglu, M. and M. Engen. "Pine and Gilmore's Concept of Experience Economy and Its Dimensions: An Empirical Examination in Tourism," *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism, 12*, no. 4 (2011):237-255, doi: 10.1080/1528008X.2011.541847

"Millennials and Historic Preservation: A Deep Dive into Attitudes and Values," National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Express, 2017. https://nthp-savingplaces.s3.amazonaws.com/2017/06/27/09/02/25/407/Millennial%20Research%20Report.pdf

"Millennials: Confident. Connected. Open to Change," *Pew Research Center*, February 24, 2010, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/02/24/millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change/.

"Millennials: Fueling the Experience Economy." *Eventbrite*, 2014. http://eventbrite-s3.s3.amazonaws.com/marketing/Millennials_Research/Gen_PR_Final.pdf.

"Millennials: The Next Generation Car Buyer." *AutoTrader* (2013). https://b2b.autotrader.com/oem/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Millennials-Next-Gen-Car-Buyer.pdf

Moore, Karl. "Authenticity: The Way to the Millennial's Heart." *Forbes.com*, August 14, 2014. https:// www.forbes.com/sites/karlmoore/2014/08/14/authenticity-the-way-to-the-millennials-heart/#569e38324531

Motichka, Michele. "Brand Loyalty in the Automotive Community: A Case Study on the Chevrolet Corvette." Master's thesis, University of South Florida, 2003: 86.

Napoli, J., S. J. Dickinson, M.B. Beverland, and F. Farrelly. "Measuring Consumer-Based Brand Authenticity." *Journal of Business Research, 67*, no. 6 (2014): 1090-1098.

Nicholson, L. and Steven Seidman. *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Pattuglia, S., M. Mingione, and S. Borra. "Clustering Millennials Using Brand Authenticity." Paper presented at X Global Brand Conference (2015). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281525221_Clustering_Millennials_using_brand_authenticity

Pine, B. Joseph II, and James H. Gilmore. "Welcome to the Experience Economy." *Harvard Business Review 76*, no. 4 (1998): 97–105.

"Quick Facts about Student Debt." *The Institute for College Access & Success*. 2014. http://bit.ly/1lxjskr.

Rajan, Sudhir Chella. *The Enigma of Automobility: Democratic Politics and Pollution Control*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

"Readex Enthusiast Subscriber Profile, 2004." *Hemmings Motor News*. Accessed January 6, 2017. https://www.hemmings.com/advertise/hmnaudience/.

Sass, Rob. "How Baby Boomers Created Today's Classic-Car Market—and How They Could Crash It." *Car and Driver*, February 2014. http://www.caranddriver.com/features/baby-boomers-created-the-classic-car-marketand-could-crash-it-feature.

Schellnack-Kelly, Isabel, "Linking the Past with the Future Ensuring the Longevity of Archival Collections and Accessions," paper presented at the Annual LIS Research Symposium, 28-29 July 2016, at UNISA Muckleneuk Campus, Pretoria. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/21148

Sedikides, Constantine, Tim Wildschut, Jamie Arndt, and Clay Routledge, "Nostalgia: Past, Present, and Future." *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *17*, no. 5 (2018): 304-307.

Seiler, Cotten. *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Sivak, Michael and Brandon Schoettle. "Recent Decreases in the Proportion of Persons with a Driver's License Across All Age Groups." *The University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute,* Report No. UMTRI-2016-4 (January 2016). http://umich.edu/~umtriswt/PDF/UMTRI-2016-4.pdf

Statia, Elliot & Barth, J.E. (2012) "Wine Label Design and Personality Preferences of Millennials," *Journal of Product & Brand Management, 21*(3),183-191, https://doi.org/10.1108/10610421211228801

Sullivan, Katya O. "What Moves Us: Differences in Cultural Attitudes towards the Preservation and Use of Stock Vintage Vehicles between Scandinavia and the United States." In *The Routledge Companion to Automobile Heritage, Culture, and Preservation* (ed. Barry Stiefel) (forthcoming, Routledge; Handbook and Companion Series, 2018-9).

"This Car Matters." *Historic Vehicle Association*. 2018. https://www.historicvehicle.org/this-car-matters/

Thompson, Charles, and Jane Brodie Gregory. "Managing Millennials: A Framework for Improving Attraction, Motivation, and Retention." *The Psychologist-Manager Journal, 15*, no. 4 (2012): 237-246. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10887156.2012.730444

Tokarsky, Matthew "Student Loans and the Millennial Generation: How Under- graduates Think Student Loan Debt Will Affect Their Life Course." Dissertation. Ohio University, 2010. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/

Westlake, E.J. "Friend Me if You Facebook: Generation Y and Performative Surveillance," *TDR/The Drama Review, 52*, no. 4 (2008): 21-40.

"What's Driving Gen Z." *AutoTrader and Kelley Blue Book*. March 2016. https://coxautoinc.app.box.com/v/autotrader-kbb-gen-z-research/file/56691606014

"Why Millennial Women Buy." *Merkle and Levo League*. 2018. https://www.merkleinc.com/thought-leadership/white-papers/why-millennial-women-buy

Wiedmann, K.P., N. Hennigs, S. Schmidt, and T. Wuestefeld. "Drivers and Outcomes of Brand Heritage: Consumers' Perception of Heritage Brands in the Automotive Industry." *The Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice, 19*, no. 2 (2011): 205-220.

Williams, Kaylene C., Robert A. Page, Alfred R. Petrosky, and Edward H. Hernandez, "Multi-Generational Marketing: Descriptions, Characteristics, Lifestyles, and Attitudes," *The Journal of Applied Business and Economics, 11*, no. 2 (2010): 21-36.

Wolf, M. J. *The Entertainment Economy: How Mega-Media Forces Are Transforming Our Lives*. New York: Crown Business, 2003.

Wood, Stacy. "Generation Z as Consumers: Trends and Innovation." NC State University Center for Emerging Issues, 2017. https://iei.ncsu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/GenZConsumers.pdf

Endnotes:

1. Thompson, Charles, and Jane Brodie Gregory. "Managing Millennials: A Framework for Improving Attraction, Motivation, and Retention." *The Psychologist-Manager Journal* 15.4 (2012): 237-246. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080-/10887156.2012.730444

2. Howe, Neil, and William Strauss. *Millennials Rising*. New York: Vintage Books, 2000. Print.

3. Pew Research Center. "Defining Generations: Where Millennials End and Post-Millennials Begin." *Pew Research Center*. 1 March 2018. Web.

4. Debevec, Kathleen et al. "Are Today's Millennials Splintering into a New Generational Cohort? Maybe!." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 12.1 (2013): 20-31.

5. Sass, Rob. "How Baby Boomers Created Today's Classic-Car Market—and How They Could Crash It," *Car and Driver* (February 2014). Available from http://www.caranddriver.com/features/baby-boomers-created-the-classic-car-marketand-could-crash-it-feature.

6. "Readex Enthusiast Subscriber Profile, 2004," *Hemmings Motor News*, accessed October 6, 2016, https://www.hemmings.com/advertise/hmnaudience/.

7. Sivak, Michael, and Brandon Schoettle. "Toward Understanding The Recent Large Reductions In The Proportion Of Young Persons With A Driver's License: A Response To Le Vine Et Al. (2013)." *Traffic Injury Prevention* 14.6 (2013): 658-659. http://umich.edu/~umtriswt/PDF/UMTRI-2016-4.pdf

8. Etehad, Melissa and Rob Nikolewski. "Millennials and Car Ownership? It's Complicated." *LA Times* (23 December 2016). http://www.latimes.com/business/autos/la-fi-hy-millennials-cars-20161223-story.html

9. "Millennials: The Next Generation Car Buyer." *Auto Trader* (2013). https://b2b.autotrader.com/oem/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Millennials-Next-Gen-Car-Buyer.pdf

10. "What's Driving Gen Z." *AutoTrader & Kelley Blue Book*. March 2016. https://coxautoinc.app .box.com/v/autotrader-kbb-gen-z-research/file/56691606014

11. Tokarsky, Matthew. "Student Loans and the Millennial Generation: How Undergraduates Think Student Loan Debt Will Affect Their Life Course." Dissertation. Ohio University, 2010. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/

12. "Consumer Credit: January 2018." U.S. Federal Reserve (March 7, 2018). https://www.federalreserve.gov/releases/g19/current/default.htm

13. "Quick Facts about Student Debt." *The Institute for College Access & Success*. 2014. http://bit.ly/1lxjskr.

14. Wood,Stacy. "Generation Z as Consumers: Trends and Innovation," NC State University Center for Emerging Issues, 2017. https://iei.ncsu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/GenZConsumers.pdf

15. Moore, Karl. "Authenticity: The Way to the Millennial's Heart." *Forbes.com*, August 14, 2014. https://www.forbes.com/sites/karlmoore/2014/08/14/authenticity-the-way-to-the-millennials-heart/#569e38324531

16 Napoli, Julie et al. "Measuring Consumer-Based Brand Authenticity." *Journal of Business Research* 67.6 (2014): 1090-1098.

17. "Millennials and Historic Preservation: A Deep Dive into Attitudes and Values," National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Express, 2017. https://nthp-savingplaces.s3.amazonaws.com/2017/06/27/09/02/25/407/Millennial%20Research%20Report.pdf

18. Sedikides, Constantine, Tim Wildschut, Jamie Arndt, and Clay Routledge. "Nostalgia: Past, Present, and Future." *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 17.5 (2018): 304-307.

19. Wiedmann, Klaus-Peter et al. "Drivers And Outcomes of Brand Heritage: Consumers' Perception of Heritage Brands in the Automotive Industry." *The Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* 19.2 (2011): 205-220.

20. "What's Driving Gen Z," 2016.

21. "Make It Happen for Gen Z." *NPD Group*. January 2018. https://www.npd.com/wps/portal/npd/us/news/press-releases/2018/unintentional-foodies-gen-zs-expect-food-brands-to-follow-their-needs-rather-than-the-other-way-around/

22. Hakala, Ulla, Sonja Lätti, and Birgitta Sandberg. "Operationalizing Brand Heritage and Cultural Heritage." *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 20.6 (2011): 447-456.http://dx.doi.org /10.1108 /10610421111166595

23. Pine, B. Joseph II and J. H. Gilmore, "The Experience Economy." *Harvard Business Review. 76* (1998): 97-105.

24. "Millennials: Fueling the Experience Economy." *Eventbrite*, 2014. http://eventbrite-s3.s3.amazonaws.com/marketing/Millennials_Research/Gen_PR_Final.pdf.

25. Sullivan, Katya O. "What Moves Us: Differences in Cultural Attitudes towards the Preservation and Use of Stock Vintage Vehicles between Scandinavia and the United States." In *The Routledge Companion to Automobile Heritage, Culture, and Preservation* (ed. Barry Stiefel) (forthcoming,

Routledge; Handbook and Companion Series, 2018-9).

26. Pine and Gilmore, "The Experience Economy."

27. Westlake, E.J., "Friend Me if You Facebook: Generation Y and Performative Surveillance," *TDR/ The Drama Review,* 52.4 (2008): 21-40.

28. Nicholson, Linda and Steven Seidman, *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

29. "Millennials, the Next Generation Car Buyer," 2013.

30. "Millennials: Confident. Connected. Open to Change," *Pew Research Center*, February 24, 2010,http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/02/24/millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change/.

31. Bellah, Robert N. et al. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 333–5.

32. Seiler, Cotten. *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 34.

33. Levy, Sidney. "Symbols for Sale," *Harvard Business Review* 37.4 (1959): 118.

34. Iovino, Serenella and Serpil Oppermann. "Material Ecocriticism: Materiality, Agency, and Models of Narrativity," *Ecozon*, 3.1 (2012): 79.

35. Day, G.S. *Buyer Attitudes and Brand Choice Behavior*. New York, Free Press, 1970.

36. Harris, Lisa and Alan Rae. "Building a Personal Brand through Social Networking," *Journal of Business Strategy,* 32.5 (2011): 14-21, https://doi.org/10.1108/02756661111165435

37. Beirne, Mike and Neil Howe. "Generation Gab." *Brandweek*. July 2, 2008.

38. Rajan, Sudhir Chella. *The Enigma of Automobility: Democratic Politics and Pollution Control*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996, 14.

39 Jenkins, Henry. *Textual poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

40. Gray, Jonathan, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington. *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.

41. Motichka, Michele. "Brand Loyalty in the Automotive Community: A Case Study on the Chevrolet Corvette." Master's thesis, University of South Florida, 2003: 86.

42. D'Antonio, Virginia. "'It's Not Just a Car, It's a Lifestyle': Exploring the Social World of Corvette Consumers," *Inter-Disciplinary.net* (August 2016): 1. Available from http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Virginia-D%E2%80%99Antonio-dpaper-cars1.pdf

43. "Millennials and Historic Preservation," 2017.

44. Linden, Henrik and Sara Linden. "Social Media: Millennials, Brand Fans and the Branding of Fans." In: *Fans and Fan Cultures*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2017.

45. Lantos, G.P. "Marketing to Millennials: Reach the Largest and Most Influential Generation of Consumers Ever," *Journal of Consumer Marketing,* 31.5 (2014): 401-403.

46. Williams, Kaylene C., Robert A. Page, Alfred R. Petrosky, and Edward H. Hernandez, "Multi-Generational Marketing: Descriptions, Characteristics, Lifestyles, and Attitudes," *The Journal of Applied Business and Economics,* 11.2 (2010): 21-36.

47. Pine and Gilmore, "The Experience Economy."

48. Pattuglia, Simonetta, Michela Mingione, and Simone Borra. "Clustering Millennials Using Brand Authenticity." Paper presented at X Global Brand

Conference (2015).

49. Mehmetoglu, Mehmet and Marit Engen, "Pine and Gilmore's Concept of Experience Economy and Its Dimensions: An Empirical Examination in Tourism," *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 12.4 (2011):237-255, doi: 10.1080/1528008X.2011.541847

50. Linden and Linden. "Social Media: Millennials, Brand Fans and the Branding of Fans."

51. Bennett, Andy and Keith Kahn-Harris. "Introduction." In: *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*, ed. Andy Bennett, and Keith Kahn-Harris, 1–18. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

52. Linden, Henrik and Sara Linden. "Fans and (Post) Subcultural Consumerism." In: *Fans and Fan Cultures*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2017.

53. Beverland, Michael B., Francis Farrelly, and Pascale G. Quester, "Authentic subcultural membership: Antecedents and consequences of authenticating acts and authoritative performances," *Psychology & Marketing*, 27.7 (2010): 698-716.

54. Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage Publications, 1991.

55. Coppa, Francesca. "Fuck Yeah, Fandom Is Beautiful." *The Journal of Fandom Studies*, 2.1 (1 April 2014): 73-82.

56. "Why Millennial Women Buy." *Merkle and Levo League*. 2018. https://www.merkleinc.com/thought-leadership/white-papers/why-millennial-women-buy

57. Statia, Elliot and J.E. Barth. "Wine Label Design and Personality Preferences of Millennials," *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 21.3 (2012): .183-191, https://doi.org/10.1108/10610421211228801

58. "Why Millennial Women Buy," 2018.

59. "2017 Consumer Content Report: Influence in the Digital Age," *Stackla*, 2017. https://stackla.com/go/2017-consumer-content-report-influence-in-digital-age/

60. Ibid.

61. "This Car Matters." *Historic Vehicle Association*. 2018. https://www.historicvehicle.org/this-car-matters/

62. Schellnack-Kelly, Isabel. "Linking the Past with the Future Ensuring the Longevity of Archival Collections and Accessions," paper presented at the Annual LIS Research Symposium, 28-29 July 2016, at UNISA Muckleneuk Campus, Pretoria. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/21148

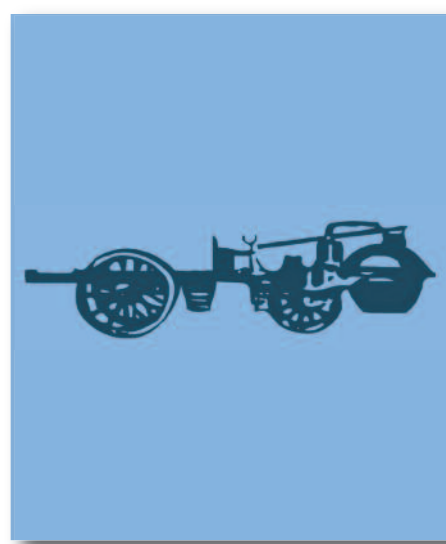
63. Schawbel, Dan. "10 New Findings About the Millennial Consumer," *Forbes.com* (20 January 2015). https://www.forbes.com/sites/danschawbel/2015/01/20/10-new-findings-about-the-millennial-consumer/#7ee96de56c8f

64. Barker, Valerie. "A Generational Comparison of Social Networking Site Use: The Influence of Age and Social Identity," *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 74.2 (2012): 163–187.

65. Hannabuss, Stuart. "Postmodernism and the Heritage Experience," *Library Management*, 20.5 (1999): 295-303, https://doi.org/10.1108/01435129910276280

66. Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt, and Routledge, "Nostalgia: Past, Present, and Future."

67. Gray, Sandvoss, and Harrington, *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*.



Current Issues and Challenges in Doing Automotive History Scholarship

SAH-driven roundtable: "Current Issues and Challenges in Doing Automotive History Scholarship" at The NB Center for American Automotive Heritage, part of Driving History Conference. From left: Don Keefe, SAH Board member, *AHR* editor, writer/editor of *Poncho Perfection*- The Only All-Pontiac Magazine, contributor to *Collectible Automobile* and Mecum Auctions; H. Don Capps, SAH Board member and Chairman of the SAH International Motor Sports History section and SAH Biennial Automotive History Conference Committee; Bob Casey, former curator of the The Henry Ford Museum, author of *The Model T: A Centennial History;* Aaron Warkentin, curator Studebaker National Museum; John Heitmann, University of Dayton, former SAH President, current SAH Board member and author of *The Automobile and American Life.* Far right: Moderator Ed Garten, SAH Secretary, Dean Emeritus, University of Dayton.

Panel Presentation at the Second International Drive History Conference Allentown, Pennsylvania April 14, 2018

Transcribed by Dr. Ed Garten, Panel Moderator

MODERATOR'S OPENING COMMENT: Good morning, for the next hour we've brought together a panel that will explore some of the challenges and opportunities related to doing contemporary automotive history scholarship. Recent decades have seen an impressive array of new pieces of published literature in automotive history. This work has not only built upon earlier established scholarship but has also pushed boundaries in uncovering new insights into areas of auto history never before explored. Indeed today's environment for research offers an increasingly new ways to locate and interact via social media with academic automotive historians as well as informed and knowledgeable buff historians. Pointedly, the context in which one can conduct automotive history today has become richer but at the same time seemingly more complex, so let me introduce our five panel members.

DON CAPPS is an independent historian and founder and co-chair the Michael Argetsinger Symposium for International Motor Racing History at Watkins Glen, NY, and is a member of the Council of Historians at the International Motor Racing Research Center.

BOB CASEY is an automotive historian who served as the John and Horace Dodge Curator of Transportation at The Henry Ford in Dearborn, Michigan. He is the author of *The Model T — A Centennial History*. In recent years he has been involved with the renovation project of the Ford Piquette Avenue Plant where the first Model Ts were assembled.

JOHN HEITMANN is Professor of History at the University of Dayton and the author of *The Automobile and American Life* (2nd Edition 2018) as well as (with Rebecca Morales) *Stealing Cars: Technology and Society from the Model T to Gran Torino* (2014). John is a Past President of the Society of Automotive Historians.

DON KEEFE is Editor-in-Chief of the Pontiac-themed *Poncho Perfection* magazine as well as the National Impala Association's *Impala News* magazine. In addition he is Executive Editor of *Corvair Communique* and the current Editor of the Society of Automotive Historians *Automotive History Review.*

AARON WARKENTIN is currently Curator at the Studebaker National Museum in South Bend, IN, and a member of the SAE Historic Vehicle Preservation Committee. He was formerly Curator of the Auburn Cord Duesenberg Museum. His scholarly focus has been on the economic and social impact of transportation on the wider human culture.

Finally, as Moderator, I'm **ED GARTEN**, Vice-President of the Society of Automotive Historians and a retired university administrator and professor.

MODERATOR: First let's turn to John Heitmann. John, what areas of automotive history have been relatively or totally neglected in your judgment?

JOHN HEITMANN: Thank you Ed. I don't think anyone would argue that there's a vast body of literature on the history of the automobile. There has been lots done but lots more needs to be written. On one level we need more histories on global relatedness and differences in national identity. But depending on the angle, I think there's considerable micro-history that still needs to be pursued on particular models and brands because more and more sources are becoming available. And then there's the recent past, which isn't so recent anymore. We forget that the late 1960s is now fifty years in the past. So one order of new business is to more fully understand what journalists have generally written. The period from around 1968 to at least 2000 is an era of remarkable change. It was marked by two oil shocks 1973 and 1979. The rise of the Japanese industry, the awakening of Korean and Chinese auto manufacturing, the European success story that is largely but not totally confined to Germany, and the decline of British industry. And concurrently Detroit downsized, and of course there is also the issue of looming government regulatory power that took place. So to support this work we need more access to corporate sources, access to personal papers and ephemera, and a far more comprehensive undertaking of oral histories before a lot of these people are gone. Many industry participants from this period are slowly leaving us. But what about those well-research and written areas or topics before the 1970s? Many of those histories are initially reflective of power and influence. History can reflect power and influence on a national, ethnic, and social level. Once written, these histories tend to perpetuate themselves from generation to generation. So take my *The Automobile in American Life* book as a confessional here to you guys. You can find chunks in that book that is just regurgitated facts from previous histories that go back to the teens and the '20s. Well, who's to say that is really what happened and good history. So we need to peel back layers from the past. Uncritically transposed and perpetuated, we need to mine the past, dig deeper, and think deeper. We need to find meaning, and that is critically needed. So we have some one here from Kettering University and I'm from Dayton, Ohio, and Kettering is all around me. We take the history of the self-starter and the work of Kettering. Whether it was motivated by the death of a friend or not, Kettering responded to a technological bottleneck by drawing on experience gained at NCR. Unlike invention that was born out of accident or a flash of genius, Kettering worked with a deliberate purpose. He drew on his own experience in previous and concurrent work and on others we really haven't talked about at all: Vincent Apple from Dayton, Ohio and Clyde Coleman. So what was going on there? So if we strip away the layers of the "Barn Gang" story, there's another electrical inventor that emerges—Vincent Apple. He was both a rival and a collaborator with Kettering. He added considerable work to that self-starter but it never emerges in the literature. And then there's Clyde Coleman. You find him in a footnote in a book by Epstein in the 1920s. He filed patents for both air and spring starters in 1903 and 1904. So I'd say that episode is just one clear potential micro-history and thinking about going back and thinking about this again, looking closer, looking at the patent records that are there. And then finally, sometimes I'll hear that history is kind of cast in stone. It's static. But actually history is quite dynamic. It's as complex and variable as the criteria that we apply to our questioning. There may be facts that are incontestable but in evaluating them it's like judging a view as we walk along a river in terms of time. From any position on the opposite shore you look at a landscape that's looking back in time. Across the present and downstream into the future, but as you move along the bank you see the same landscape from a very different angle at each moment along the way. Objects that once appeared large telescope away. Things we thought we knew intimately appear entirely different from another angle. So history renews itself; history is rewritten from time to time. Why? Because it needs to remain relevant to the current viewpoint. So don't think that history is cast in stone. It changes with each and every generation and every decade.

MODERATOR: I'll address this question to Bob Casey. Bob, what opportunities for research lie in automotive corporate histories, motorcar marketing, technological innovations, and other under-explored areas, particularly where car culture and larger cultural and heritage studies intersect or mesh?

BOB CASEY: I think some of the most fruitful opportunities lie in the history of marketing and in studies and comparisons across national and cultural lines. What approaches work or don't work in different countries?

How do carmakers in one country go about selling their products in other countries? Another question is how have marketing emphases changed over time? What marketing themes are constant like, for example, "the car as freedom" and what themes seem to come and go, such as safety? A third marketing question is how have marketing efforts responded to government regulatory requirements? Do you try to sell the features mandated by law? Or do you just ignore them because every other car has the same features? What about auto racing as marketing? We all know the old saw: "Win on Sunday, sell on Monday." Well, does that really hold? In many cases I think it doesn't and even when it does is that really a cost effective way to market or are there other advantages that don't really show up in the bottom line? And finally, how have automakers used changing communication methods: Print, film, radio, television, and the Internet? All these things offer wonderful opportunities but you've got to adjust to all of them, they offer different ways to target a market.

Technological innovations have been studied extensively but there are some new questions that can be asked there as well. How have technological innovations, from four-wheel brakes to satellite radio changed the riding/driving experience? Does making driving easier and less demanding have anything to do with the seeming decline in young people's interest in driving? How have innovations like unitized bodies, the increasing use of plastics, and new paint technology changed the collision and repair industry? And in fact the whole collision and repair industry is something that's pretty under-studied.

Corporate histories have been one of the most common forms of historical investigation, yet there is plenty of room there for new twists. In the last fifty years automobiles went from being one of the least-regulated consumer products to one of the most-regulated. How did different companies handle that transition? A question about corporate organization is who rises in automobile companies? Where does the leadership come from? Is it engineers, is it finance people, is it sales people, is it lawyers, and has the path changed over time? Most corporate histories focus on actual car makers but what about the suppliers, body makers, engine makers, paint makers? What about the suppliers of the manufacturing equipment? How did those companies all interact with the carmakers?

There have been some other areas that are intriguing. For instance, automotive journalism grew up with the industry and there's been a symbiotic and sometimes incestuous relationship between the two. How objective has automotive journalism been and how have these automotive publications changed over time? And then, especially appropriate here, what about the history of collecting and restoration of old cars, and the enormous industry that hobby has created?

Finally, I want to close with a little something that I call "famous but forgotten," which was the title of a biography of Alexander Winton, because there are many figures in automotive history worthy of biographical investigation who did get forgotten. Here is just a very short list:

James Couzens was the business genius behind Ford Motor Company. He handled the business while Henry handled the engineering and manufacturing. There's one biography of James Couzens and it's more interested in his political career after he left Ford Motor Company.

Charles Sorensen was the production genius at Ford Motor Company. There's one book on Sorensen. He wrote it and it's not the most objective self-portrait you've ever read. Andrew Riker was a prolific early designer of electric, steam, and gasoline powered cars and was the first president of the SAE. And Riker's Island in New York City is named after him.

Harley Earl was the grandfather of modern auto styling. There's no good biography of Earl. And finally to get beyond the bounds of the United States, Taiichi Ohno, Toyota's production genius, who has had an effect on every car plant around the world. It might be interesting to compare Ohno's method's to Charles Sorensen's methods.

So those are just a few of the opportunities that I think could be explored.

MODERATOR: And now turning to Don Capps this question. Don, where have there been gaps in the literature relative to chronicling the contributions of auto industry executives and designers? What remains to be written about and how do we go about doing so while these important contributors to the industry remain living?

DON CAPPS: When I thought about this question and started thinking how I would frame my response, first we're starting to see a pattern here, we're looking at these gaps. Being a perpetual student the first thing I did was starting to review the literature. Mike Berger wrote an excellent book—*The Automobile in American History and Culture: A Reference Guide*—to my mind no one has really tackled this topic since then. Why is it important? Because it begins to answer the question I just asked: Who hasn't been written about? There are so many gaps with these designers and people who were in the industry, it's a very important place to start. This is actually my second copy, the first one fell apart I used it so much and had to go find another copy. By the way, it's out of print. When you start from that source, where are those gaps in the biographies, where are the executives who have not been written about? We've already mentioned Winton but there are other people that come to mind.

One of the things that came to mind was that oral history is a component of how we do our business. As a military historian, oral history was the backbone of what we did and do – interviews, interviews, and interviews. I will say this: For a graduate student at the masters or the doctoral levels or recent graduate this is fertile ground. There are people out there that need to be interviewed, they need to be talked to, we need interviews done in a structured and methodical way, not just how are you doing, what are you doing now, that's not how this needs to be approached. It needs to be an area I hope that those of you who are in the academic world will encourage your students to take this on. There are people out there in places you would not imagine, so I think that's one of the ways of coming at this. I heard Mark talk about this one person several times and Mark gets into the zone when he talks about Amos Northup. I had seen the name, but it just flitted by, but I have a great interest in art deco, art modern, and streamlining but I had never really made that connection with Northop in the greater context of that and once Mark started talking about that. Those are the types of connections. There are people like that out there and if you start digging and again and thank you, thank you Michael Berger. [Referencing and holding up Berger book] I started going back through this after a couple of years and I said "wait a minute" I see one book on so-and-so, why aren't there more? And I started going through the AHA list of dissertations and so-forth. It doesn't take long to go through the dissertations on automotive history. I think that's a great place to start so encourage your students to do that. This is, to be blunt, the need for the development of a historiography of those in industry, those who have done the design work. For instance, what about the fact that we now have teams who design these vehicles. We have corporate bodies, let's face it, we went from Daimler to Daimler-Chrysler and back to Daimler. How did it all happen and why? Has that been covered? What about on the automotive side, people have gotten richer, but what about those consequences that have occurred? Look at Fiat now coming back into the American market and on and on.

So there's a lot of room for work out there. Like I say, I had a list of perhaps fifty people, between Berger and other

sources, I said 'wow' I'd like to have more about this person or that person. So what I'm saying is that, in my opinion, a fertile ground.

We haven't even gotten to my own area that is basically motorsport. There are people who have not even been touched at all. There isn't even much even in motorsport publications about them, apart from so-and-so did 'this or that.' So this is another fertile area and we'll be happy to give you lots of challenges out there.

MODERATOR: Aaron, you're a museum curator. Tell us how we might best mine the resources of automotive history collections and archives held by museums and libraries. What do we need to know about gaining access to such collections?

AARON WARKENTIN: So I'll deal with this question in two parts. "How" and the "difficulty of access." As cultural repositories whether it's a museum or a library it is the idea or the belief that we hold these items in the public trust. So it's important to have a mindset that sometimes would admit that as a curator we struggle with. With that said we can gain access in several different ways: Formal and informal. Formal is for scholarship—literatures, journals, things of that nature which require a certain amount of in-depth review by a potential expert. Informal is what I do: I take that information out of the archive, that information you see on the floor, and I provide it to the guest who visits the museum or library so that they can receive nuggets out of that. Now that's where some of the difficulty comes in even for a curator and this is where I'll seque to the difficulty of access. I'm going to use our museum—Studebaker National Museum—as an archetype. We hold the corporate collection of Studebaker, granted its only one-fifth of that collection. Most of it was destroyed but it still requires a three-story structure with probably fifteen tons of materials anywhere from material dealing with correspondence to photography. Now Mr. Beckman, our archivist, has been employed or was an expert at the museum even before he arrived there for seventeen years and he will readily admit that, optimistically, he has accessed 17% of it. So our greatest difficulty has a non-profit specifically is the ability to have manpower resources, resources for access tools, all of this comes down to monetary resources and the resource of time. A good example is myself. Not only am I the curator but I also care for the auto collection and I also do educational programming and also assist in fund-raising. And that is true of Mr. Beckman as well, even as a full-time archivist, he is doing very much of the same things. And we rely on our very part-time but very studious volunteers in the archives to assist us. So to some extent it becomes difficult since we will have people come to visit us and they will say, "do you have this piece of information?" and we will honestly say "I'm sure we do and at some point we will find it." [laughter]. A perfect example and this actually turned out quite well in the long run, but one of our volunteers he happened to be looking through a box that was mislabeled and lo and behold he finds the Studebaker-Porsche contract file —something we've been for years looking for. Well, ironically—but maybe fortuitously—the Petersen Auto Museum contacts us for there most current exhibition on Porsche and we're saying "guess what, by sheer accident we have something for you." We want to get to the point though where we're not doing accidental discovery. That's what we desire and that's what we're pushing for. Once again it comes down to resources and access. So we work hard to explain to scholars who interact with us who say 'well you have to have that particular piece of information'. Again, it's like "I'm sure we do sir or madam. You can come down here and we can spend time with you but patience is required with non-profit cultural institutions that hold massive archives," and that's one of the great difficulties.

MODERATOR: I'll direct this question to Don Keefe. Don, how is the publications venue changing and how do those changes affect the work that automotive historians will be doing in the near future? And in the new world of online and print publication who edits and validates the accuracy of the history that we craft?

DON KEEFE: As someone who has one foot in the commercial end of things and the other in the club end of things, I can tell you that on the newsstands the situation is getting tougher and tougher and magazines are competing with one another and all too often they are also competing with more profitable uses of floor space and retail outlets. About four years ago, Source Interlink sort of collapsed and a bunch of titles were canceled as a result of that. One of the interesting things is that it did shutter, in some cases, a bunch of profitable but not profitable enough to be attractive when it came time to sell the entire deal. What it did is to offer the opportunity to folks like myself who had been either on staff or had been free-lancers to start magazines independently to kind of pick up the gap there. And its been a very interesting, often trying, nerve racking sort of deal trying to keep a commercial magazine going especially with a newsstand presence.

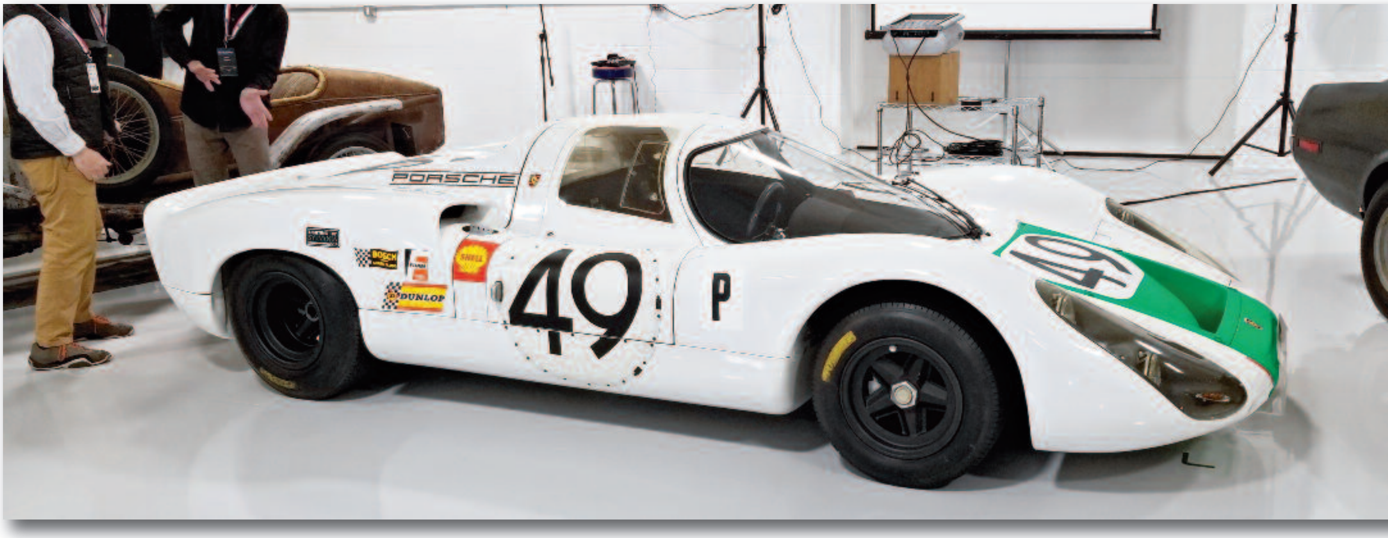
Our magazine, *Poncho Perfection* is a Pontiac-based publication. Its been particularly challenging getting the word out. Promotion has been the hardest part. Finding good people and really experienced experts has not been a problem. It's been easy. The hard part is paying freelance writers and print bills. Fortunately we have a few advertisers who help defray the cost. On the club side, what we need to see happen, I think long term, club publications will become the dominant venue for enthusiasts and for them to get their history. Aside from academics and the kind of things you do in journals club publications are going to have to at some point pick up the slack and they could do it with digital editions to save print costs and that sort of thing. But one of the things they need to do, they need to step-up, they need to spend the money, if needed, to actually to get the quality material in from the renowned experts in those fields. One of the biggest problems I've had as a club publication editor is telling people that

"we're not going to publish that." And if they're paying members of that organization then they usually get a little irate about that but you have to look at it in terms of the greater good, whether or not this article being submitted is actually going to further the cause as opposed to furthering the ego of the one person. And I've gotten in battles that have involved board directors and that sort of thing and I'm just say "look you hired me for my expertise and also my judgment. If I am telling you its not going in there's a very specific reason that has nothing to do with the guy's personality." So that's sort of a tightrope some of the time, but when it comes to club publications they need to spend the money and its tough having to raise dues or hold fund-raisers but if you're going to have quality sometimes you've got to buy it. That's the reality. I just recently took over the Corvair Society of America's publication the *Communique* and that's one area where I'm thrilled that there are so many enthusiastic, super knowledgeable members out there who can write, who can shoot photos, it's great. I get this stuff and its basically "drag and drop." That's wonderful and it's meeting the needs of the club's mission and its entertaining so that's a "win-win" as far as I'm concerned.

MODERATOR: Back to Don Capps. Don, how can we do automotive history so that it speaks to a broader audience over against the, often perceived, more restricted audience of academic automotive historians and "buff literature" aficionados?

DON CAPPS: I'm glad this is not a controversial question in any way shape or form.

Auto history is often looked upon in the hallowed groves of academe as the "poor boy" but I don't think it's anything like that. First of all, academics don't write about automotive history. There's a few unicorns out there in academic garb who actually have been inoculated against autophobia. "Buff" historians run the gamut. Some of them are really good historians. They just have not embraced the concept that footnotes are your friend [laughter here]. And I've tried to explain to a number of them that these footnotes are important. The good ones will integrate their



sources and where they got their stories. Sometimes, most times, they don't. One of the things I always keep in mind, and I deal with this constantly because I take rejection well, thank goodness, because when you try to put something in automotive history—God forbid you try to do something on motorsport history and culture—in a good academic journal I think it's an automatic—they must scan them—"thank you for playing come back when you have something more in line with what we do." In 1931 a guy named Carl Becker wrote an article—he gave a speech—before the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Minneapolis and the title of the speech was "Everyman His Own Historian." This is a copy of my copy (shows paper) from 1973 from the first class I took on research as a graduate student. I still have this. Why do I still have this? Because it reminds me of this impulse that people have to write about things they have an interest in, things they are passionate about, and they want to bring those stories to others. Let me back up here, there are stories here – Mark brings this up constantly—there are stories because we love cars. We're in that tiny little slice of people who are car people. But the broader audience can become interested if we bring those stories out. The buff historians and the academic historians live in the same world, they just don't realize it. Yes, I'm an academic historian. I am very critical about research and interpretation but then I will read a buff article that is critical and so well-done, written by a person who probably hasn't had a history class since high school that just makes my jaw drop because it's about something I never knew anything about or has crafted it so well that I go, "Wow," I need to think about this more. So we have perceptions and perceptions are very powerful but there is the perception that we really aren't on the same wave. I think we are and we're on similar points on that wave. We think that story telling is really what we do. If you take "history" and drop a couple of letters you have "story." One of the things I've pushed students and other people I deal with is that the automobile is critical. Steven Riess, in a book, *Sport in Industrial America—1850 to 1920*, spends an entire page out of 270 pages on automobiles and automotive sport. Three paragraphs and the conclusion is – despite the fact that racing was and is a significant sport especially in the 1920s—the real purpose of the automobile in sport was to take fans to the ballparks and golfers to the links. So automotive historians have a unique way to bring stories out. The automobile played a far more impactful role I think, but I really think the buff historian—and many of you here are buff historians—providing a great service to this area of history. But the academics need to understand as well. We need to understand that we need to broaden, we need to make more of an impact on how we craft so we get it into publication but we also need to break out the fact that we need academic publications to start accepting what we do. I mean the SAH's *Automotive History Review* that routinely takes articles on automotive history. Doh! I can show you the rejection slips and I think many of you can do the same thing. It doesn't matter how unique it is but all the things we've talked about here we can start to see where this is headed. We need to broaden ourselves, we need to bring the buffs and the academics together and say that we're all part of the same slice, that we really need the big stories for magazine articles and more monographs and move in the same direction.

MODERATOR: A follow-up question to Don Keefe now. What's the future of publishing in the established and respected "buff" literature like, for example, *Collectible Automobile* and *Hemmings Classic Car*, among others?

DON KEEFE: Well I'm generally an optimistic person and I'm optimistic about this area as well. Like what Don Capps had said earlier, we need to concentrate on good storytelling as opposed to what John Heitmann was saying about the regurgitating of facts. I love that term and use it a lot myself. As time goes on, it seems that attention spans get shorter and shorter and it's easy to lose a reader after only a few paragraphs and the strength that those magazines have is good story telling. I've written for both of them for twenty years or more and I can tell you that the best story tellers in the business reside at those titles. I love to tell the story of one of my favorite racing events—the 1963 Daytona 250 Challenge Cup. Now it was a race that was put on at Daytona during Speed Week, there were Ferraris, there were Mystery Motor Corvettes there and then this little 1963 Pontiac Tempest sitting there, siting above all of these other cars looking very, very out of place. And a lot of the Europeans were kind of snickering at the car saying "what's this doing here?" and, you know, the Corvette guys were saying "well we know this thing's fast, but we think we've got this covered." Well, as it turned out, the car had a rear-mounted transaxle, a 421 Super Duty Pontiac engine in it and it had enough rear traction to make a huge difference when it started raining. And where most of the guys were staying low and ended up in the puddles, driver Paul Goldsmith was up at the top, it was a longer trip around but he was going 145 miles an hour on nearly dry pavement so the big story there was, while it was a fast car, there was also a really bright buy behind the wheel who made it happen. And the stories, as the years go by, become this mythical thing and the truth of the matter is the second-place car was two full laps behind the Pontiac and it was A. J. Foyt. They had quite a rivalry and it was a fun thing. The best part of the whole story is that it grew in popularity and the internet is littered with all kinds of stories. I was actually able to track down Paul Goldsmith who was the driver; Ray Nichels was the crew chief who built the car with his staff and I was also able to interview one of the Corvette drivers who was down low, a guy named Art Huttinger. And that is when the story started to come together because it started to show the elements of the different views of what was happening in that couple of hours. So that was a really great project and something I'm very proud of. But it is that element of storytelling and also it is taking a particular story and fitting it into a larger context of what was going on at the time. I think this was just as important as the story itself, like when we talk about General Motors, who pulled out of racing in 1963. Well, that was kind of a silly thing to do, why would they do that? The other part of the story was that the Justice Department was looking to split General Motors up and spin off Chevrolet which had almost 30% of the domestic market itself. So there were some very real reasons for doing it, but very counterintuitive, like "what's going on with that?"

And a lot of times those stories aren't really touched upon. So I think that's the job of the modern magazine historian, the writer who is out there who looks at what has already been done and they're going to have to dig a little deeper and find out those nuances that have not ever been recorded before. And I was particularly happy to be able to do that because I interviewed Paul Goldsmith and Ray Nichels twice, once in 2004 and once in 2005 and those were the last interviews Ray Nichels did before he passed away. So he was a real character, just a great time, and I taped it so it's something we have. Time goes on and many people that I've interviewed in the early 2000's are gone now so we have that stuff recorded. Now I think its time to interview guys like Ed Wellburn, Tom Gale, and J Mayes while they are relatively young and fresh and have those stories to tell. There are a lot of stories out there that need to be told. Oh, one last thing, I just wanted to let everyone know that I'm delighted that there are so many young people here presenting papers and the with regard to the *Automotive History Review,* we were running out of material but thanks to many folks—a bunch of people have stepped up and offered up papers, so I'm delighted and just wanted to take a minute to say "thank you."

MODERATOR: A last question and one that perhaps is a bit more future directed, John, how can we push the boundaries of what has typically been considered traditional automotive history and what deserves our attention as historians of the motorcar experience and its historical context?

JOHN HEITMANN: Since Ed had given this question to me in advance I've framed my answer from my own disciplinary background. I am an historian of science, and during my lifetime we have created centers for history of chemistry, the history of physics, and electrical engineering. Of course there is great diversity for those involved in doing automobile history. Just on this panel—Ford, Studebaker, Pontiac, and Packard are all represented. There exists several incredible archival facilities, and yet we have no coordinating institution that can function to help us garner and point out all of this collected data, along with the prioritizing of oral history interviews. We think in terms of oral history as a guy walking around with a tape recorder or not a tape recorder anymore but one of these new devices. Oral history is much more complex than that. It is costly to do transcription. But I really think that what we need—and its sort of a blue sky idea—we do have the SAH website that tries to pull things together—that's Louis and he's done that well, but we don't have any really central kind of coordinating organization that essentially serves as some sort of a informational clearing house with a very strong supportive mission. Where do I find things? Well I can hunt and peck online, and I can ask around, but information as to source location is not that easy to find. Photographs, printed materials, and European literature can all be elusive. In sum, what we really need is a functional institution that at one time the National Automotive Collection in Detroit filled. We really need

a center for the history of the automobile. And it need not be a center that is physically garnering material like the Studebaker archives or other automotive archives but it's a center that knows where things are. And so if you are doing a study of Vincent Apple or one of those other collaborators or rivals to Kettering on the self-starter, where do you find relevant material? Where might you get some modest support for your work? Good history costs money and so much of it is defrayed by individual resources from people like yourselves in this audience. But what about modest money for travel and other expenses that research can incur? I would say then, somewhere blue sky and a realistic response to addressing current shortcomings it would be nice to have an organization that serves a coordinative and supportive functions and that might house some oral histories.

MODERATOR: [Acknowledging Louis Fourie, SAH's current president in the audience.] Louis, you have some final observations that you'd like to share? Note also that besides being SAH president, Louis also manages our website: autohistory.org

LOUIS FOURIE: Now to a certain extent what John has been saying, all he does is he challenges me. I want to be that repository that John has just been speaking about. I want our website to do that. Every publication we've ever printed is in the "Members Only" section and it only costs you $20 to access it. And the beauty of this material—as mentioned the *Automotive History Review*—is peer reviewed, but the other material, anybody who's written something, a few articles later, someone in the "Letters to the Editor" will challenge it, correct it, or get it right. So the accuracy is there. Now not only do we have all this material there, we also have indexes to it so you can find it. The other aspect of the website that is open to the public is we have a links page and it is my personal challenge to grab everything and anything that I can find that is of interest to automotive historians and put it on there. And it's my mission for the SAH to ensure that this becomes the most resourceful site you can find anywhere. So, you know, while to a large extent the discussion has been where can we get this information we are trying to record as much of this, but I'm going to make one last appeal: One of the things that is out there that we'd desperately wish to get access to are personal memoirs of people who might have passed away that are in family archives. We will gladly publish these materials so that it becomes available to the public. As you know it's a difficult exercise to get something published or even self-published, but we will gladly get that material out there from people who, for example, have been industry executives or people who have simply been in the industry. We currently have two articles, one from someone who has been within General Motors, the other from someone who had an early Ford dealership. And we'd desperately like to expand this area.

Where on the Web Is Dorothy Haener?

Recovering Dorothy Haener from Labor, Automotive and Women's Histories

Dorothy Haener (seated) of the United Auto Workers Women's Department (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

By Chris Lezotte, Ph.D.

Photography Courtesy of Wayne State University

Introducing Dorothy Haener

Dorothy Haener can easily be described as extraordinary. As the first woman elected to a negotiating committee in the United Auto Workers (UAW), and as an outspoken board member of the UAW Women's Department, Haener spent the majority of her union life determinedly pushing for the rights of her fellow female factory workers. Working within a highly competitive and historically male institution, Haener rose from local union ranks to International Representative. In the process, Haener helped to make her union, the UAW, "one of the nation's most progressive with respect to the interests and concerns of women" (Michigan Women's Hall of Fame). Membership in organizations including the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Women's Equality Action League, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Detroit Women's Forum, Michigan Democratic Women's Caucus, Michigan Task Force on Pay Equality, Older Women's League and the Women's Economic Club reveal Haener's lifelong involvement in civil and women's rights. Haener continued the battle for "equal participation and treatment of women in employment, education, including aggressive enforcement of Title VII" as a founding member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) (Cobble *Other* 185). A tireless advocate for employment equity, reproductive choice, children, the aged and the poor, Haener published numerous articles, gave testimony at state and federal levels, and served on countless task forces and committees throughout her lifetime. During her many years of commitment to labor and women's issues, Haener was actively involved with the National Commission for the Observance of International Women's Year, the Michigan ERAmerica Committee, the National Democratic Platform Committee, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Catholics for a Free Choice as well as the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, the Women and Infants' White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, and the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity. In her lifelong service to labor and women's organizations, Haener's objective was clear: to empower women to organize and fight for themselves. As she is oft quoted, many women have "become conditioned to not ever rocking the boat. You have to take a look at how to rock the boat. You don't want to spill yourself out if you can avoid it, but sometimes you have to rock the boat," (qtd. in O'Farrell 324).

Dorothy Haener (second from left). "Here on the steps of the Capitol is part of the UAW's delegation which spent two days in Washington, DC lobbying for passage of the administration's equal pay bill." (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

The World Wide Web, as a massive set of interlinked documents and data, provides easy and instant access to a vast and diverse amount of information. The internet provides organizations, institutions and private individuals with the opportunity to share resources,

National Organization for Women (NOW) Conference 1966. Left to right: Dorothy Haener, Sister Joel Read, Anne Hedgeman, Betty Friedan, unidentified, Richard Graham, unidentified (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

ideas and knowledge online. It would be expected, therefore, that Dorothy Haener would be well represented on internet websites devoted to women's history, labor history, automotive history, the United Auto Workers and the National Organization for Women. And certainly a woman of Haener's accomplishments would join those influential figures in labor, social activism and feminism whose lives and works are celebrated on individual websites. However, a Google online search reveals that information on Haener is difficult, if not impossible, to find. Search engines on the official site of the UAW—including the women's history section—the National Women's History Project, the University of Michigan-Dearborn and The Henry Ford Automobile in American Life and Society Project, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History Labor Unions and Women's History sections, the History of Unions in the United States website, the Library of Congress Resources for the Study of Women's History and Culture in the United States, the history collections of the Feminist Majority Foundation, as well as the Feminism and Women's Studies and Distinguished Women of Past and Present websites come up empty when Haener's name is entered. There is no individual entry for Dorothy Haener in Wikipedia; her name is included only as a Michigan Women's Hall of Fame honoree. Haener is only peripherally cited on the National Organization for Women website. The Walter Reuther Library of Labor and Union Affairs at Wayne State University possesses documents related to Dorothy Haener but does not provide online access to them. While there are books and publications that incorporate Haener's labor and feminist history in public and university libraries—including those by Brigid O'Farrell and Joyce Kornbluh, Tom Brokaw, Dorothy Sue Cobble and Nancy Gabin—the information is not accessible digitally. It is startling and rather unsettling that such a remarkable woman is so poorly represented in cyberspace.

Haener's complicated union and feminist histories offer some insight into her online absence. Haener's rapid rise in the UAW ranks, her conflicts with male unionists, her sometimes brusque manner and her allegiance to the professional middle-class women of NOW often put her at odds with her labor sisters. And Haener's working-class upbringing, her dedication to improve conditions for all—not just female—factory workers, her socialist feminist leanings and her steadfast union loyalty often set her apart from the elite women of the feminist movement. A summary of Haener's life, work and activism, therefore, will not only suggest an explanation for her near invisibility in the digital archives, but will also make clear the necessity to make a place for Haener in online labor, automotive and women's histories.

Working Woman

Dorothy Haener was born in Detroit in December 1917, but moved with her family to rural New Boston outside the city limits at three years of age. As the sixth of seven children, Haener grew up with a strong work ethic and was expected to contribute to the family income as soon as she was able. Although Haener respected hard work, she also valued education, and became the first in her family to earn a high school diploma. When her parents separated during her sophomore year, Haener worked for neighboring farms after school and summers to help with family finances. The work, Haener noted, was "tiresome and monotonous and difficult and hot," (*Boat* 160). Although she understood her financial contributions were crucial to keep the family afloat, particularly during the Depression, as Haener remarked, "I felt there had to be an easier way to make a living" (*Boat* 160).

During the mid-1930s, the UAW began organizing men and women in the automobile industry. Haener's brothers worked at the Ford Motor Company; Ternstedt, a General Motors parts plant, employed one of Haener's sisters. An early activist, Haener's older sister participated in the 1937 Ternstedt sit down strike by bringing sandwiches to striking workers; her actions no doubt served as inspiration for her younger sibling's future organizing activities. As for the Haener brothers, they woke each morning at 12:30 AM to travel 20 miles to the Ford Rouge plant and stand in line in the cold, hoping for a day's work. Sometimes they were allowed to put in a job application, but as often as not they were told to leave. As Haener asserted, "It was very arbitrary and very inhuman. How could you grow up in that time and not be sympathetic to unions?" (*Boat* 161).

After high school, Haener left farm work and gained employment as a spot welder at Wayne Wire Cloth Company. However, much like her brothers, she was forced to stand in line each day to put in an application to get hired. Eventually Haener was put on the day shift; however, the conditions were difficult at best. Meals were taken near the machines without safety precautions, and rest periods were few and far between, which was especially problematic for women workers during menstrual periods. Haener received less money than male welders and was often subject to sexual harassment by male coworkers and foremen. As she experienced women's unequal and often uncomfortable treatment in the workplace, Haener began to speak to fellow employees about the advantages a union would bring. When Haener's union organization efforts were revealed to management, she was promptly dismissed.

When the USA entered World War II in 1941, many factories converted to defense production. Haener was one of the thousands of women hired to replace male workers who joined the military. However, her motivation was not

Dorothy Haener (top row, second from right). Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) demonstration by Florida National Organization for Women (NOW) supporters, April 12, 1975 (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

only patriotism; as Haener said, "what people forget now is that people went to work because they wanted to live" (qtd. in Brokaw 96). Haener became employed at the Willow Run Ford Bomber Plant as a department clerk, which was a union job. However, she aspired for a job with more pay, and complained to her brothers about it. They convinced her to petition the UAW to file a grievance on her behalf. The union won the grievance, and Haener became an inspector in the small parts department, a job that required skill and carried a considerable amount of responsibility. Always looking to further her education, Haener took courses at the Ford Trade School to gain proficiency in her new position. This wartime work experience provided Haener with the opportunity to understand just how the union could work for her and other female employees. As she stated, "I would never have taken the initial step to move on to doing inspection work if the union hadn't been there" (*Boat* 165). Haener also began to enjoy the freedom good wages awarded her. As she stated, "By the time the war ended, I was too independent to get married" (qtd. in Cobble *Other* 43).

At the conclusion of World War II, the Ford bomber plant was sold to Kaiser-Frazer and retooled for automobile production. Haener, like the majority of women workers, was laid off, their jobs filled by returning servicemen. As the plant was still in use, and her brothers remained employed, Haener believed she would be called back. Her assumption was incorrect. The women who were rehired worked the sewing machines or small assembly jobs, nonunion positions Haener had not held previously. Kaiser-Frazer refused to honor a Local 50 agreement to give hiring preferences to former bomber plant workers if those workers were female. As US labor history scholar Nancy Gabin notes, "Women's rehire rights were most conspicuously violated" (246). Haener exclaimed, "most women didn't believe we were going to get shafted the way we did. At least I didn't" (*Boat* 167). The only employment Haener was able to secure was toy factory piecework for half the pay. Haener continued to apply at Kaiser-Frazer and was eventually hired as a department clerk. Her hire was not based on preferential hiring rights, however, as clerical workers were not organized in the union. For that reason, the job paid considerably less than union jobs at the plant. As Haener noted, "we quickly figured the reason we were so low paid was that we didn't have a union" (*Boat* 168).

Union Activist

Taken aback by the unwillingness of male unionists to defend the rights of women workers, Haener pushed for more union involvement in women's employment conditions. In 1944 the United Auto Workers established a Women's Bureau to protect the interests of women workers after the war. On the local level, Haener put pressure on management to call back the Local 50 women laid off at the war's end. Haener "made a big ruckus about it," using the union structure to help many Local 50 women get back their jobs (*Boat* 171). She used her experience in union negotiations to press for her own preferential hiring rights as well. Always aspiring for a better position, Haener enrolled in courses for employment in statistical quality control. Haener received the promotion, and at the time, was the only woman working in the very high-paying classification. As she remarked, "I never would have got the job, however, if I hadn't understood how a union functions" (*Boat* 171). Haener's activism and service in a number of elected and appointed positions – member of the local's collective bargaining committee and delegate to the union's constitutional convention - provided her with the knowledge and experience to improve conditions and opportunities for herself and for other female employees. From the reconversion experience, Gabin writes, women leaders such as Haener gained "a clearer understanding of the arbitrary and discriminatory character of the sexual division of labor" (237).

In 1944, female UAW membership had increased from seven percent in 1939 to 28 percent. The establishment of the Women's Bureau reflected the newly enlarged role and influence of women in the autoworker's union. Gabin notes that when reconversion to peacetime production threatened to obliterate women's gains during the war, the Women's Bureau countered by integrating issues of concern into the UAW's agenda and establishing a presence for women in the union leadership and international hierarchy. As Gabin argues, "the mobilization of the women's network was one of its most important accomplishments, both because it increased the visibility of women in the UAW and because it provided a resource for collective action after reconversion" (237).

It was during this time that Haener began to organize women-only meetings; she discovered many female employees were reluctant to speak or express a grievance in the company of men. As Haener recalled, "They would call me up at home and say how desperate they were for a job, which completely put to rest this concept that women didn't want the jobs" (*Boat* 170). Haener urged fellow women workers to use the power of the union to access better jobs and higher pay. She understood that mobilizing union women would increase their visibility and influence. In the male-dominated auto industry, women's groups often shielded women workers from criticism while bolstering confidence to assert themselves. In many ways these all-women groups were the predecessors of the consciousness raising gatherings of the 1960s women's movement. As feminist historian Linda Gordon asserts, while some consider consciousness raising as a means of preparing for activism, "consciousness raising was activism." In fact, many of the skills and strategies Haener developed through union experience became valuable tools in her later involvement with feminist organizations.

Motivated by anger at the demotion from parts inspector to clerk, and by the wage gap between union and nonunion employees, Haener organized the office workers and engineers. She was elected to the union committee and negotiated the first office and engineering union contract. In order to continue fighting for her fellow workers, Haener aspired to run for a position on the powerful Local 142 bargaining committee. However, as she discovered, "I had to fight the men in my own local to be put on the slate; the men felt it was just not a spot for women" (*Boat* 169). Haener's campaign to return women to the jobs held during the war incensed male unionists, who had demanded that Kaiser-Frazer recall former Ford employees to "male" jobs rather than keep the women on. To deter her from running for the elite bargaining committee, the men often questioned Haener's morality and spread rumors about her personal life. After speaking with UAW legal counsel, Haener concluded her best option was to ignore the harassment and keep on fighting. As she stated, "You had to figure out some way to deal with it and forget about it" (*Boat* 169). As Brokaw notes, the larger lesson for Haener during the reconversion process, "was that women would have to go through those kinds of experiences if they wanted an active role in the union movement"

Dorothy Haener (left) at International Women's Year dinner, August 15, 1975 (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

(98). Haener's persistence and determination eventually paid off. In 1946 she became the first woman to serve on the Local 142 bargaining committee, wherein she helped negotiate the first contract as well as a plant-wide seniority list.

Haener's labor activism and work on behalf of women workers caught the attention of UAW president Walter Reuther. In 1951, Reuther issued an administrative letter on sex discrimination to all UAW members, an action historian Linda Housch Kwanza Collins describes as "a landmark in unionism" (72). Reuther had also brought Haener into the national headquarters as an organizer of engineering and office staffs around the country; in 1952, Haener was named an international representative. As Brokaw writes, at headquarters Haener was "an important force in raising the place of women within the UAW at every level" (98). In 1955, Haener's organizing efforts and activism were rewarded; the UAW Women's Bureau became the separate UAW Women's Department, which focused exclusively on women's employment issues. Haener's close friend, Caroline Davis, was seated as director; Haener served on the original committee. Together Haener and Davis encouraged women workers to increase their participation in the union through individual and collective action. As Housch Kwanza Collins notes, the early efforts of the Women's Department in fighting for the equal rights of women "helped to lay the foundation, develop the research, and provide the 'womanpower' resources for the emerging civil rights and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s" (73).

In 1961 Caroline Davis worked on President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women and was appointed to the Committee on Private Employment. Haener worked with her, performing staff work and attending meetings in Davis's absence. The commission refused to take the position that the word "sex" should be included in the Civil Rights Act; Davis was the only committee member to issue a dissenting report. Davis and Haener were also the only individuals in attendance to vehemently challenge protective labor laws they believed discriminated against women.

The majority of labor unions felt that protective legislation laws should not be abolished, but rather be extended to include men. Women in the auto industry, however, were often in direct competition with men and experienced the disadvantages in pay and jobs caused by protective legislation. The UAW Women's Department vigorously opposed such laws. As noted by O'Farrell and Kornbluh, "they thought the laws that limited the number of hours a woman could work or the weight she could lift were used to bar women from high-paying skilled jobs rather than to protect them from onerous working conditions" (176). Haener never forgot the effect of these laws on herself and her fellow female auto workers and fought long and hard for their elimination. As philosophy scholar Carol Kates notes, "the fact that progressive laws were also used to take higher paying jobs away from women after the war was not lost on the women who were affected" (37). Haener was convinced that laws based on "real biological factors" such as separate rest rooms, pregnancy and maternity leave, would be protected under Title VII if the term "sex" were included.

Despite the opposition of their labor sisters, Haener and Davis took the side of the professional women from the state commissions and testified at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission hearings, urging the EEOC to take a position *against* discriminatory sex-based laws. Reuther also made a crucial intervention, at Davis and Haener's request, to instruct the EEOC that the UAW Women's Department "wanted Title VII strictly enforced, even against protective laws" (Kates 41). With strong support from the UAW, the Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963, which required equal pay for equal work. Due to the determination and influence of individuals such as Haener and Davis, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights act was written to prohibit discrimination not only based on race, color, religion and natural origin, but also on sex.

National Organization for Women

In 1966, Haener and Davis were in Washington as representatives of the Michigan Commission on the Status of Women. There was considerable debate over whether Title VII was being adequately enforced; it was the general consensus that equality for women was not becoming a reality. Betty Friedan, who had gained notoriety as author of *The Feminine Mystique,* asked a number of women in attendance to meet in her hotel room to form a woman's organization. It was to be what Haener described as "an NAACP for women," a concept she had first heard discussed by Dollie Lowther Robinson, an African American union worker from Milwaukee. As Haener explained, "I was among the ten or eleven people who sat in a hotel room with Betty Friedan and put together the concept of the National Organization for Women" (*Boat* 179). Kates argues that NOW was formed "primarily to ensure that Title VII would be interpreted and enforced in a way which would achieve the purpose of the Kennedy Commission: 'equal partnership with men'" (42). Caroline Davis became NOW's first Secretary-Treasurer, and Haener was on the executive board, heading the committee on employment. The UAW provided much of the administrative support during the first year, including copy and mimeograph machines and most important, its WATS (toll-free) phone line. Haener, in fact, handled most of NOW's membership and finances out of her Detroit UAW office.

At the second meeting, NOW went on record supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. The UAW position at that time was opposed to the ERA. As union members, Haener and Davis asked NOW to postpone the decision on the issue until they could work to change the UAW opinion. When NOW went ahead with its public support of the ERA, Haener and Davis resigned. As Haener remarked, "we couldn't support a group that was contrary to our UAW policy position" (*Boat* 180). However, despite their resignation from NOW, Haener and Davis remained committed to the ERA. From 1964 to 1970, Kates notes, Haener and Davis organized regional meetings with UAW women "to build support for the ERA and for a feminist perspective on labor issues" (42). Haener's work was eventually rewarded, as the UAW became the first union to endorse the ERA. Others eventually followed suit. As feminist historians Eileen Boris and Annelise Orleck argue, "UAW women were in the forefront of shifting labor's stand toward the ERA." Once the Equal Rights Amendment gained UAW approval, Haener resumed her NOW membership. In 1975, Haener attended the United Nations International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City as a speaker and delegate; two years later she was honored by President Carter for her contributions. In 1976, Haener joined other women in labor and NOW as part of the National Women's Task Force on Women and Employment, to discuss and promote an industry-wide implementation of "comparable worth," a concept with origins in Haener's early union activism. The group's objective, writes feminist historian Dorothy Sue Cobble, was the "elimination of artificially depressed wage rates from traditional female jobs, and the attainment of equal pay for work of equal value" (*Other* 220).

After the Equal Pay Act and Title VII became law, Haener took it upon herself to make certain employment laws were enforced in the UAW and the automobile industry. She also continued her work with women's groups, to recruit women into trades without good female representation and to encourage women to use the union to assure their needs were met. Haener also became active in the Democratic party; she served on the Party Platform Committee and became a delegate in 1976. In 1977, Haener visited Israel, Sweden and France as part of the Coalition of Labor Union Women child care study seminar. Throughout her life, Haener remained a strong advocate for women and for equal participation in the union and the workplace.

Haener retired from the UAW in 1982. However, she continued to participate in a number of political, civic and church organizations to promote women's and human rights. Haener served eight years on the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and was appointed to the National Advisory Council of UAW Retired Workers. She served as Commissioner of the International Women's Year, co-chair of the Michigan Task Force on Sexual Harassment in the Workplace and was a founding member of the National Women's Political Caucus. In 1983, Haener became one of the first women inducted into the Michigan Women's Hall of Fame, along with Rosa Parks and Congresswoman Martha Griffiths. And in 1994 she could be found actively lobbying on health reform in Washington DC.

Dorothy Haener died in 2001. What began as a personal battle for an honest wage evolved into a life-long fight for the rights of working women in the union and the work-place. Haener's experience in the UAW gave her a unique understanding of how organizations can work to improve the lives of women in industry and in all walks of life. As Kates asserts, Haener's history suggests "the potential power which might be wielded by a labor movement mobilizing in militant support of women's issues" (43). Many of the strategies Haener called upon as a union activist became part of the NOW playbook and empowered feminist leaders in the workforce. The causes she and her fellow labor sisters championed - equal pay for equal work, pay equity (equal pay for jobs of comparable worth), and provision of benefits such as child care and family leave - would be taken up by feminists in future generations (Kates 43). Haener's greatest legacy, however, was her ability to inspire women to take matters into their own hands. As Haener said shortly before her death, "I am hopeful about women in the labor movement and in the UAW. I've taken a lot of guff and it's been rough at times, but I'm beginning to see results" (*Boat* 183).

Missing from Labor History

As this brief summary of her family and labor history makes clear, Dorothy Haener was first and foremost a member of the working class. Born in Detroit and raised in a farm outside the city limits, Haener rose through the ranks of the UAW through toughness, determination and by turning the other cheek. Haener negotiated the first UAW office and engineering contract to assure that jobs traditionally designated as "female" became unionized, assuring higher wages and union protection for women workers. Haener's goal as a union activist was to work for the rights of factory women and to empower women workers to use the union to act on their behalf. As an original member of the UAW Women's Bureau, Haener's objective was to educate male union members "as to the right of women to work and hold a job" (Gabin 239). When the women of Local 50 were laid off after the end of World War II, Haener put pressure on UAW management to call them back. As Kates writes, "Haener was able to use her position in the hiring office and her knowledge of the contractual seniority rights to help women return to jobs in the shop" (37). Throughout her tenure in the union, Haener became a critical force in raising the rank of women within the UAW at every level, butting heads with male rank and file union members and officers along the way. As UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone remarked, "Dorothy was actively outspoken and put pressure where pressure needed to be placed" (qtd. in Brokaw 98).

Given the masculine nature of both the automobile industry and labor unions, coupled with the reluctance of male officials to recognize women in positions of authority, it is not surprising that individuals such as Dorothy Haener receive little mention in automobile and labor union histories. Cobble argues, "Labor history as a field takes as its primary focus from male workers and their activities in the public wage-earning arena" (*Other* 25). The efforts of working-class women such as Haener to achieve gender justice through equal pay and participation are most often regulated to the historical margins, if they appear at all" (Cobble *Class* 25). While women grew to have a presence in the union, they were still expected to put their own needs aside for those of men. As Gabin suggests, "the unwillingness of male unionists to defend the interests of women workers dismayed Haener, but also inspired her to greater activity" (246). Haener became known for making "a big ruckus" when it came to fighting for women's equal involvement in both the workplace and the union, an attitude that did not endear her to male union officials (*Boat* 171). The exception was Walter Reuther, who admired Haener's skills, leadership ability and gumption, so much so that he brought Haener into the UAW national headquarters as an organizer of engineering and office staffs around the country.

It would be expected, therefore, that the Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs website would provide information on Dorothy Haener. However, direct access to the Dorothy Haener collection is not available online; the library must be contacted directly for records. Other labor history websites do not refer to Haener at all. Gender and the Automobile in the United States, part of The Henry Ford Automobile in American Life and Society Project website, explores the influence of female UAW membership on the auto industry; however, women in leadership positions, including Haener, are not singled out by name. Male labor leaders, such as Philip Randolph, Frank Bohn, Alfred Granakis and, of course, Walter Reuther, are often cited. While Caroline Davis's biography is included as a notable woman on the UAW site, Haener, one of the earliest champions of women's rights within the automotive union, is not mentioned. The invisibility of labor women such as Haener from historical websites mirrors their absence from labor history scholarship in general. As Cobble suggests, women are not a part of postwar labor history due to "longstanding gender biases that are still operative among many historians of labor" (*Class* 25).

Invisible in Women's History

While gender bias may be responsible for the omission of women from labor history sites, it does not explain why women such as Dorothy Haener are missing from the history of feminism. On the Feminism and Women's Studies website, there is no information on Haener available. Labor women are noticeably absent from the National Women's History Project website as well. The postwar labor leaders honored on the site's Biography Center are primarily Latina activists such as Dolores Huerta who worked diligently for the rights of women of color in agricultural industries. Esther Peterson is the only labor leader featured that worked primarily in urban industry. In fact, there are a number of websites devoted exclusively to Peterson, who became the AFL- CIO's first woman congressional lobbyist. While both Peterson and Haener sought to change how jobs held by the majority of women were valued and paid, Peterson differed from Haener in one notable respect. Peterson was from the elite middle-class.

As Cobble suggests, "the history of feminism is largely the story of the efforts of white middle-class and elite women" (*Class* 25). The earliest feminists were college educated and hailed from the east or west coasts. The majority of labor feminists, Cobble notes, came "up from the shop floor" and were from working-class or poor backgrounds in America's heartland (28). As Gordon argues, labor feminists such as Haener and Davis "were as important in establishing NOW as were liberal women." Haener, who worked her way through the ranks of the union, was most decidedly working-class. While she and fellow UAW member Caroline Davis were part of the National Organization for Women's founding committee, their goal was never to solve the problems of middle-class women, but rather to seek "a gender equality that would meet the needs of the majority of women, not just the few" (Cobble *Class* 25). One of Haener's most important positions - which reflected her dedication to and identification with the working class - was chair of NOW's Task Force on Poverty, which, journalist and historian Ruth Rosen asserts, "never received as much attention as NOW's efforts to break the 'glass ceiling' for professional women" (69). And although the bargaining and negotiating skills Haener and Davis brought to the table were certainly valuable to the burgeoning feminist movement, one of the central attractions of the union activists in NOW's organizational phase was the practical resources women in industry could provide. As Rosen writes, Haener and Davis "gave NOW a valuable 'free ride' by allowing it to use the UAW's facilities – especially its precious WATS phone line - as well as copy and mimeograph machines" (80).

Although Haener had a lifelong commitment to women's issues, her primary allegiance remained to the union. Haener understood through her own experience that the chief mechanism for implementing equal rights for factory women was union support. As noted earlier, union loyalty caused Haener to temporarily break ties with NOW when the organization went on record supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, despite Haener's request to hold off until the ERA received UAW approval. Although Haener eventually resumed NOW membership, the organization's leaders no doubt felt betrayed by Davis and Haener's defection, not to mention their dismay over the loss of the clerical work performed by the UAW Women's Department.

Certainly Haener's working-class sensibilities and union loyalties are somewhat responsible for her absence on feminist and women's history online locations. Yet Haener's involvement with NOW may also explain her invisibility on sites devoted to labor women. As noted earlier, one of the core tenets of postwar labor feminism was that industry women need to be covered by protective legislation. However, as Cobble writes, "In a move that outraged many of their labor sisters, UAW feminists Davis and Haener […] testified at the EEOC hearings and urged the EEOC to move decisively *against* discriminatory sex-based laws" (*Other* 184). Employed in an industry where women competed directly with men, Haener believed protective legislation was often used to prevent women from the better positions and higher wages associated with male jobs. As Haener asserted, "The laws which truly protect ought to apply to both men and women" (Steffen). Haener's objection to protective legislation was also personal; as Cobble suggests, "Haener blamed the loss of her wartime inspector job on the hour laws" (*Other* 186).

Haener's association with labor distanced her from middle-class feminists. As she remarked, "What people forget now is that people went to work because they wanted to live. Years later, when the women's movement came along, I heard people talking about work that was 'meaningful' to them. I consider myself lucky that eventually I would have work that was meaningful, but I was always willing to work for just wages" (qtd. in Brokaw 96). Yet her involvement in the women's movement and her siding with professional women over protective legislation certainly created a rift between Haener and her longtime labor allies. Haener spent the majority of her union life tirelessly pushing for the rights of her fellow female factory workers, an accomplishment that should be recognized by scholars of labor history, women's history, and feminism alike. Yet Haener's working-class sensibilities, independence and her proclivity to "make a ruckus" have no doubt contributed to her exclusion from important online labor, automotive and feminist locations.

Recovering Dorothy Haener

Eleven years ago, while a master's student at Eastern Michigan University, I attempted to remedy Haener's internet invisibility by creating an online presence for her through EMU Web hosting. While the site remained online throughout my course of graduate work, and caught the attention of Haener's niece, it has since disappeared. The current absence of online information regarding Dorothy Haener once again threatens to obscure her from women's, automotive and labor histories. However, since the time of that initial effort, new online tools and resources have been developed, offering the opportunity to create and distribute fresh content to a wider and more engaged audience. Perhaps now is the time to pursue alternative avenues to introduce Haener to the online educational community and the world at large.

The most obvious and effective means of creating an online resource for Haener is to establish an individual Wikipedia page. As Anderson, Hitlin, and Atkinson of the Pew Research Center report, with over 27 million registered users, who access the site at a rate of 18 billion page views per month, Wikipedia remains one of the most visited online locations in the world. Wikipedia is the top online location for general information; a recent study ranked it first for nearly 99 percent of information queries (Ramachandran). While in its infancy Wikipedia was considered an unreliable information resource – particularly by scholars and journalists – the development, reconsideration and redrafting of the site's open editing system has led to its reputation as trustworthy, reputable, and verifiable. As communication scholar Andrew Lih writes, "Because wikis provide the ability to track the status of articles, review individual changes, and discuss issues, they function as social software, acting to foster communication and collaboration with other users" (4). The collaborative nature of Wikipedia, which allows thousands of visitors to create, evaluate and revise content, not only assures that articles are more likely to be factual, attribute sources and maintain balance, but also creates the potential to broaden its audience. Writing about Wikipedia as a resource for scholars, educational technology professor Erik Black suggests that publishing in an open participatory milieu invites involvement from those outside traditional academic environments. As Black notes, "working in a free, open environment, scholars can increase their audience exponentially" (83).

Dorothy Haener at the 1976 Democratic National Convention (Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University).

Creating a Wikipedia page for Dorothy Haener would also begin to address the popular site's longstanding gender bias. As an information resource, Wikipedia mim-

Dorothy Haener portrait taken at the American Cultural Center, Osaka, Japan on September 19, 1964.

ics the gender dynamics of its reference work and technical ancestors. Consequently, women constitute only a tiny fraction (1.1 percent) of Wikipedia participants (Anderson et al). Writing about Wikipedia's failure to create a welcoming environment for women, Joseph Reagle and Lauren Rhue note, "despite a voluntary, egalitarian, and meritocratic ethos […] women's representation as contributors and subjects remain slight" (1138). Not only are Wikipedia contributors overwhelmingly male, but the subjects of Wikipedia biographies are as well, suggesting an inveterate male slant. Therefore, the development and submission of a Wikipedia article about a prominent yet unfamiliar female subject, authored by a female contributor (me), would perhaps begin to remedy the resource's pervasive gender imbalance.

Secondly, Haener's online absence can be addressed by petitioning feminist and labor history sites for her inclusion. As Cobble has argued, labor feminists served as an important bridge between the early twentieth-century suffragists and the second-wave feminists of the modern women's movement. Many of the causes these Depression era women championed – unfair sex discrimination, just compensation for their waged labor, and the rights of their families and communities - were taken up by young women of the next generation. Writes Cobble, "the labor feminists, who led the other women's movement in the decades following the depression, articulated their own distinct and evolving vision of women's equality" (*Labor*). Remarkable and unique as both a labor and second-wave feminist – a UAW leader and founding NOW member - Haener was an integral and essential part of feminism's twentieth-century evolution. Haener's significant role in both the "other" and second-wave women's movements, therefore, is a compelling argument for her inclusion in any and all online locations devoted to women's and labor histories, which includes but is not limited to the National Organization for Women, the United Auto Workers, the Women in Labor History Project and the National Women's Hall of Fame.

In 1987, the National Women's History Project (NWHP) petitioned Congress to designate March as Women's History Month. Originally developed in a small California school as a celebration of women's contributions to history, culture and society, it has grown to become an important educational event in places of learning throughout the United States. Each year, a theme is selected by NWHP to aid educational institutions in developing student programs, curricula and seminars. Past themes have included "Reclaiming the Past, Rewriting the Future," "Celebrating Women in Science, Technology, and Mathematics," and most recently "Nevertheless She Persisted: Honoring Women Who Fight All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." While women in labor have been incorporated into past celebrations, auto industry and union women have not been included. As the National Women's History Project uses the iconic Rosie the Riveter figure - originally believed to be a Detroit area factory worker – in its promotional materials, it only seems fitting to acknowledge a female labor icon as a noteworthy contributor to women's history. Thus, I believe it is time to bring attention to automotive union women such as Dorothy Haener, who not only worked within a historically masculine system to speak out against disparate wage scales and sex discrimination, but who also had a profound influence on the founding philosophy of the second-wave women's movement (Hanson 92). Advocating for Haener's inclusion as a Women's History Month honoree, therefore, has the potential to increase her online visibility exponentially and recognize her as a woman of considerable influence and accomplishments.

Women's History Month serves as an important educational tool for bringing attention to women who have made a significant impact in society, culture, education and the workplace. There are a plethora of learning sites that focus specifically on these women, including the Children's Encyclopedia of Women, Scholastic's Women Who Changed History and the National Education Association. Campaigning for Haener's recognition on these sites would not only make young students award of the labor leader's many accomplishments, but could inspire further investigation and research from budding young scholars.

The internet includes a number of comprehensive sites that inventory resources for the investigation of women's and labor histories. The National Museum of American History, the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, the Library of Congress Gateway to Resources for the Study of Women's History and Culture in the United States, the National Archives, the Women's History Collections at the Feminist Majority Foundation, and the NYU Libraries Published Primary Sources in Women's Labor History represent just a few of the online wellsprings for further research. Although extensive online searching revealed just two collections of primary documents relating to Haener – the Walter P. Reuther Library and the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum – the compendiums are not listed on the aforementioned sites. Campaigning for Haener's inclusion on these online resource guides, as well as seeking assistance in uncovering other relevant documents, would aid in the project of recovering Haener as an important figure in both women's and labor history.

And finally, publishing this article in *Automotive History Review* would likely introduce a new audience to Dorothy Haener. The readers of this publication – Society of Automotive Historians (SAH) members and auto aficionados from all over the globe – are a group of dedicated and enthusiastic individuals who are known to describe themselves as "passionate about researching and recording automotive history" (Society of Automotive Historians). Although traditionally the group has been composed primarily of men, recent efforts have resulted in a more diverse membership. An article focused on Haener, therefore, will not only bring attention to women's participation and accomplishments in automotive and labor histories, but may also inspire new lines of research among the journal's readers and contributors. In addition, as the online version of the article has the potential to be searchable, it will provide an added resource for inquiries into women's and labor histories in general and Haener in particular.

Dorothy Haener was a significant figure and important influence in both the United Auto Workers and National Organization for Women. She persevered against great odds to fight for the rights of working women on the factory floor and in the workplace at large. Although through her efforts, the UAW became one of the country's most progressive unions with respect to the interests and concerns of women, Haener's main objective was always to inspire women to fight for themselves. As she remarked in a 1972 interview, "our primary area of operation involves getting more women active in the union itself and doing an education job concerning women's rights and opportunities. We use local and regional conferences, but a lot of our work is done through women's committees, where women can talk about some of their problems, try to reach solutions, and gain a lot of insight" (*Conversation* 109).

However, because Haener does not have a strong online presence, there is a considerable risk that her significant accomplishments and contributions to labor and women's rights will be forgotten. Therefore, I have made it my mission – borrowing Haener's words – to "rock the boat." It is my hope that by bringing awareness to Haener's lifetime of work on behalf of women, as well as making a concerted effort on my own part to incorporate her into existing online locations, it will be possible to "www" Dorothy Haener into women's, automotive and labor histories.

Works Cited

Anderson, Monica, Paul Hitlin and Michelle Atkinson. "Wikipedia at 15: Millions of Readers in Scores of Languages." *Pew Research Center*. 14 Jan 2016. 16 July 2018. <www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/01/14/wikipedia-at-15/>

Black, Erik W. "Wikipedia and Academic Peer Review: Wikipedia as a Recognised Medium for Scholarly Publication?" *Online Information Review* 32.1 (2008): 73-88.

Boris, Eileen and Annelise Orleck. "Feminism and the Labor Movement: A Century of Collaboration and Conflict." New

Labor Forum January 2011. 18 July 2018. < http://newlaborforum.cuny.edu/2011/01/03/feminism-and-the-labor-movement-a-century-of-collaboration-and-conflict/>

Brokaw, Tom. *The Greatest Generation*. New York: Random House, 1998.

Cobble, Dorothy Sue. "The Labor Origins of the Next Women's Movement." *New Politics* 10.3 (2005): n. pag.
—- *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
—- "When Feminism Had Class." *What's Class Got to Do With It? American Society in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Michael Zweig. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. 23-34.

Gabin, Nancy Felice. "Wins and Losses: The UAW Women's Bureau after World War II, 1945 – 1950." *To Toil the Livelong Day: America's Women at Work, 1780 - 1980*. Ed. Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987. 233-249.

Gordon, Linda. "Socialist Feminism: The Legacy of the 'Second Wave'." *The New Labor Forum: A Journal of Ideas, Analysis, and Debate*. September 2013. 8 July 2018. <newlaborforum.cuny.edu/2013/09/30/socialist-feminism-the-legacy-of-the-second-wave/>

Haener, Dorothy. "Sometimes You Have to Rock the Boat" in *Rocking the Boat: Union Women's Voices, 1915 – 1975*. Ed. Brigid O'Farrell and Joyce Kornbluh. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996. 159-183.
—- "The Working Woman: Can Counselors Take the Heat?" *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 51.3 (Oct 1972): 109-113.

Hanson, Joyce A. "Media Review: Feminism During the 'Doldrums.'" *Labor History* 41.1 (2000): 91-92.

Housch Kwanza Collins, Linda. "'To Hell with You, Charlie': The UAW has a Long History of Confronting Sexual Harassment." *Labor Research Review* 1.20 (1993): 71-77.

Kates, Carol. "Working Class Feminism and Feminism Unions: Title VII, the UAW and NOW." *Labor Studies Journal* 14.2 January 1989: 28-45.

Lih, Andrew. "Wikipedia as Participatory Journalism: Reliable Sources? Metrics for Evaluating Collaborative Media as a News Resource." Paper for 5th International Symposium on Online Journalism. University of Texas at Austin. 16-17 April 2001. 1-31.

The Michigan Women's Historical Center and Hall of Fame. n.d. 16 Jul 2018. < www.michiganwomenshalloffame.org/Images/Haener,%20Dorothy.pdf>

O'Farrell, Brigid and Joyce L. Kornbluh, Ed. *Rocking the Boat: Union Women's Voices, 1915-1975*. Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

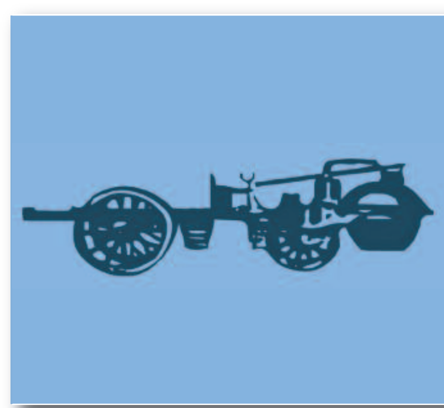
Ramachandran, Kavitha. "Reason Behind Wikipedia Ranking is High in Google Search." *TechDigi*. 23 Feb 2018. 16 Feb 2018. < techdigi.org/2018/02/23/reason-behind-wikipedia-ranking-high-google-search/>

Reagle, Joseph and Lauren Rhue. "Gender Bias in Wikipedia and Britannica." *International Journal of Communications* 5 (2001): 1138-1158.

Rosen, Ruth. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*._New York: Viking, 2000.

Society of Automotive Historians. "Home." 16 July, 2108 < autohistory.org/members-information-library-index?memberID=3274&t=n4F9IwArAvvZOE8hUc4c9A>

Steffen, Heidi. "Too Late Too Late: Equal Rights Amendment." *Off Our Backs* 16 May 1970: 6.



As I Was Motivatin' Over the Hill
Becoming "Cadillac" in Popular Culture

1955 Cadillac Coupe de Ville. Photo courtesy of GM Media Archive.

By Elton G. Gounn

William H. Dunkak Professor of Finance
Freeman College of Management
Bucknell University

Photo Credits as Noted

I. Introduction

As I was motivatin' over the hill, I saw Maybellene in a Coupe de Ville . . . Maybellene, why can't you be true? You've started back doin' the things you used to do.

It's no coincidence that Chuck Berry's girl Maybellene was two-timing him with a man driving a Cadillac Coupe de Ville. By May 21, 1955 when he recorded the song at Chess Records in Chicago (http://www.crlf.de/ChuckBerry/chessupto1966.html), Cadillac—and its sporty Coupe de Ville model—had acquired an image in American popular culture that made it the perfect choice to be featured in the song's story. Knowing that her new man drives a Coupe de Ville, we know quite a bit about what sort of woman Maybellene is—and just what "the things [she] used to do" were. Although the model is no longer with us, having disappeared after the 1993 model year, the "Cadillac" image still is.

In 1955 Chuck Berry could not have helped but use Cadillac as the automotive symbol of wealth and power and more. There were four American luxury cars then—Cadillac, Imperial, Lincoln, and Packard (Brown, 1983), and Cadillac sales (140,777) were over 2.5 times the combined sales of the other three (Imperial 11,432, Lincoln 27,222, and Packard 16,833). It was the first year Imperial was sold as an independent brand and not as a Chrysler model, and post-war Lincolns had not yet clearly been differentiated from their divisional partner Mercury. Packard was dying, its 1955 models being a last-ditch effort to maintain its presence in the luxury car field before abandoning it entirely after the 1956 model year (Ibid.).

Lockheed P-38 Lightening. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Twenty-five years earlier, there had been many other competitors in the American luxury car field, among them Peerless and Pierce-Arrow (the other two of the famous "Three Ps" along with Packard), Brewster, Cunningham, Du Pont, Franklin, Jordon, Marmon, Ruxton, Stutz, and the corporate trio Auburn, Cord, and Duesenberg. All of these disappeared during the sales slump of the Great Depression in the 1930s. Although there were still wealthy consumers then with the financial capacity to purchase such "Olympian" automobiles (Carson, 1976), it was unseemly (and perhaps also imprudent) to flaunt it in the face of others' deprivation. Luxury foreign marques such as Rolls-Royce, Hispano-Suiza, and Isotta-Fraschini were sold in the United States but in such small numbers that most Americans would never have seen or even heard of them.

In 1955, Cadillac was "Cadillac," the iconic luxury automobile, but its image was more nuanced than simple dominance of the high-priced American automobile market. "Cadillac" meant more than "expensive." Had "Maybellene" been written in 1930 when Packard was in its prime and commanding a premium price, one can confidently predict that she would not have been caught dead with "Ask the Man Who Owns One," Packard's slogan since 1901. Cadillac did not acquire this image by default. The process was more complex than just outlasting the old pre-WWII competition that had disappeared and just being there ahead of the new post-WWII competition that was to emerge. The "Cadillac" image had many facets, many means by which it was acquired, many places in which it was expressed, and many competitors' images with which it could be contrasted. Not all can be addressed in a single paper.

This paper is the history of how Cadillac became "Cadillac" in popular culture prior to its supporting role in "Maybellene" in 1955. And along with Chuck Berry, it takes into account Cadillac's power and style. Although his Ford was a formidable rival on the road in the song, it wouldn't have been so formidable in the luxury automobile market. There, Packard was the real adversary, Cadillac and Packard having explicitly competed against each other for many years.

However thoroughly researched and documented, even the best automotive histories tend to be written by authors who are at least as much enthusiasts for the specific vehicles about which they are writing as they are historians. While Cadillac does indeed have a long and distinguished history of technological leadership, it is difficult to know just how significant its innovations were in setting it above its contemporary competition, since that competition often has a similarly distinguished history of its own. And to post-WWII eyes, pre-WWII automobiles are difficult to differentiate. All but the boldest styling changes are now all but invisible to us, however dramatic an impact they had on customers at the time they were manufactured. Locating the physical foundations, if any, for a brand's image in the early automobile market is not a simple task, and there are no guarantees of success. Nonetheless, Sections II and III attempt to assess the contributions which Cadillac's power and style made to the "Cadillac" image. Section IV then addresses the key question: Why did Cadillac become "Cadillac"? Its style and power alone were not sufficient to arouse Maybellene's desire in Chuck Berry's imagination. The stereotype of African-Americans affinity for Cadillacs and Cadillac's having been featured in the lyrics of the African-American blues musicians from whom Berry drew his musical inspiration laid the groundwork for Maybellene's—and Berry's—automotive preferences. Still today, Cadillac is prominent in contemporary popular music, in spite of its eclipse in the market by European and Japanese luxury automobiles, and Section V briefly describes this enduring legacy of the image of "Cadillac."

II. "Cadillac" Power

> **A Cadillac a rollin' on the open road—Nothin' will outrun my V-8 Ford.**

Definitive histories of Cadillac by Hendry and Holls (1990) and Packard by Kimes (2007) along with supplementary information from Bonsall (2004) and Van Bogart (2003) for Cadillac and Scott (1985) and Turnquist (1965) for Packard facilitate a detailed comparison of the competition between the two marques. The Cadillac Automobile Company resulted from investors William Murphy and Lemuel W. Bowen having hired the engineer Henry Martyn Leland in 1902 to assess the value of the remains of Henry Ford's failed Detroit Automobile Company and subsequently convincing him to transform those assets into a going concern. Then as now, we can say with certainty that a luxury automobile was one that was higher-priced, but we cannot say exactly what other attributes would have given the specific vehicles within that category the images that differentiated them and justified the prices.

Early Cadillacs had a reputation for quality: Leland's insistence on precision earned a Dewar Trophy in 1908 for three Cadillacs being assembled from a mixture of parts from three that had been disassembled—this at a time when most automobiles consisted of hand-fitted parts. Cadillac often had features that no other automobile had: Leland's interest in technological innovation earned a second Dewar Trophy in 1912 for the first electric self-starter, developed by Charles Kettering.

On the other hand, Cadillacs were literally out-classed in size and distinction. They were smaller: the 1915 Type 51 Cadillac's wheelbase was only 122 inches compared with the Packard Model 38's 140 inches and the Model 48's 143 inches. And they weren't so exclusive: Cadillac produced 13,002 Type 51s in the 1915 model year compared to Packard's 1,801 Model 38s and 360 Model 48s. Cadillac was not an inexpensive automobile, but its prices barely overlapped Packard's, ranging from $1,975 to $3,600 compared to Packard's $3,350 to $6,150.

Arguably, Cadillac's first step toward "Cadillac" was the 1915 Type 51's V-8 engine introduced in September 1914. It wasn't the first V-8—the 1905 Rolls-Royce had beaten it to the punch—but it was the first to be commercially viable. And until 1981, no Cadillac was powered by an engine with less than eight cylinders; "V-8" and "Cadillac engine" were synonymous in the minds of many. Cadillac's new 1949 5.4-liter 180-horsepower overhead-valve V-8, the engine in the 1955 Coupe de Ville in which Maybellene was riding (which was by then producing 250 horsepower), set the post-war standard for power that other manufacturers were forced to copy. Oldsmobile's version of the engine was featured in what many consider the first rock-and-roll record, Jackie Brenston's 1951 "Rocket 8," the music for which was in fact based on Jimmy Liggins' 1947 urban jump blues "Cadillac Boogie" (http://en.wikipedia. org/-wiki/Rocket_88).

Southern moonshine runners were known to install this engine in Ford coupes, creating a vehicle that looked like a modest Ford but ran and sounded like a high-powered Cadillac. (Dorrington, 2009) Cadillac's largest V-8 was an 8.2-liter 400-horsepower engine that appeared in 1970, and the 2018 Cadillac CTS-V had a 6.2-liter 640-horsepower V-8 (https://www.cadillac.com/v-series/cts-v-sedan/features). Ford came out with their own overhead-valve V-8 in 1954, which had 3.9 liters and 130 horsepower (https://en.-wikipedia.org/wiki/Ford_Y-block_engine).

1948 Cadillac Series 62 Convertible Coupe. Photo courtesy of Hagerty Insurance.

In "Maybellene" though, Chuck Berry was writing about the 1934 Ford he had owned as a teenager (Berry, 1987), whose engine would have been a 3.6-liter, 85-horsepower flathead V-8 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ford_Flathead_engine). The Cadillac wouldn't have been "a-sittin' like a ton of lead" as Berry sang it, and only in his imagination would "nothin' have outrun [his] V-8 Ford" without it having been very heavily modified.

Packard also had excellent engines, although their emphasis was usually on their being smooth and quiet rather than powerful. In May 1915, the year after Cadillac introduced its first V-8, Packard came out with a V-12, which they modestly called the Twin Six. Although it was considerably larger than Cadillac's V-8 of that same year—6.9 liters against 5.1 liters—it was only slightly more powerful—85 horsepower against 77 horsepower. Packard did, however, install it in a new, smaller Model 125 with a 125-inch wheelbase and $2,600 base price, while Cadillac's was still 122 inches at $2,080.

That first year Packard sold 3,606 of the Model 125 and 4,140 of the larger Model 135 (with a 135-inch wheelbase). In contrast, Cadillac's total sales for the contemporary 1916 Type 53, the second model year with the V-8, were 18,004. In 1923, Packard replaced

1948 Studebaker Champion Hardtop Coupe. Photo courtesy of Hagerty Insurance.

its Twin Six with a 5.9-liter, 85-horsepower in-line eight.

It was clear by then that Cadillac was Packard's main competitor, and Packard's V-12 not only cost twice as much as Cadillac's V-8 to produce, it was not as amenable to the automated production methods that Packard would have to implement to keep its prices in line with Cadillac's.

An additional benefit of Packard's in-line eight was that eight cylinders in a row instead of in two banks of four arranged in a V better filled out an attractively long engine compartment. From June 14, 1923 to February 2, 1925, Packard sold 8,401 Model 136 and Model 143 Single Eights, the least expensive of which had a 136-inch wheelbase and a price of $3,650. Cadillac sold 18,827 of its model-year 1924 Type V-63 having a 132-inch wheelbase and a minimum price of $2,985.

It was not until 1930 that Cadillac added more cylinders with its Series 370 V-12 and Series 452 V-16, the Series 353 retaining the V-8. Two years later in 1932, Packard revived the V-12 Twin Six and in 1933 finally began calling it a "Twelve." Cadillac did not sell large numbers of V-12s and V-16s; the V-12 survived through the 1937 model year selling a total of 10,821 and the V-16 through the 1940 model year selling a total of 4,386. Total Cadillac depression-decade sales from 1930 to 1940 were 265,447.

In those same eleven years, Packard sales were a much larger 496,919, but only 5,804 were Twin Sixes and Twelves. The Twelve was not produced after 1939. Cadillac outsold Packard 2.6 to 1 in "Olympian" automobiles having more than eight cylinders, although the considerable symbolic value of Cadillac's V-12s and V-16s was greater than their financial value to the company, those models almost having certainly lost money and been subsidized by General Motors' decidedly non-Olympian Chevrolets.

The far greater Packard sales total 1930 through 1940 did not come from luxury cars. In 1935, the company introduced a lower-priced Model One-Twenty "Junior" Packard in response to plummeting sales. Although it still had an in-line eight-cylinder engine, it sold within a price range of $980 to $1,095 compared to that year's "Senior" Model Eight starting at $2,385. And in 1937 Packard came out with another "Junior" model, the even less expensive

1948 Packard Super Eight Convertible Victoria. Photo courtesy of Hemmings Publishing.

Model Six, at prices between $795 and $1,295. This was the company's first six-cylinder automobile since 1928.

In comparison, 1935's least expensive Cadillac was the $2,345 Series 10, and 1937's was the $1,645 Series 60. Through 1940, One-Twenty sales were 198,546, and Six sales (renamed the One-Ten in 1940) were 182,100. From 1930 through 1940, "Senior" Packard sales were only 116,273, less than half of Cadillac's. "Junior" Packards were not luxury automobiles competing with Cadillac in the upper end of the automobile market, and even in Packard promotional literature they were being compared with General Motors' Oldsmobile, Buick, and LaSalle, the baby Cadillac.

Clearly in the power competition, Cadillac had the advantage over Packard. In 1932, Packard had followed 24 months behind Cadillac's lead in introducing a new, larger engine in the marketplace. And after WWII, it took until 1955 for a new overhead-valve V-8 to appear in a Packard, while Cadillacs had featured this engine since 1949. In those six years, Packards still had an L-head in-line eight, a style that was state-of-the-art in 1923 but by 1954 only remained in Packards and Pontiacs. Even though Packard's 1916 V-12 was only nine months behind Cadillac's 1915 V-8, Cadillac was still decidedly the leader in power from then through 1929, the first year of the Great Depression.

Although Packard's 275,082 overall sales for the Depression era were only slightly less than Cadillac's 299,974, it was its 156,189 6-cylinder engines, well over half of the total, that kept Packard competitive in numbers. Until Packard came out with the markedly lower-priced Standard Eight in 1929, having a $2,435 base price compared to Cadillac's $3,295, Cadillac's eight-cylinder automobiles were always priced at least $500 less than Packard's. As the automobile matured after 1910, power became more and more important to buyers and contributed more and more to a marque's image. When a driver no longer had to be a mechanic and could leave on a journey with reasonable certainty that his (and increasingly also her) automobile would make it back home again, how fast it was mattered more and more, at least in theory if not in fact. And from its first V-8 in 1915 and thereafter, Cadillac was the power leader in the mass-produced luxury-car market.

III. "Cadillac" Style

> **Pink in the mirror on top of the hill, it's just like swallowin' up a medicine pill.**
>
> **First thing I saw that Cadillac grille Doin' a hundred and ten gallopin' over that hill.**

In 1923, Alfred Sloan assumed the presidency of General Motors at the behest of the Du Ponts, who owned a controlling share of the company. Cadillac had become part of General Motors when it was acquired by William Crapo "Billy" Durant in 1909, but at that time the corporation was a loose agglomeration of independent manufacturers without a unified strategy.

With the automobile industry changing so rapidly, Durant had just accumulated companies and hoped that enough of them would pay off to make the whole acquisition process worthwhile. There were those who had been perfectly content with his hands-off approach to management—Cadillac's Henry Leland had in fact departed Cadillac and General Motors when Durant tried to limit his autonomy. Sloan's contribution to the "Cadillac" image was the creation of the tiered divisional structure which positioned Cadillac at the top of an aspirational hierarchy in which customers were supposed to first purchase a Chevrolet and subsequently trade up to Oakland (Pontiac), Oldsmobile and Buick as their incomes grew. They would ultimately own General Motors' paramount symbol of success, Cadillac.

As the parent company's flagship, Cadillac was the first of the corporation's marques to get new technologies (1929's Synchro-Mesh Client-Shift transmission) and the one under which prestigious products (1930's Series 452 with the V-16 engine) were created and sold.

It was also the first of General Motors' marques on which new stylistic elements appeared. The company was the first automobile

Guitarist Jimmy Vaughan with his 1961 Cadillac Coupe de Ville. Photo courtesy of Gary Howard Customs.

manufacturer to have a dedicated styling department, the Art and Colour Section, under the leadership of designer Harley Earl.

In Los Angeles, Earl had manufactured custom bodies on Cadillac chassis for dealer Don Lee, and many of his customers were wealthy members of the film community. The president of Cadillac, Lawrence Fisher, originally hired Earl in 1925 to create designs for the LaSalle, the lower-priced model produced by Cadillac under a different brand name so as not to harm the upscale image of Cadillac. Earl's 1927 LaSalles were a great success, with styling cues taken from the exotic European Hispano-Suiza. Soon Earl was working the same magic with Cadillacs and other General Motors automobiles.

At his suggestion during the 1940s, Earl's artists produced imaginative automobile design concepts based on the unusual twin-boomed Lockheed P-38 Lightening fighter.

The 1942 Cadillac, which barely entered production before being discontinued because of the war, sported nose-cone-like, bullet-shaped bumper guards that were to grow to enormous proportions and become known as "Dagmars" after the stage name of the busty actress Virginia Ruth Egnor. More famous were the post-WWII 1948 Cadillac's tailfins. At first, they weren't large, and Earl had opposed them. But the public loved them, and the larger they became, the more they were loved.

Other stylistic flourishes by General Motors appearing first on Cadillacs before trickling down to the lesser makes included wraparound windshields and dual headlights. The pillarless hardtop that appeared in 1949 as the Coupe de Ville was another Cadillac first, although it had to share that distinction with the Buick Roadmaster Riviera. The grille that Chuck Berry saw in his rear-view mirror was a so-called "fifth element" of Cadillac's brand identity. Although earlier grills (1934 and 1935, 1937 and 1938) were described as "egg-crate," it was its return in 1941 with broad horizontal (and thinner vertical) bars that still signals "Cadillac" today. The pill-pink color, though, would have to have been a custom paint job. Not until 1956 did Cadillac have a standard color ("mountain laurel") that would have looked pink (http://paintref. com/cgi-bin/colorcodedisplay .cgi?model=Cadillac&year=1956& con=yo&rows=50).

Although Jesse Vincent, Packard's Chief Engineer, was not a professional designer, he was sensitive to the growing importance of the appearance of an automobile in the early 1920s, something to which Cadillac and most other mass-market American manufacturers were also just becoming cognizant. His choice of an in-line eight rather than a V-8 for Packard's new engine in 1923 was at least partially because it "gave all the qualities of appearance that were desired" (quoted in Hendry, 1990, page 133): that is, a long hood that signaled power and speed. Packard was the first mass-produced automobile with this engine style, which could, however, also be found in Europe in the Isotta-Fraschini and in America in the Duesenberg, associations which Packard would certainly have welcomed. Vincent was also willing to sacrifice the serviceability of an engine for its appearance. The Packard distributor looked good centered on the cylinder head, but the cylinder head could not be removed without first removing the distributor. The water pump was tucked nicely, but inconveniently, behind the fan at the end of the engine block.

In contrast, Cadillac's distributor and water pump were positioned for practicality and not aesthetics. "The man who owned [a Packard]" could proudly display his engine to everyone but his mechanic.

In the early 1920s, Packard's styling was imitated by a number of other automobiles, among them General Motors' Buick. Packard responded in an advertisement in the October, 1924 *National Geographic,* the copy of which read:

The Packard you buy today will not look out of date in 1935 unless Packard is successful in doing that which others have been unable to do—improve on Packard lines. If the industry, competing within itself, has been unable to improve on Packard lines but rather, has appropriated them, then, Packard has set an enduring style. And, in an enduring style your motor car is best protected (quoted in Kimes, 2007, page 245).

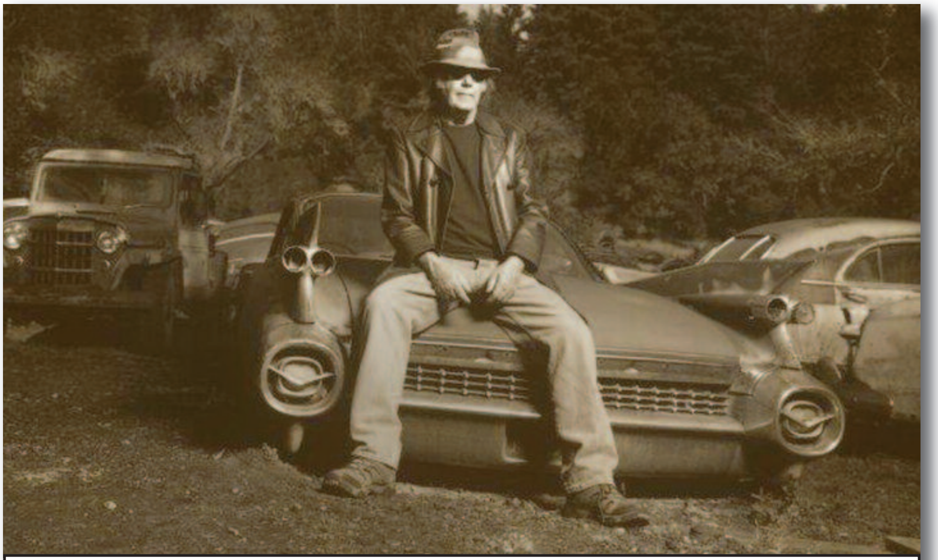
This manifesto of conservativism was practically an invitation for Harley Earl to catapult Cadillac's exterior styling beyond Packard's, taking a lead it never relinquished. Throughout the 1930s, Packards became increasingly stodgy compared to Cadillacs, which thanks to Earl's forward—and Packard's backward—thinking had become the industry leader. It didn't help that the qualifications of Packard's first head of the Styling Division Edward Macauley, appointed in 1932, had nothing to do with professional training or experience and everything to do with his being the son of Packard president Alvan Macauley (and liking fast, sporty cars). Until then, body design had been the responsibility of the body engineer Archer L. Knapp, whose priorities were expressed in his 1925 comment;

Judging from my experience, what is needed is not an artist, but a real body designer, or I should say car designer, as it is necessary nowadays to design a vehicle as a whole, in order to have harmony of lines in the entire car. This man may not necessarily be a mechanical engineer capable of designing motors or detailed chassis parts, but he must have a combination of mechanical skill and knowledge coupled with a certain artistic ability and sense of proportion in vehicle designing. This is usually obtained only by long practice and knowledge of body and car construction. The ability to make beautiful lines, or pictures for magazine advertisements, is not all that is necessary to make a good body design. (Kimes, 2007, page 257)

Finally, Packard hired (and never paid) the designer Howard "Dutch" Darrin to design a 1941 Packard, and the result of his work was the Clipper. It broke no new ground, though, just bringing Packard up to date. From the Packard Engineering Department's confidential memorandum "Notes on Packard Styling Problems":

Present Clipper styling should not be viewed as being a new style trend established by Packard, but rather as what it really is—a very good evolutionary development of a trend clearly established by GM and which we improved upon and still retained the very necessary Packard identity. We must not give ourselves credit for establishing a new style trend with the Clipper design, but rather credit ourselves with having been good at evolution of a trend already established by GM, [who] have recently been style trend dictators for the industry. (quoted in Hendry, 1990, pages 243-244, italics in original)

Packard had been so concerned



Neil Young. Photo courtesy of ABC News.

that Packards look like "Packards" that before the Clipper, changes in styling had occurred at a glacial pace. And the quotation certainly makes it sound as if Packard is making an excuse for the Clipper's 'unPackard-like" appearance. The timing of the Clipper, however, could not have been worse. Production was suspended early in 1942 because of WWII, and when the Clipper reappeared in 1946, it had become old-fashioned. Initially, this was not a problem, since almost all manufacturers in 1946 were producing warmed-over 1942 models, and demand for automobiles was so far ahead of supply that anything sold, however outdated it might have looked. The question was what the next fashion would be. In 1947, Studebaker opted for a slab-sided, European-style body by Raymond Loewy that proved a little too advanced for American tastes.

The 1949 Packards had highly-rounded bodies referred to as "bathtubs," an accurate visual description that also captured the public's opinion of them. In the luxury category, Lincolns had the same rounded styling, although not quite as severe as Packard's. Independent designer George Walker described their appearance as "an obese worker in a shop coat bending down to tie his shoelace," (quoted in Kollins, 2002, pages 60-61).

Ford's leadership agreed, and Eugene Gregoire, who had created the designs, was fired and Walker hired as Ford's chief designer. By then was too late to change the Lincolns and Mercuries, but the 1949 Fords were spared the ignominy. (Ibid.)

The 1948 Cadillac was roughly between the two and a huge hit with consumers. Not until the 1951 model year was Packard able to move back into the mainstream, and by then it was too late.

The years haven't been kind to the styling on 1950s-era Cadillacs, and they've become emblematic of what some now regard as the bad-taste of the time in just about everything—automobiles, fashions, and body types included:

> **Jayne Mansfield not only owned Cadillacs, she was a Cadillac incarnate. Or was it the other way around? In any case, these two assemblages of manifold fetishes had a good deal in common: larger-than-life presence, chutzpah, self-proclaimed glamour and unapologetically baroque body-work. Mansfield's masses of peroxide blond hair could even be compared to the Caddie's acres of chrome. Some would argue that Mansfield lacked the Cadillac's class, but it's open to debate as to whether the Cadillac at this time possessed class in any traditional sense of the word. Compare the '57 Coupe de Ville with a Mercedes 300SL from the same model year, or a Bentley Continental, or a Citroen DS and it must be admitted that the Cadillac is nouveau riche and vulgar, but vulgar in a way that is refreshingly out front and not without its own impertinent charm. (Finch, 1992, page 214)**

We must be cautious, however, judging the automobiles (and fashions and body types as well) of the 1950s according to the contemporary standards, which might well appear equally vulgar to critics fifty years in the future. Early 1950s Packards were attractive, but they didn't have that over-the-top flamboyance characteristic of the times of which Cadillac was the exemplar. As far as the "classier" vehicles were concerned, very few could afford a Mercedes 300SL or a Bentley Continental, if they had even heard of them, been able to find one for sale, and been able to afford one, and only the truly eccentric would have driven a Citroen DS. Only 3,258 production 300SLs (non-racing versions) were manufactured between 1955 and 1963, and the lowest price was $7,295 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercedes-Benz_300SL).

The Bentley R-Type Continental was even more exclusive, there being 208 manufactured between 1952 and 1955, and only 43 of these had left-hand drive (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bentley_R_Type). The price was £7,608 (http://www.conceptcarz.com/vehicle/z10159/Bentley-R-Type-Continental.aspx), which would have been roughly $21,347 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tables_of_historical_exchange_rates_to_the_USD). In 1955, the top-of-the-line Cadillac Eldorado cost $6,300. (Whyte, 1955).

Large parts of what made Cadillac "Cadillac" were indeed its power and styling. When the reliability of most automobiles could be taken for granted by 1915, Cadillac came out with its new V-8 to satis-

Billy F Gibbons with his "CadZilla," a 1948 Cadillac Sedanette customized by the late Boyd Coddington. Photo courtesy of www.Kutomrama.com.

fy drivers' demands for more speed. And it was the V-8 engine that elevated Cadillac into the ranks of luxury automobiles from the upper-mid-level it had been in.

Packard responded with an impressive V-12, but calling it a Twin-Six and advertising how smooth and quiet it was contributed to a conservative image that did not appeal to bolder motorists. In the mid-1920s, when the appearance of an automobile began to matter more to buyers, Cadillac's Harley Earl brought attractive European styling to the American mass market, while Packards deliberately continued looking like the Packards that everyone's father had driven or had wanted to have driven. Packard's final downfall is usually attributed to its depreciation of the name with the inexpensive models it brought out in the 1930s in order to survive the Great Depression and to the delays in bringing out a modern-looking automobile with a modern overhead-valve V-8 engine after WWII. But since 1915, Packard had always lagged behind Cadillac's lead in power and style, and eventually the lag became so great that it was no longer possible to catch up. By 1955, consumers who remembered the image that Packard had once had were dead or dying, and Packard had nothing to attract their children and grandchildren—or Maybellene. Cadillac obviously did. General Motors had made sure that Cadillac was on top—either by giving the public what it wanted or by telling the public what it wanted.

IV. "Cadillac" Desire

> **Do what you want, don't worry 'bout the bill**
> **With a pretty girl, a Cadillac, and some money.**

This quotation from the lyrics to "A Pretty Girl (A Cadillac and Some Money)" by Buddy and Ella Johnson, 1953 is indicative of there being much more to the story of how Cadillac became "Cadillac." Chuck Berry did not only put Maybellene in one because of its power and its style but also because of a certain cachet it had acquired in the African-American community. As a composer, he's known for having been instrumental in the transformation of the blues into early rock and roll. Along with the music, he brought along themes from blues lyrics—among which were automobiles, their symbolic importance, and the freedom and movement—or illusion of freedom and movement—that they offered (Cooper, 1980; Belasco, 1980; Seiler, 2008).

There are numerous sources for song lyrics on the Internet, and prior to 1955, Cadillacs had made rare appearances in mainstream popular music. In the song "Always True to You in My Fashion" from 1948's Kiss Me Kate, Cole Porter had penned the somewhat cryptic, albeit well-rhymed, line "If his mad attack means a Cadillac, okay!" And the Andrews Sisters' "Lady from 29 Palms ". . . got twenty-nine Cadillacs" in 1947.

In country music in 1954's Cadillac in Model A, Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys were ". . . gonna Cadilllac the town in [their] Model A "Although he was . . . a plain country boy" and he ". . . work[ed] on a farm" and couldn't afford the real thing, he could still play the role of a Cadillac owner in a far more modest vehicle.

It was in the blues, though, that Cadillacs were featured. (Heitmann, 2009). In many songs, as in Cadillac in Model "A", they were a luxury product or descriptive of a luxury product:

LaVern Baker—"I Want a Lavender Cadillac,"
"I want a lavender Cadillac."

Peppermint Harris—"Cadillac Funeral,"
"I want a Cadillac funeral"

J.B. Summers—"Bring That Cadillac Back"
"I bought you a Cadillac for Christmas and a diamond ring."

Johnnie Bassett – "Cadillac Blues"
"I still got the blues,
But I got 'em in my Cadillac"

Lottie Kimbrough—"Goin' Away Blues"
"I've got Cadillac ways"

In many others, the Cadillac was a sexual metaphor; still referring to a luxury product but a very specific product:

Howlin' Wolf—"Mr. Highway Man (Cadillac Daddy)"
"Be careful what you're drivin', man. That Cadillac may get away, you better be careful!"
"I love a Cadillac, it's a long wreckin' machine,
Me an my baby can ride it, ev'rything is nice 'til then."

Roy Brown—"Cadillac Baby"
"Yeah, Cadillac baby,
How that woman loves to ride.
She's crazy 'bout that Hydramatic
'Cause it's such an easy ride."

Lightnin' Hopkins—"Big Black Cadillac Blues"
"Got something that I sure don't lack,
Yes, it's my black Cadillac,
My black Cadillac in the morning."

Johnnie Bassett—"Cadillac Baby"
"Cause I got a Cadillac baby
You know it's really long and clean
One spin and you will know
It's a Detroit loving machine"

Robert Nighthawk—"You Call Yourself a Cadillac"
"I said you call yourself a Cadillac.
You ain't nothin' but a T-model."

Bessie Smith—"Put It Right Here"
"Once he was like a Cadillac,
Now he's like a worn-out Ford.

And Chuck Berry was not the first bluesman who faced competition for a girl from a Cadillac owner, literally or figuratively:

Teddy Darby—"Don't Like the Way You Do"
"Now I seen you last night when you got in that Cadillac Eight;
You know you was doin' somethin' wouldn't percolate."
Blind Lemon Jefferson—"Booger Rooger Blues"
"Some joker learned my baby how to shift gear on a Cadillac Eight.
Sugar, every since that happened, I can't keep my business straight."

This is only a representative sample of numerous blues songs and their lyrics concerning Cadillacs. References to Packards are very rare, and it's been possible to locate only a single one:

Blind Lemon Jefferson—"DB Blues"
"I'm crazy about a Packard, my baby only rates a Ford.
A Packard is too expensive, Ford will take you where you want to go."

References to other luxury automobiles are rare as well, and can be unfavorable. Virginia Liston had problems with her "Rolls-Royce Papa," (Widmer, 2002) and Texas Alexander would prefer a "Cadillac" to his "Lincoln."

Texas Alexander—"Deceitful Blues"

"I'm gonna trade this Lincoln, get me a Cadillac Eight.
It takes all of my time, tryin' to keep my business straight."

Why is it that Cadillac is the luxury automobile so prominently featured in the blues and not other makes such as Lincoln or Packard? And why does it appear so much more frequently in the blues than in other genres of music? As has been described, Cadillac was the power and style leader of the time, and the lyrics emphasize it being a Cadillac Eight, although it might be just that "eight" is easier to rhyme

Travis Barker, drummer for Blink-182. He is a musician, songwriter and record producer. He owns LaSalle Records, a division of Atlantic Records. Photo courtesy of GQ.com.

than "Cadillac." But are these the only reasons? Most blues musicians were black Americans, and a familiar stereotype of the time was black Americans' preference for expensive automobiles, usually Cadillacs. This raises further questions: Were Cadillacs popularized in blues lyrics because black Americans did prefer Cadillacs; if black Americans did prefer Cadillacs, was it because they had been popularized in blues lyrics; or did black Americans' Cadillac preference, if there were one, and Cadillac popularization in blues lyrics develop together?

Frequently referenced in the literature (Frazier, 1957; Nightingale, 1993; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Case, 2003; Seiler, 2008) is an "infamous" (an adjective used in Pinsky's (1998) review of Burns (1996)) editorial from *Ebony* magazine in 1949 "Why Negroes Buy Cadillacs." (Burns, 1949) It was written by Ben Burns, the white editor of *Ebony*, at the behest of John H. Johnson, the black founder and publisher and himself a Cadillac owner. (Burns, 1996)

As Burns describes its origins, "The spectacle of the publisher's Cadillac rolling up to the building's entrance each morning inspired an *Ebony* editorial—as usual, one that Johnson suggested and that I had to write, tongue in cheek and hat in hand," (Ibid., page 114). It opened with an expression of the stereotype in no uncertain terms: "Cadillacs are becoming so commonplace on Lenox Avenue, South Parkway and Central Avenue that rumors are floating around to the effect that General Motors is trying to curb sales to colored customers lest their prize species of the automobile trade be labeled as 'a Negro car'" (Burns, 1949, page 34). At the outset, it states that black Americans purchased Cadillacs for the same reasons anyone else did. "Just as to white America, the Cadillac is a sign of wealth and standing so to Negro Americans, the Cadillac is an indication of ability to compete successfully with whites, to maintain the very highest standard of living in this nation," (Ibid., page 34).

But the article goes on to assert that a Cadillac meant more to black Americans: ". . . basically a Cadillac is an instrument of aggression." and "Faced with the frustration of Jim Crow, they naturally demonstrate their hostility by matching the best the white man has," (Ibid., page 34). According to

Burns (1996), the article was "much berated in the Negro community," and nearly fifty years later, he himself "still bridled at this spurious defense of Cadillac ownership by rich Negroes," (Ibid., page 114).

Other sources, including Pattillo-McCoy (1999), have seconded the rationale for the stereotype—the signification of economic achievement in the face of racism—if it were to be true. Alexis (1970) quotes a *Time* magazine article from 1951 supporting the stereotype ("Selling the Negro Market," 1951) that referred to Cadillac as "a weapon in the war for racial equality" and as "an instrument of aggression." In the article, Cadillac ownership was said to be a powerful symbol of equality.

Nightingale (1993) describes an anecdote in *The Autobiography of Malcom X* (Malcolm X, 1964) in which a shoeshine boy had won the lottery and purchased a Cadillac: "Burns them white cats up when you get yourself something. Yeah, I told them I was going to get me one—just to bug them," (Ibid., page 55).

But did black Americans really have a preference for Cadillacs or was their ownership just more noticeable, which of course would have been evidence itself of racism? *Ebony* again, describing the exclusive New York black American Addisleigh Park section of St. Alban's on Long Island (home of Jackie Robinson, Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holiday among others) claimed that "Community statistics show that there are more Cadillacs per block in the area than any other like community in the country," ("St. Albans," 1951).

In a *Fortune* article, Whyte (1955) explicitly states "A number of prominent Negroes are Cadillac owners and though the company does not dwell on this in its advertising, it is proud of the fact that they singled out Cadillac—as an *Ebony* editorial asked, what better symbol for economic and social achievement?" (Ibid., page 176). And in what might be a veiled reference to the stereotype: "The 800,000 Cadillacs on the road constitute a gold standard for the nation's used-car lots. The poor man's Cadillac sometimes is a Cadillac, and in some working-class neighborhoods Cadillacs outnumber any other make," (Ibid., page 106, italics in original).

The Wall Street Journal (Law, 1963) reported studies by the Center for Marketing Research showing that a higher percentage of African Americans owned Cadillacs than whites. More scholarly, quantitative evidence is sketchy. Davis e. al. (1941) concluded that black American ownership of expensive automobiles was not as great as it was reputed to be. Alexis (1970) reported that his research failed to locate any evidence of the stereotype. In Bullock's (1971) study of consumer images, black Americans rated Cadillac's and Imperial's prestige similarly and Lincoln's significantly less. White consumers showed a stronger preference for Cadillac's prestige followed distantly by Lincoln and Imperial.

Larson's (1971) survey of Chicago households showed that 4% of both white and black households owned Cadillacs, although blacks were more likely than whites to own Lincolns 4% to 1%. Bennett (1967), Alexis (1971), and Bauer et. al. (1971) all report that blacks spent less on auto transportation than whites.

In a speech to the Harvard Business School club of New York, Bauer stated "Since he [the black American] tends to live in the central part of the city he is less likely to spend his money on automobiles—again contrary to the popular stereotype of the Negro driving a Cadillac. Few Negroes drive Cadillacs and those who do have often bought them second-hand," (quoted in Akers, 1968, pages 283-284). It appears as if the conclusions expressed in this speech, however, were drawn from Bauer and Cunningham's (1970) analysis of three surveys conducted by the Harris Poll, the Brand Rating Research Corporation, and the *Chicago Sun Times*. All showed black Americans' percentage of ownership of prestige automobiles (Cadillac, Chrysler, Lincoln, and Thunderbird) slightly greater than that of whites, although there is some evidence attributing the difference to used, not new, vehicles. The authors attribute the difference to black Americans having fewer alternative demonstrations of status than whites. Akers (1968) found that ". . . Negroes in this study tended to own higher price class automobiles, higher priced models regardless of make, and automobiles with more cylinders than comparable income white families," (Ibid., page 288). In contrast to 2.3% for whites, 7.0% of black Americans owned high-price automobiles. He also found, based on a small sample, that black Americans owned more Cadillacs and that they were more likely to purchase them new.

Thus, there is some slight evidence regarding black Americans' preference for prestige automobiles in general and Cadillacs in particular, but it is hardly conclusive. On the other hand, there is ample evidence for the stereotype that it was stronger, including it having been featured in the national publications *Ebony, Time,* and *The Wall Street Journal,* and it having been the specific subject of several academic studies. It would not be surprising that there might have been such a preference, since the purchase of an expensive automobile is a familiar use of newly-acquired wealth, as can be seen nowadays in Eastern European countries. If an expensive automobile is being purchased for its symbolic value rather than its functional attributes, the powerful and stylish Cadillac would have been an excellent choice. Of course its power and style would also have made it an excellent metaphor for blues lyrics. The symbolic value of automobiles in general and Cadillacs in particular made them something to sing about, and something to acquire when the musicians and their listeners had the financial wherewithal to do so.

Cover art for B.B. King and Eric Clapton's album, Riding with the King. Image courtesy of Reprise Records, via Wikimedia Commons.

V. "Cadillac" Legacy

Shit tight no slack
Just bought a Cadillac

This quotation from the lyrics to "Throw Some D's On It" by Rich Boy, 2007 illustrates the continuing presence of the Cadillac image in popular culture. Despite Cadillac having been eclipsed in the broader market as a desirable luxury car by other European and Japanese marques (Silverstein and Fiske, 2005), Cadillac has continued to be featured in the lyrics in popular music, and rock and roll musicians have continued to show an affinity for Cadillacs. Jimmie Vaughan, Neil Young, ZZ Top's Billy F. Gibbons, and Blink 182's Travis Barker own them, the latter having a large tattoo of the Cadillac logo. Cadillacs have appeared on numerous album covers including B.B. King and Eric Clapton's *Riding With the King* featuring two generations of bluesmen. A number of Internet sites provide long lists of songs having "Cadillac" in the title or in the lyrics. There are songs referring to Mercedes Benz, BMW, and Lexus, but not nearly as many.

It's beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this phenomenon in detail, but it is the enduring legacy of Cadillac's image in popular culture and appearance in popular music in the 1940s and early 1950s leading to Maybellene's "doin' the things [she] used to do" with the owner of a Coupe de Ville. Cadillac is likely to have been featured in the blues lyrics of that era because Cadillac was a form of protest; it was a way to "burn them white cats up," as Malcom X's ex-shoeshine boy puts it, by appropriating their symbols of achievement.

Ironically, Cadillac is still likely to be featured in the popular music lyrics of today as a form of protest, but now it's a way to "burn them white cats up" by rejecting their symbols of achievement. "Ted, a reconstructive surgeon who lives in Dallas, is . . . the kind of buyer BMW attracts. Ted's wife is also a physician, and they have two children" (Silverstein & Fiske, 2005, page 228).

Cadillacs still have an image of "fat cars for old men" (Ibid., page 224), but when it comes to getting a tattoo, outsiders would rather express an affiliation with Lightnin' Hopkins' "Black Cadillac" than the ultimate driving machine in the garage of a yuppie couple, paid for by doing tummy-tucks on the Texas gentry.

Bibliography

Akers, Fred C., "Negro and White Automobile-Buying Behavior: New Evidence," *Journal of Marketing Research*, Volume 5, Number 3, (August, 1968), pages 283-289.

Alexis, Marcus, "Some Negro-White Differences in Consumption," in *The Black Consumer*, ed. George Joyce and Norman A.P. Govoni, (New York: Random House, 1971), pages 257-274.

Alexis, Marcus, "Patterns of Black Consumption 1935-1960," *Journal of Black Studies*, Volume 1, Number 1, (September, 1970), pages 55-74.

Bauer, Raymond A., and Scott M. Cunningham, *Studies in the Negro Market,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Marketing Science Institute, 1970).

Bauer, Raymond A., Scott M. Cunningham, and Lawrence H. Wortzel, "The Marketing Dilemma of Negroes," in *The Black Consumer*, ed. George Joyce and Norman A.P. Govoni, (New York: Random House, 1971), pages 239-249.

Belasco, Warren, "Motivatin' with Chuck Berry and Frederick Jackson Turner," in *The Automobile and American Culture,* ed. David L. Lewis and Laurence Goldstein, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1980), pages 262-279.

Bennett, William B., "Cross-Section Studies of the Consumption of Automobiles in the United States, *The American Economic Review,* Volume 57, Number 4, (September, 1967), pages 841-850.

Berry, Chuck, *Chuck Berry: The Autobiography,* (New York: Fireside, 1987).

Bonsall, Thomas E., *The Cadillac Story: The Postwar Years,* (Stanford, California: Stanford General Books, 2004).

Brown, Arch, "Luxocar Showdown: 1955 Cadillac, Imperial, Lincoln, Packard," *Special Interest Autos,* Number 74, (April, 1983), pages 10-21.

Bullock, Henry Allen, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White—Part I," in *The Black Consumer,* ed. George Joyce and Norman A.P. Govoni, (New York: Random House, 1971), pages 156-182.

Burns, Ben, *Nitty Gritty: A White Editor in Black Journalism,* (Jackson, Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 1996).

Burns, Ben, "Why Negroes Buy Cadillacs," *Ebony*, Volume 5, (September, 1949), pages 34-35.

Carson, Richard Burns, *The Olympian Cars: The Great American Luxury Automobiles of the Twenties & Thirties,* (New York: Knopf: 1976).

Case, Mary Anne, "Developing a Taste for Not being Discriminated

Against," *Stanford Law Review,* Volume 55, Number 6, (June, 2003), pages 2273-2291.

Cooper, B. Lee, "Nothin' Outrun My V-8 Ford: Chuck Berry and the American Motorcar, 1955-1979," *JEMF Quarterly,* Volume 16, (Spring, 1980), pages 18-23.

Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941).

Dorrington, Leigh, "Junior Johnson: The Last American Hero," *Automobile Quarterly,* Volume 49, Number 3, (Third Quarter, 2009), pages 54-65.

Finch, Christopher, *Highways to Heaven: The AUTO Biography of America,* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992).

Frazier, E. Franklin, *Black Bourgeoisie,* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

Heitmann, John A., *The Automobile and American Life,* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009).

Hendry, Maurice D., and David Holls, *Cadillac: The Complete History,* fourth edition, (New Albany, Indiana: Automobile Quarterly Publications, 1990).

Kimes, Beverly Rae, editor, *Packard: A History of the Motor Car and the Company,* (New Albany, Indiana: Automobile Heritage Publishing and Communications, L.L.C., 2007).

Kollins, Michael J., *Pioneers of the U.S. Automobile Industry, Volume 1: The Big Three,* (Warrendale, Pennsylvania: Society of Automotive Engineers, Inc., 2002).

Larson, Carl M., "Racial Brand Usage and Media Exposure Differentials," in *The Black Consumer,* ed. George Joyce and Norman A.P. Govoni, (New York: Random House, 1971), pages 225-238.

Law, Alfred, "Colored Customers," *The Wall Street Journal,* (August 19, 1963), pages 1,14

Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X,* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964).

Nightingale, Carl Husemoller, *On the Edge: A History of Poor Black Children and Their American Dreams,* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

Pattillo-McCoy, Mary, *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Pinsky, Mark I., "Nitty Gritty: A White Editor in Black Journalism (Review)," *The Quill,* Volume 86, Number 6, (July-August, 1998), page 51.

Scott, Michael G.H., *Packard: The Complete Story,* (Blue Ridge Summit, Pennsylvania: TAB Books, 1985).

Seiler, Cotten, Republic of Drivers: *A Cultural History of Automobility in America,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

"Selling the Negro Market," *Time,* Volume 25, (July 20, 1951), pages 37-44.

Silverstein, Michael J., and Neil Fiske, *Trading Up: Why Consumers Want New Luxury Goods—And How Companies Create Them,* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

"St. Alban's," *Ebony,* Volume 7, (September, 1951), pages 34-41.

Turnquist, Robert E., *The Packard Story: The Car and the Company,* (New York, A.S. Barnes and Company, 1965).

Van Bogart, Angelo, *Cadillac: 100 Years of Innovation,* (Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 2003).

Whyte, William H., "The Cadillac Phenomenon," *Fortune,* Volume 51, (February, 1955), pages 106-109, 174-184.

Widmer, E.L., "Crossroads: The Automobile, Rock and Roll and Democracy," in *Autopia: Cars and Culture,* ed. Peter Wollen and Joe Kerr, (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2002) pages 65-74.

Motor Racing in Heritage, Culture and Preservation: Making the Past Come Roaring Back to Life

A recent vintage race in Monoco.

Matt Harvey

Photos from the author's Collection and by Don Keefe

Motor racing is part of our automotive heritage. It has always been an important part of automobile culture. Historic racing encourages the preservation of historically significant cars in working order doing what they were made to do, but may also lead to their destruction, a challenge to preservation. Old racing cars can now be extremely valuable, increasing the temptation to put them in a museum or a vault, but there is also value for their owners in showing them off on the track. Racing speaks to something deep in the human spirit and while at one level it is experienced very much in the moment, it also produces the spirit, memories and artefacts that constitute heritage. It has also produced death and injury for drivers, spectators and officials and arguably encouraged dangerous driving on the roads. It has been a stronghold of machismo only slightly affected by feminism, a theme explored further below. It is therefore appropriate to examine racing in this Handbook.

Motor Racing As Heritage

Motor racing has a rich history in Europe, North and South America, Australia, New Zealand and other places. Its heritage includes transition from illegal street racing to highly desired tourist attraction via an early period where intercity road races were discontinued due to spectator deaths. It presents the paradox of an activity that is criminal on public roads but highly desirable as a spectacle despite the risks to driver, official and spectator safety. The Australian Formula One Grand Prix at Albert Park in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, neatly illustrates one dilemma. Major international races including the Australian Grand Prix (before it was part of the World Drivers' Championship) were held at the Albert Park track in the 1950s, but most of the time it is a public park with a lake, parklands and a golf course. When it became the venue for the Australian Formula One Grand Prix in 1996, it was thus a revival of Australian motor racing heritage and an addition to it, but also loss of the use of much of the park for three months of the year.

The first Australian Grand Prix was held at Phillip Island near Melbourne in 1928. A ban on street racing did not apply there. There is still a circuit at Phillip Island, now used for the Australian round of the Moto GP. It is not the circuit the first Grand Prix was raced on, but it keeps the island's role in Australian motor racing heritage alive. There is now a major historic meeting held there every year the weekend before the Formula One Grand Prix.

The first Australian Grand Prix was won by Captain Arthur Waite in a supercharged Austin 7, beating some more powerful cars including Bugattis. Waite, an Australian who won the Military Cross at Gallipoli, was wounded, was then nursed by Herbert Austin's daughter and married her. He was sent back to Australia to promote Austin and was thus able to race an Austin.

Waite has all the makings of a legend but is not well known. He has, however, inspired a group of Austin 7 enthusiasts who keep their machines racing and contest the Arthur Waite Trophy each year.

Australia has produced two Formula One Champion drivers: Jack Brabham and Alan Jones. Only Brabham has achieved legend status. He won the World Drivers' Championship in 1959 and 1960 with Cooper and in 1966 with his own team. Denny Hulme then won the World Drivers' Championship for the Brabham team the following year. I was born in 1964 and believe that Brabham's fame in my early years contributed to my lifelong obsession with motor racing. Brabham continued as a team name until the early 90s. I examine drivers in heritage and culture further below.

New Zealand has also produced a World Drivers' Champions in Denny Hulme and in Bruce McLaren, a driver, designer and team builder. Although killed in a testing crash in 1970, McLaren's name lives on in the McLaren Formula One team, which has won many World Drivers' and Constructors' championships, as well as the Bruce McLaren High School in Bruce McLaren Road, McLaren Park, Auckland.

Australia also has major heritage at Mount Panorama, Bathurst, New South Wales with a track based on public roads that runs up Mount Panorama, along its side, then down a long straight to some curves and the start-finish line. Its premier event is a 1,000 kilometre race for touring cars that has been held since the 1960s. Over time, this race has changed from a multi-class event to an event solely for V-8 touring cars, dominated by a rivalry between the two major Australian car makers Ford and Holden (owned by General Motors). These two and the other Australian manufacturer Toyota all ceased production in Australia by the end of 2017, so Australian-made cars are now historical artefacts, but since 2013, the " V-8 Supercars" have used a common platform and while they have retained a road car silhouette, they now have only that visual resemblance to production road cars. The cars from the preceding era are now historic and a popular support category. Because of the resemblance to road cars, the long rivalry also entered popular culture.

Three drivers have also attained legendary status in touring car racing or "V-8 Supercars" as it has been more recently branded: Peter Brock for Holden, Allan Moffat and Dick Johnson for Ford. Brock won Bathurst nine times and now has a monument to himself and one of his cars outside the National Motorsport Museum at Bathurst. Brock became a household name, endorsing many products but also suffering by his embrace of an "energy polariser" widely regarded as a hoax. He was killed in a tarmac rally accident at the age of 61.

Moffat was an enigmatic Canadian who came to Australia in the 1960s, returned to North America in the mid 60s where he raced Fords successfully, then returned to Australia and drove successfully for Ford for many years, winning Bathurst four times.

Johnson became an instant legend when his Ford hit a rock while leading at Bathurst in 1980. Public donations, matched by Ford, enabled him to build new cars and win the following year. His knockabout Australian image helped to consolidate his place in popular culture. He continued to race with his own team into his 50s, often with his son.

Motor Racing as Culture

Motor racing has entered culture in various ways. Pole position, pit stops and the chequered flag have become metaphors for aspects of life. In Melbourne and other cities that have street races, the race plays a part in the life of the city. Places such as Indianapolis, Le Mans and Daytona are best known for the motor races they host. Drivers who try to beat others are in the "traffic light Grand Prix." This points us to one of the central problems of motor racing: it is something we applaud and indeed idolise on the track, but excoriate with good reason on the road. When Lord Howe was caught speeding in the 1920s, the magistrate suggested he take up motor racing. When Stirling Moss was caught speeding in the 1950s, there was discussion as to whether he should be allowed to race if banned from public roads. Lewis Hamilton seemed to think he was above the law doing burnouts on a public road in Melbourne after the Australian Grand Prix. Racing drivers are in demand to endorse products, but we seem to have come a long way from "win on Sunday, sell on Monday." Indeed, motor racing can be seen to have gone through three broad phases: early, when there were purpose-built racing cars as playthings for the rich, middle when manufacturers sought to promote their brands through racing of cars with some connection to the cars they were selling (hence "stock" cars), and the current era, where there are many forms of racing, but top level racing cars only have cosmetic resemblance to road cars.

There was a time when motor racing served the useful purpose of a laboratory for technological innovation. That time has long gone with the technology used in racing far outstripping anything applicable on the road. Some manufacturers still participate in racing to promote their brands, but racing cars are now vehicles for promoting a wide range of products.

<u>Drivers</u>

Some racing drivers have become legends like great warriors. In Italy, Nuvolari; in Argentina, Fangio; in Brazil, Ayrton Senna; in the USA, AJ Foyt, Richard Petty and Mario Andretti, and more recently Dale Earnhardt; in England, Stirling Moss and James Hunt; in Australia Jack Brabham and Peter Brock.

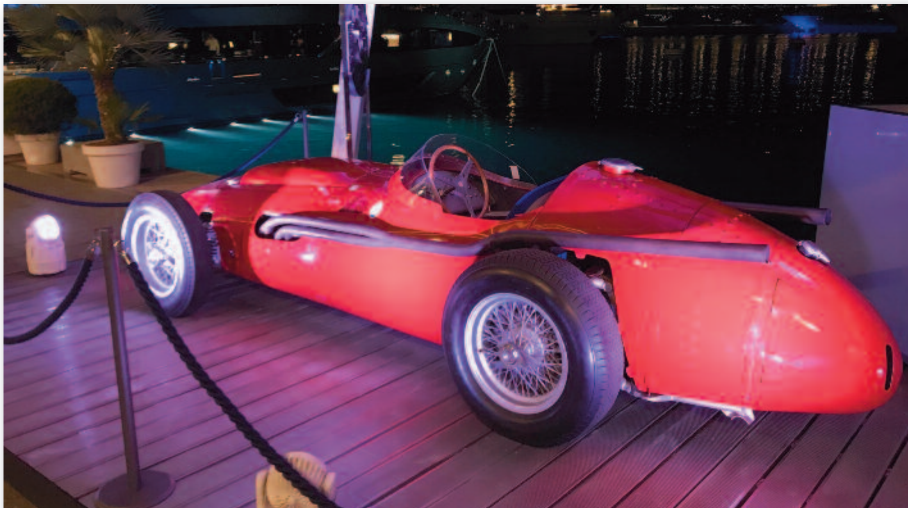
There has been some effort to keep old drivers racing as long as possible in the machines that made them famous. Old drivers are much sought after for historic racing. Here are some drivers whom I believe have acquired legendary status.

Tazio Nuvolari (1892-1953) is my candidate for greatest ever driver. He won the Mille Miglia in 1930, the European Championship in 1932, and Le Mans in 1933, and the German Grand Prix in 1935 in an obsolete Alfa Romeo against the mighty German machines. He later joined Auto Union just before the war and died in his bed in 1953. It was not only the number of races he won, but the panache with which he did it. There is a museum in his honour in his home town of Mantua. [1]

Rudolf Caracciola, the great German driver of the 1920s and 1930s, won the European Championship in 1935, 1937 and 1938. He donated his trophies to the Indianapolis Hall of Fame. There is a monument to him in Remagen, the town of his birth, and a corner at the Nurburgring has been named after him. He has acquired legendary status.

Mike Hawthorn won the Formula One World Championship in 1958 then was killed in a road accident a few months later. His good looks, playboy lifestyle, and racing achievements, together with his early death, have made him a legend. Mike-hawthorn.org.uk

Britain also has the living legend Sir Stirling Moss who, although he never won a World Championship,



A 1950s-era Ferrari Formula 1 racecar.

came terribly close. He retired from top line racing in 1962 and has thus had a long career as a living legend. This has included extensive participation in historic racing.

Juan Manuel Fangio (1911-1995), the great Argentinian driver, won five World Championships with four different teams. There is a museum in his honour in his home town near Buenos Aires. [2] In 1959, Fangio was kidnapped by communists in Cuba. The kidnapping was dramatized in a 1999 Argentine film *Operación Fangio*. There are six statues of Fangio at various tracks around the world.

Jack Brabham left Australia in the late 1950s to try for Formula One. He succeeded, winning the World Drivers' Championship in 1959, 1960 and 1966, the last of these in his own car, which Denny Hulme then won the Championship in 1967. Brabham became a household name and legend of Australian motorsport. The Victorian Historic Racing Register has a shrine to him in its Melbourne clubrooms. There is a monument to Brock at Bathurst at the Australian National Motorsport Museum.

Jackie Stewart, a three time World Drivers' Champion, has claims to legend status. After retirement, he started his own team and has remained a colourful figure on the Formula One scene.

James Hunt also has some claims to legend status. World Drivers' Champion in 1976, he retired in 1979 and became a commentator while continuing to lead a playboy life. He died of a heart attack at 45. His rivalry with Niki Lauda has been immortalised in the film *Rush*.

Lauda, who came back from burns which seriously disfigured his face to win the World Drivers' Championship in 1981 and 1984 then retired, set up an airline and continued his involvement in Formula One. Lauda is another living legend.

Alain Prost, nicknamed "The Professor" for his painstaking, intellectual approach to the sport, won the World Championship in 1985, 1986, 1989 and 1993. He later started his own Formula One team but without success.

Ayrton Senna, the Brazilian champion of 1988, 1990 and 1991, who was killed in a race in 1994, is idolised in Brazil. He deserves the accolade of legend. A documentary on him, *Senna*, is a cinematic masterpiece.

Michael Schumacher, seven-time World Drivers' Champion, has earned legendary status, though he used some dirty tactics to win some of his championships. That he survived in racing but was seriously injured in a skiing accident shortly after retiring adds a tragic twist.

There have been comparatively few women drivers and none are really household names though they should be, especially given the extent of male domination of the sport. Camille du Ghast stands out in the early 1900s. Hellé Nice "the Bugatti Queen," has received a brilliant biography and deserves a film.[3] Violette Morris, her French contemporary who became a Gestapo agent, deserves a different kind of film. Dorothy Levitt and Kay Petre were active between the wars. Not many American women appear before Janet Guthrie in 1970s. Danica Patrick has had considerable success in recent times, but she has been conspicuous as the only woman to make it to the top level.

It is worth saying a word about heritage in the form of inheritance. Motor racing can be seen as a dynastic sport with dynasties like the Foyts, Andrettis, Unsers, Allisons and Pettys in the United States, the Hills in Britain and the Rosbergs in Europe. The combination of inheritance of ability, the possibility of parental assistance, and the brand of a known name attracting sponsorship seem all to contribute to such heritage.

So, with drivers, we have the memories, footage, articles and sometimes museums, monuments and halls of fame. What about the cars?

Cars use in Motor Racing as Material Culture Artifact

<u>Preservation</u>

The most pressing claim for historic racing is that it can actually bring the past roaring back to life more effectively than any other use of historic cars. Concours d'elegance and parades may have occurred in the past as well as the present, but racing can revive past rivalries of makes and drivers. Although tracks have changed over time, there may be enough of the old track, as at Monaco, to make a historic re-enactment which is also a genuine race.

Historic racing faces several dilemmas. In Australia, fields may be thin and in order to have a decent race it is necessary to assemble fields from different eras, making them anachronistic. Also, races are significantly shorter than in the old days. Safety has been improved, which is also anachronistic, but I suggest it does not significantly detract from the spectacle.

There is also the dilemma of the authentic versus the replica. While the initial impetus for historic racing was to keep the genuine old racers on track, reproductions are cheaper and help to increase fields.

Preserving one's priceless treasure versus racing it is another dilemma. In Europe and North America, there are more historic racing cars than Australia and it is possible to assemble better quality, more authentic fields. Events such as the Goodwood Festival of Speed, Monterey Reunion and the Monaco Historic are feasts of historic racing.

Historic Monaco is only held in even years and has just had its 11th running. It is able to attract cars from all over the world, though there is a bias towards Europe. In 2018, they were able to gather five historic fields of decent sizes. The Monaco track is only slightly different from its original layout and many of the prominent landmarks are similar to when the first Grand Prix was run there in 1929.

There have also been advances in museums being able to portray movement with displays combining cars and audio-visual effects.

One of the best things about racing is the way it appeals to all the senses: the appearance of the cars in a landscape – colour and movement, the audio appeal of the engines' roar, the smell of the fumes and burning rubber. Even the touch of a curvaceous body or a leather or wooden steering wheel has appeal but one must be careful of a hot exhaust pipe!

It is possible to preserve cars in museums, but my particular interest in historic racing is in the possibility of living history through racing them. This creates the paradox of possible destruction while in the act of preserving the heritage, but it is heartening to see that the risk does not stop racing – the reason the cars were made in the first place.

Marques

There are several candidates for the crown of most iconic racing marque. Mercedes Benz can trace a heritage back to the invention of the car and in racing from the early years until 1955, when a Mercedes flew into the crowd at Le Mans, killing 80 people. Racing was then resumed in 1989 and now Mercedes are World Champions again. The Mercedes and Auto Unions of the 1930s are iconic, but are also tarnished by their Nazi sponsorship. The Mercedes W196 that won the World Championships in 1954 and 1955 is particularly iconic. A Formula 1 racing car, driven by Fangio in his World Championship-qualifying Grand Prix races in 1954 and 1955, was sold for a record $30 million at an auction in England in July, 2013. Since then, iconic cars have continued to fetch huge prices like the works of art they are.

The Bentleys that won Le Mans in 1929, 1930 and 1931, and their colourful drivers the "Bentley Boys", caught the public imagination in the dark days of the Depression.

Bugatti also has strong claims to iconic status as both luxury marque and racer. Art met engineering in the Bugatti to create poetry in motion.

Ferrari is an iconic brand, still competing in Formula One. It has become the marque of Italy, supported by fanatical *tifosi*. There is a Ferrari museum in Modena, which is pretty much a Ferrari town.

Maserati has been around longer than Ferrari and has an iconic racing heritage dating from 1926. It was particularly strong in the 1930s and 1950s but withdrew from racing after the 1957 Mille Miglia disaster. The Maserati 250F is my platonic ideal of a racing car.

Jaguar is an iconic British marque, though its racing was restricted to sports cars. It was acquired by Ford in the late 1960s and there was briefly a Jaguar Formula One team in the 1990s, but Jaguar's main fame rests on its road cars.

Mors is a French marque that began building racing cars in 1897 and continued until 1908.

Porsche has become an iconic marque in motorsport, though it has only had a brief flirtation with Formula One.

Ford deserves recognition for its long commitment to racing including the GT40 that won Le Mans and the Cosworth V-8 engine which dominated Formula One in the 1980s,

I cannot leave this section without reference to the iconic American racing engines the Offenhauser engine dominated American open wheeler racing for more than fifty years. The Chrysler Hemi was produced for NASCAR in 1964 and dominated the sport until the early '70s.

Advertising

Another way in which motor racing has influenced culture is through advertising. Originally, the cars were advertisements for their makers. As the sport developed from the plaything of gentlemen to something more professional and commercial, the role of advertising increased, though it was not until the 1960s that advertising began to be carried on Grand Prix cars. Over time, cars have become mobile billboards, as have drivers. Plastering cars and clothing with advertisements has spilled over into mainstream culture.

Tobacco companies have been prominent sponsors from the 1960s. It may be observed that tobacco, a producer of fumes and potential cause of death, is appropriate to be associated with motor racing which shares those qualities. Historic racing now faces the conundrum that if it refuses to allow cars carrying tobacco advertisements, it is not being true to history, but if it allows them, it is promoting smoking. The advertising of cigarettes was banned from Australian television in 1974, but tobacco sponsorship of sport was not banned until the end of 1995. Tobacco thus dominated motor sport sponsorship during that time.

Exhibition at Halls of Fame and Museums

The Hall of Fame phenomenon is more developed in the United States than in other parts of the world. The line between a Hall of Fame and a museum may be subtle, but I would suggest that a Hall of Fame promotes unreflective fame whereas a museum should provide a comprehensive and contextual history. Some halls of fame are discussed below in connection with the tracks where they are located. I wish to mention briefly some museums with particular racing content.

The French National Motor Museum in Mulhouse has many Bugattis as well as other racing marques. It includes an entire grid of historic racers.[4] The museum is based on the Schlumpf Collection, the work of the textile magnate Schlumpf brothers who subsequently went bankrupt. The collection was declared to be part of French national heritage and although subsequent litigation has caused some of the collection to be returned to the Schlumpf family.

There are specific marque museums in Italy including Ferrari, Alfa Romeo, Maserati, and Germany: Mercedes and Porsche in Stuttgart; BMW in Munich.

Towns and Tracks

Bathurst

In Australia, the town of Bathurst in inland New South Wales is synonymous with the 1,000 kilometre race for saloons held there every October. There is a monument to Brock at Bathurst at the Australian National Motorsport Museum.

Le Mans

One of the few places more famous for its motor race, the 24 Hours, held in May for sports cars.

Monaco

The principality has hosted a Grand Prix through its streets since 1929. Although no longer suitable as a track for the cars of today, Monaco is a fixture in the calendar because of its legendary status. Historic Monaco is now held every second year with historic Grand Prix cars genuinely racing but older ones not pushing as hard. Monaco is a gorgeous playground of casino, boats and vistas.

Monza

Located near Milan, the Monza circuit has hosted racing since before the First World War. Although the circuit has been altered, it retains its status as a legendary temple of speed.

Silverstone

The home of the British Grand Prix, Silverstone has become an iconic circuit.

Goodwood

Home of the Festival of Speed, held in July, a celebration of both contemporary and historic motorsport.

Indianapolis

With the first Indianapolis 500 held in 1911, the event has become part of American culture. It is steeped in al pre-race ceremonies, post-race celebrations, and race procedure. The most noteworthy and most popular traditions are the 33-car field, the annual singing of "Back Home Again in Indiana," and the victory lane bottle of milk. It is run on Memorial Day in May, and many military commemoration activities are incorporated. The Indianapolis Motor Speedway Museum (Hall of Fame has been dropped from title) is located in the speedway complex. Many other car museums include racing cars, such as the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn.

NASCAR

Although NASCAR has only been around since 1948, it is able to draw on a rich heritage of bootleggers driving "stock cars" fast during Prohibition which seems to have made it part of folk culture in the south. It has also continued the tradition of oval track racing though it also uses road circuits. Under the private ownership of the France family, it has become a multi-billion dollar business with races all around the United States and beyond. With the concept of the "NASCAR Dad" and in other ways (see eg the *Cars* movie franchise below), it has become part of American popular culture.

Daytona Beach

Daytona Beach is the location of the headquarters of NASCAR and of the season-opening and iconic Daytona 500. For many years there was also a circuit on the beach itself. In 1959 the Daytona International Speedway opened. Built by Bill France, owner of NASCAR, it became the signature NASCAR track. In 2017, the Motorsports Hall of Fame of America was relocated there.[5]

In 2010, a separate NASCAR Hall of Fame opened in downtown Charlotte rather than at the Charlotte Motor Speedway out of town.

Talladega

The Talladega Superspeedway is located in Lincoln, Alabama. The speedway was built for NASCAR in 1969 but also hosts other formulae It has been immortalised in the film *Talladega Nights: the ballad of Ricky Bobby*. The International Motor Sport Hall of Fame is located at Talladega.[6]

Knoxville

The National Sprint Car Hall of Fame & Museum for drivers, owners, mechanics, builders, manufacturers, promoters, sanctioning officials and media members, is located in Marion County Fairgrounds, , which is also the home of the Knoxville Nationals .[7]

The Australian Motor Sports Hall of Fame is only virtual at this stage, as is the V-8 Supercars Hall of Fame.[8]

Films

There are many films that include motor racing as a theme, usually in conjunction with romance and the risk of death. Below is a small selection of notable ones.

The Blonde Comet, (1941) features a woman racer taking on the men. Of course, she finds romance too, hands over her car to her beau mid-race at Indy, and accepts giving up racing as a condition of his proposal.

The Big Wheel (1949) Mickey Rooney nearly wins the Indy 500, but the main romance is between his mother (widow of his racer father) and his first owner (who had been his father's mechanic). Boy wants to race more than he wants girl. Boy causes his rival to crash then tries to save him.

On the Beach, (1959) based on Neville Shute's novel of 1957, and set in 1964, depicts the end of the world via nuclear holocaust, but with the fallout yet to reach Melbourne. An American nuclear submarine goes in search of survivors in the USA and the Australian Grand Prix is held, won by an Australian scientist played by Fred Astaire. It would be fair to say that the end of the world is a more important theme than motor racing, but it is interesting to note that the race goes ahead and that many competitors take the opportunity to race without regard for their impending doom.

Grand Prix (1966) used much genuine footage as it followed the fate of four fictional drivers in the 1966 season. A Frenchman and an Italian in Ferraris, an American racing for a new Japanese team, and an Englishman driving for a British team. As well as the on-track drama, the married Frenchman has an affair with a journalist, the American has an affair with the Englishman's wife. In the end, the Frenchman is killed and Ferrari bring in his teammate, leaving the American and Englishman to fight it out. Cuckolded at home and beaten on the track, the Englishman loses out twice to the American in this American-produced film which captures the fragility of life in Formula One.

A Man and a Woman (1966) Jean-Louis Trintignant and Anouk Aimee is the story of a racing driver whose wife had committed suicide after he was badly injured at Le Mans. He meets the widow of a stunt man and they fall in love. He demonstrates his love by driving the length of France from Monaco to be with her. Trintignant is the nephew of two racing drivers. The film is more about love than racing.

Winning (1969) starred Paul Newman as an American racer Capua trying to win the Indy 500. He meets and marries Elora (Joanne Woodward), but she has an affair with his main rival and they split up. Capua then wins the Indy 500, receives an apology from his rival but punches him anyway, then attempts to reconcile with his wife. The film ends with uncertainty about whether that will happen. Perhaps the message is that life is more complicated than racing, that you cannot "win" in relationships.

Steve McQueen bridged racing and film with *Le Mans* (1971). As well as being a famous actor, he was an accomplished racing driver. The plot concerns a driver

A contemporary vintage race at Gingerman Raceway with a C2 Corvette leading a Mustang out of a corner.

Delaney (McQueen) and his relationship with the widow of a driver killed in the previous year's race for which he may be partly to blame. After crashing, Delaney is put in a teammate's Porsche and goes on to enable another teammate to win by taking out their Ferrari-driving opposition Stahler. It is notable that the winning Porsches are driven by Americans while the enemy Ferrari is driven by a German. It is another Allied victory over the Axis, yet in a German car!

Bobby Deerfield (1977) starring Al Pacino was based on the novel *Heaven has no Favourites* by Erich Maria Remarque. It tells the story of a racing driver who meets a dying woman at a sanatorium and is forced to reassess his attitude to life and death.

Days of Thunder (1990) Tom Cruise as the young driver trying to make it in NASCAR, Nicole Kidman as the neurosurgeon who falls in love with him while treating him. Sometimes described as "Top Gun on wheels", the film seemed to satisfy neither racing purists nor those looking for a decent plot, but did satisfy movie people like Quentin Tarantino and fans of the stars.

Driven (2001 Sylvester Stallone) was originally to be on Formula One but ended up based on CHAMP Car, an American-based formula. Young Bly has older driver Tanto (Stallone) brought in to mentor him, then to replace his teammate Moreno. Their chief rival Brandenburger breaks up with his girlfriend who then takes up with Bly, then gets back with Brandenburger. Bly and Brandenburger bond over rescuing Moreno from a crash. Bly wins the championship narrowly from Brandenburger with Tanto in third. The film made extensive use of CGI and seemed to satisfy neither racing purists, critics nor cinemagoers. It appears to demonstrate the difficulty of making a good film on a motor racing theme, though Stallone's comparison of racing to acting is food for thought. The film, however, seems a major wreck.

The *Cars* franchise took me back to my roots of a racing car as a cuddly toy. They manage to have a lot of fun with the car as boy racer learning the tough lessons about life while promoting NASCAR. One cannot broach this subject without a mention of *The Love Bug* and its sequels, though I never took Herbie seriously as a racing car!

Rush discussed above in connection with Hunt and Lauda, seems to satisfy racing purists, critics and fans of the stars Chris Hemsworth and Daniel Bruhl. It is more about their rivalry than racing per se, but still manages to capture the tensions between chivalric bravery and professional precision.

Books

There are many books on motor racing from boys' own tales to thrillers to drivers' memoirs to technical manuals. I could not claim that any have had a major impact on modern culture. Perhaps *The Bugatti Queen* (see above) has had the most impact, but a film has failed to eventuate.

Erich Maria Remarque's 1961 novel *Heaven has no Favourites* has been discussed above as the basis for the film *Bobby Deerfield*. It is a rare example of a literary novel involving motor racing.

Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* (film discussed above) is a famous novel, but it must be conceded that the end of the world is a more significant theme than motor racing.

Michael Cannell's *The Limit: Life

and Death in Formula One's Most Dangerous Era (2011) on the 1961 Formula One season is a rare example of a deep analysis of motor racing.

Magazines

Many magazines cover motorsport and there is analysis of this elsewhere in the book. I have found online magazine archives particularly valuable in researching this article.

Web sites

Web sites are a very effective way to preserve memories and images of drivers, cars and races.

Games

There are many video games involving driving and racing, many connected to movie and television franchises. They provide the opportunity for global competition from your computer, but I do not find them a sufficient substitute for the real thing. They have had some impact on culture and include historic racing.

Conclusion

This article has examined the heritage created by motor racing in the form of events, drivers, cars, tracks, museums and halls of fame, but also in film, literature and other media. While not as theoretically developed, it observes the paradox of a dangerous activity which is a crime when done on public roads but is a greatly valued spectacle on tracks. Cities are willing to immobilise themselves to hold races through their streets. Racing is offered to children as an opportunity for play and imagination and childhood enthusiasm often continues into adulthood. Racing has transformed from an opportunity for national, personal and manufacturer glory to an orgy of commercialism, but identification by spectators with cars and drivers continues. Motor racing has appeared as a theme in film and literature, generally to explore relationships where the death of one partner is an ever-present possibility. Historic racing creates the possibility of living history but also the risk of destruction of these precious cars. As historic racing cars become ever rarer and more expensive, more eras of racing become historicised and newly historic cars come into play. There is also the possibility of producing replicas which although not the real thing, help to recreate historic atmosphere. Preserving automobile heritage must include both historic racing and imaginative curation of museums and historic sites. Meanwhile, the internet and gaming have proved useful vehicles for motor racing heritage.

Sources:

1. www.tazionuvolari.it/en/

2. www.museofangio.com/

3. See Miranda Seymour The Bugatti Queen Simon & Schuster 2005.

4. www.citedelautomobile.com /en/home.

5. www.mshf.com/

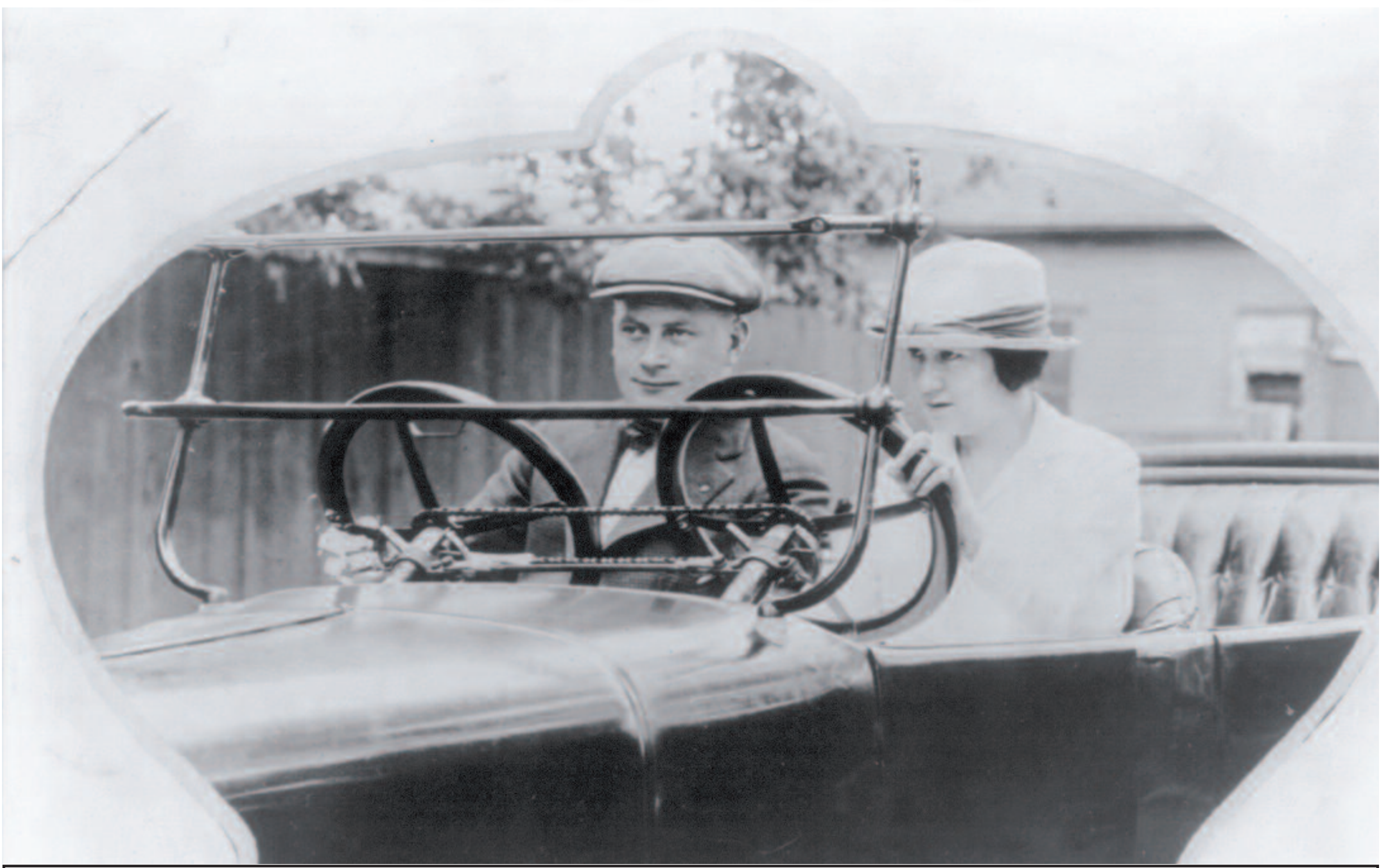
6. www.motorsportshalloffame.com/?homepage=true

7. www.sprintcarhof.com/

8. www.cams.com.au/about/about-cams/australian-motor-sport-hall-of-fame

An Alfa Romeo competing in a vintage race event at Gingerman Raceway in Michigan.

Making a Nation of Drivers: Driver Education and Sportsmanlike Driving, 1936-1975



Student and instructor in Briscoe automobile—notice the dual controls. August 4. 1917. (Library of Congress).

John Heitmann
Department of History, The University of Dayton

Photo Credits as Noted

Following Clay McShane's seminal *Down the Asphalt Path*, historians Peter Norton, David Blanke, Cotten Seiler, Jeremy Packer, and Katherine J. Parkin have recently examined the complexities associated with driver responsibility and traffic safety during the interwar period.[1] Norton made a convincing argument for a paradigm of power and control centered on an organized group of government elites and manufacturer interests whom he tagged as "Motordom." Accordingly, Motordom's efforts led to the shifting of responsibility for vehicle and highway from the automobile to the driver. This institutional framework and its persuasive ideas held sway to the 1960s, as reflected in Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* pithy phrase "Damn the driver and spare the car."

In a recent essay, political and social historian Stève Bernardin took issue with Norton's interpretation, asserting that a more complex cluster of constituencies and power centers contributed to the traffic safety movement. Consequently, causation came not only from above, but also from below. For Bernardin highway safety was a complex story involving both elites and commoners as causal agents. Bernardin went on to ask "who supported the claim that traffic control was achievable, at what time, and in what manner? Was it presented as morality or science? What sources of legitimacy had to be mobilized to make traffic control a public problem worthy of political attention?" [2]

In the following presentation I shall shift the discussion from traffic control to "power under control," or driver education that first became a major issue during the 1930s in the United States.[3] Specifically, I wish to examine changes over time in the training or educating of young drivers. How did the content of public high school driver education emerge and evolve between the 1930s and 1970s? To answer that question and to raise a host of contextual ones that will demand further study, I compare and contrast 1936, 1947, 1955, 1966 and 1975 editions of the primary text in the field, *Sportsmanlike Driving*.[4]

Often scholarly interests are autobiographical in nature, and such is the case with this study. As a teenager I often read bits and pieces of *Sportsmanlike Driving* while visiting an older cousin, who just happened to be a Driver Ed teacher along with his primary duties in the school shop. Later, I used this book as I prepared to get my learner's permit and then license. Did this book and training make me a safer driver? I would like to think so, but my record suggests otherwise!

Public school driver education flowed out of a safety movement that began immediately after WWI with the elementary school safety patrol. In response to horrific pedestrian and highway death statistics, in the 1930s attention shifted to youthful drivers and their disproportional fatality rates. [5]

Sportsmanlike Driving first appeared in 1936 as a set of five pamphlets: "The Driver;" "Driver and Pedestrian Responsibilities;" "Sound Driving Practices;" "Society's Responsibilities;" and finally "How to Drive." Only later, in 1947, was it collated into an American Automobile Association (AAA) hardbound textbook. Initially bearing the strong imprint of Pennsylvania State College Professor Amos Neyhart, nevertheless it was the product of a complex collaborative effort involving many educators, psychologists, engineers, and automobile industry representatives. [6] For example, the AAA's Peter J. Stupka was credited with overall responsibility for the original draft, and Penn State psychologist Carroll D. Champlin rearranged the manuscript and "did much original work…and made practical tests of its suitability." Champlin also "rearranged and rewrote the material so that it would be effective from the educators' point of view."[7] What this perhaps meant was that Champlin began with a few key concepts, then articulated them with complexity and elaboration, and finally contextualized material into a comprehensive whole.

In glancing through the first five pamphlets printed in 1936 and then reprinted several times before WWII, one has to be duly impressed with its comprehensive sweep of the topics of automotive history and technology, social responsibility and consequences, legal issues, and highway and traf-

While the technology may have changed since the 1960s...

fic engineering. The massive detail in this and several future editions would overwhelm many of today's students.

Most significantly, the pamphlets stress the importance of habit formation in the process of learning how to drive. There was no doubt that William James and his 1887 short treatise entitled "Habit" was at the heart of *Sportsmanlike Driving*.[8] Indeed, "Habit" was cited as suggested reading at the end of one of the chapters. James thought in terms of neuroplasticity before that concept became fashionable, asserting that ingrained information patterns could be formed by repetition. He wrote: "Any sequence of mental action which has been frequently repeated tends to perpetuate itself, so we find ourselves automatically prompted to think, feel, or do, under like circumstances, without any consciously formed purpose, or anticipation of results."

Thus for James, education has the responsibility of instilling habits. He wrote "The great thing then, in all education, is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy.... For this we must make automatic and habitual, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can, and guard against the growing into ways that are likely to be disadvantageous to us.... The more the details of our daily life we can hand over to the effortless custody of automatism, the more our higher powers of mind will be set free for their own proper work." James' ideas were translated systematically and repetitively into *Sportsmanlike Driving*. In the section "How to Drive," it was stated "If you have ever broken a bad habit, you know how hard it is to do. One of the basic principles in learning how to drive is to learn the right way first and to learn each step in proper order."[9]

Simple mechanical operations were linked to habits—starting an engine, shifting gears, using the accelerator, clutch, steering wheel, and brakes. A conditioned nervous system linked human muscles with the machine, and "through practice, muscles working together come to act with an exact degree of force, in an exact direction, for an exact amount of time. This is skill."

Driving was also to be seen as a sport, one of fair play for all involved. It was remarked "Like every other skill and ability, the skill of the driver depends on preparation, training and practice. It is a skill of a high order. Coaching is needed if you are to win the game. When you drive with a no-accident record, you win the automobile driving game. When you have an accident, you lose the game and are heavily penalized besides."

Of course, the authors of *Sportsmanlike Driving* recognized that proper habits could be undermined, by both physical and mental personal factors. In the 1936 pamphlets those enemies could be everything from epilepsy to mental illness, heart trouble, syphilis, fatigue, alcohol, drugs, and worry or distractions. Further complicating matters were undesirable psychological types, from the egotist and the show-off to the emotional and the frustrated. In contrast, a top-notch driver had balance and self control, or power under control. The best drivers accepted responsibility, practiced good sportsmanship, had forethought and controlled attention, good judgment and finally humor!

The 1936 pamphlets contained considerable material on pedestrian safety from the perspectives of both the automobile driver and the person on foot. Just as drivers needed to be courteous and sportsmanlike to walkers, "the man on foot [also] needs a change in attitude." Thus problems were addressed associated with a once rural America now urbanizing. Consequently citizens needed to change their customs and habits on streets increasingly dominated by automobiles.

The comprehensive scope of the first iteration of *Sportsmanlike Driving* was also reflected in a third pamphlet entitled "Society's Responsibilities." Authored by distinguished urban sociologist and Yale professor Maurice R. Davies, this major section reflected Davies' expertise on the scientific study of social problems. Davies held more than an acquaintance with automobiles, as he subsequently authored an essay entitled "On Motoring in Europe in 1938-9." Maintaining an academic rigor, Davies covered a broad spectrum of topics, beginning with a chapter on "How the Automobile Changed our Lives." He followed with a variety of diverse discussions on traffic engineering, legislation, the observance and enforcement of traffic laws, and finally "Educating Individuals for Living in the Motor Age." Davies saw the task of education as urgent:

> **Many adults who grew up in "horse and buggy" days have many fixed habits which are not suited to modern conditions. For the most part, they are not in organized groups where they receive organized instruction in correct traffic actions. They are often "set" in their ways, and resentful of efforts to change them. Many of them think they are better drivers than they really are. Here is a difficult task for society.[10]**

To deal with this situation Davies suggested a mass education program that drew on newspapers, radio, films, so-called safety Sabbaths where sermons one Sunday a month would deal with safety, and finally a broad range of community efforts. It was an endeavor both ambitious and perhaps equally unattainable.

The first four *Sportsmanlike Driving* booklets were preparation for a capstone entitled "How to Drive." Finally the student was to get behind the wheel and go. Based on Amos Neyhart's experiences that were codified as a "standard learning method," it was a step-by-step process that began with the would-be driver getting situated, then learning instruments and controls in proper order. Only then was the student permitted to start the car, use the clutch and shift, and negotiate basic maneuvers including turns and parking. Neyhart cautioned that "Basic is the principle of doing each step correctly from the first time and never allowing a wrong way to be used. Correct habits develop most rapidly when this principle is used."[11] The final topic is one that is rarely taught to high school students today—automotive technology and car care. In a chapter entitled "Giving the Car a Square Deal," Neyhart emphasized both fundamental technological systems and how to maintain them to the end of control and safety. In sum, his course on how to drive was holistic, as was *Sportsmanlike*

...the basic premise of vehicle simulators has not deviated. Computers and sensory enhancements can add new levels of realism to the experience. Photos courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Mid and full-size sedans have been the driver education vehicle of choice, as they allow for multiple students to be instructed at once. Photo courtesy of Upper Cumberland Human Resource Agency.

Driving in its entirety. It was a remarkably coherent product given the number of contributors and institutions involved.

Two other pedagogical elements of the 1936 pamphlets are worth mentioning. Curiously, there was a fascination with various gadgets used to test the physical abilities of student drivers. Blueprints for these devices—a field of vision apparatus, "glarometer," hand-grip tester, brake reaction timer—were available from the AAA to school districts for free. A commentator on the course remarked that "It is a human trait for one to have primary interest in himself…A gadget to test your resistance to glare or muscular coordination—there was an activity, adventure, achieve-ment!"[12] An additional exercise involved student self evaluation of both personal characteristics that could be measured and general personal characteristics—health, disability, nervous stability, control of attention, reliability, courtesy habits observation, presence of mind and sportsmanship. An AAA public relations writer exclaimed "Almost by accident, the approach that has proven so successful in teaching driver education and training to high school classes, was discovered by the Association. This approach involves making each student, through a self inventory process, aware of his own physical, mental and emotional characteristics that are related to driving."[13] But would that student make an honest and accurate self-assessment?

The set of five pamphlets formed the core of first (1947), second (1948) and third (1955) editions. Successors reflected the concerns of post-war atomic culture, as the first inserted photographs in the 1947 and 1955 texts depicted the detonation of an atomic bomb and a nuclear power plant respectively. The 1955 opened with "A Power Age," where it was asserted that "The important question of our age is not how to produce more power but whether or not man's purposes in life are worthy of the power he now can summon to make his wishes and purposes come true. Man must accept the moral responsibility of properly using the power machines he has devised."[14] Overall, however, little in terms of content was new, although the actual sections on getting behind the wheel were moved up in the manuscript in 1947 and automatic transmissions were described in 1955. Additionally, the sociological analysis along with pedestrian safety was moved toward the back. The visual component of learning was improved dramatically through the addition of better quality photographs and graphics.

Viewing the graphics in editions published to the 1950s reveals that *Sportsmanlike Driving* was decidedly written for the male novice driver. While young women were not totally excluded, they certainly were underrepresented as drivers.

Amos Neyhart is seen here with a student and a 1936 Pontiac four-door sedan fitted with a dual-driver control system. Photo courtesy of Penn State University Archives.

And while the 1965 edition featured updated photographs, statistics, and multicolored sketches, women and minorities continued to be marginalized, while the central theme of citizenship linked to the earning of a driver's license remained at the heart of the curriculum. In the preface of the fifth (1965) version, in italics, it was asserted that driver education "*promotes the safe, efficient, and rewarding use of the automobile; fosters a strong sense of personal responsibility for traffic conditions and improvements; encourages cooperation in solving public problems;* and *provides pride in high standards of performance and conduct.*"[15] Indeed, the content of the pre-WWII publications is clearly recognizable in both organization and prose as late as 1965. Minor revisions were included in 1965, however, including an introduction that featured ten case studies of how ignorance on the part of young people about the automobile, insurance and the law, and driving resulted in long term personal disaster.

The consensus view that driver education programs were effective in making for a nation of better drivers held sway to the mid-1960s.[16] But then this interpretation began to fall apart, as first journalists and then educators began to argue that driver education had little or no effect on student drivers' outcomes. On the eve of his retirement in 1964, Neyhart steadfastly maintained in that driver education had value, citing two studies in Massachusetts and Michigan that suggested the courses' success. But, he also backed off of previous statements made in *Sportsmanlike Driving* concerning students becoming expert drivers, hedging that "It really takes 100,000 miles of driving, spread over a number of years, before a driver really becomes superior."[17] Journalist Michael Lamm countered Neyhart's basic argument, asking that "Is it true that teenagers who have taken high school driving classes aren't any better at driving (and perhaps are worse), than those who have learned on their own? Some people have come to that conclusion on the basis of two studies—one in Mississippi, the other in California—which show a slightly higher rate among school-trained teenagers than among other teen-aged drivers."[18] By the late 1960s, other critics joined in with

Lamm, including academic researchers. In particular, Joe Shively and William Asher applied statistical methods to demonstrate an overall ineffectiveness of the program, and thus *Sportsmanlike Driving* was radically revised and rewritten.[19]

Consequently, the 1975 7th edition of *Sportsmanlike Driving* eliminated much of the traditional material and an educational philosophy going back to the five pamphlets first published in 1936. The details characteristic of early editions were cut to the bone – so that "the body of information, when properly interpreted and applied, maximizes student interest by presenting essential information in an accurate, clear, and interesting manner."[20] Driving no longer centered on the formation of habits but rather,

> **information processing, an area that has heretofore received insufficient emphasis…Emphasis is given to the concepts of developing an organized search and to separating and minimizing risks through the management of time and space. A procedure is developed for arriving at a compromise when multiple threats exist. Another outstanding feature of this approach is its stress on true high-performance driving —-not in the racing sense, but in the decision-making sense. Drivers are not presented merely as manipulators of vehicles but as rational beings who think and make complex decisions in a constantly changing traffic environment.**[21]

This new way of teaching driver education focused on selective identification of potential threats, analysis, and evaluation with the aim of minimizing risk. Thus decisions were made to prepare for the unexpected. Close attention was now focused on collision potential. Ultimately by simplifying the situation at hand, the best compromises were purportedly made. In pressing situations, then, habits became secondary to a risk-averse response.[22]

A revised curriculum could not save public high school driver education, however. During the late 1970s and early 1980s a well-designed and ambitious comprehensive study of driver education took place in DeKalb County, Georgia, that conclusively demonstrated that "driver education was not found to be associated with reliable or significant decreases in crash involvement."[23] The DeKalb study came under intense scrutiny and has been held up numerous times since then. These negative studies, combined with reduced public funding and emphasis on college preparation, have led most states and localities to surrender their role of driving education to the AAA and private driving schools. No longer is driving connected with citizenship the way it was in the interwar and Cold War eras. While still a privilege, it is now as much a commodity as a rite of passage.

Sources:

1. Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: the Automobile and the American City* (New York, 1994); Peter D. Norton, *Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City* (Cambridge, MA, 2008); Norton, "Street Rivals: Jaywalking and the Invention of the Motor Age Street," *Technology and Culture,* 48 (April, 2007), 331-359. David Blanke, *Hell on Wheels: The Promise and Peril of America's Car Culture, 1900-1940* (Lawrence, KS, 2007); Cotten Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago, 2008); Katherine J. Parkin, *Women at the Wheel: A Century of Buying, Driving, and Fixing Cars* (Philadelphia, 2017).

2. Stève Bernardin, "'Taking the Problem to the People: Traffic Safety from Public Relations to Political Theory, 1937-1954," *Technology and Culture,* Special Issue, 2015, p. 421.

3. For a general historical overview of the period under study, see Herbert J. Stack, *A History of Driver Education in the United States* (Washington, 1966).

4. American Automobile Association, *Sportsmanlike Driver Series: The Driver,* Washington, DC, 1936); Other pamphlets were entitled *Driver and Pedestrian Responsibilities; Sound Driving Practices; Society's Responsibilities; How to Drive.* The "official" collated first edition was published

in 1947. Third, revised edition, 1955. 7th edition, 1975.

5. On the 1930s background to the driver education movement, see "To Reduce Traffic Casualties: National Safety Council Presents 'Balanced Program,'" *NYT,* May 22, 1932, p. XX5; "Safety Urged on Youth: Chrysler Official Asks Early Education in Driving, *NYT,* November 7, 1935, P. 12; James Waring, "Higher Education for Drivers," *Readers Digest,* 28 (May 1936), 51-3; Albert W. Whitney, Three E's in Auto Safety," *NYT,* October 31, 1937, p. 197; Reginald Cleveland, "At the Wheel," *NYT*, November 21, 1937, p. 196; "For Safe Drivers," *NYT,* June 19, 1938, p. 60; Whitney, "Safety Education Vital: Training of Youth to Drive Cars Properly," *NYT,* November 13, 1938, p. 204; Whitney, "Safety Education Gains," *NYT,* October 15, 1939, p. 171.

6. On Neyhart, see "Amos Neyhart, 91; Originated Courses in Driver Education," *New York Times,* July 13, 1990, http://www.nytimes.com/1990/07/13/obituaries/amos-neyhart-91-originated-courses-in-driver-education.html; John Peatman, "Drivers Education – Putting It in Gear," Spring, 2011, The Pennsylvania Center for the Book, pabook2.libraries.psu.edu.

7. "The Driver," Introduction, n.p., 1936.

8. On William James, habits and learning, see brainpickings.org, accessed January 18, 2018. "The Driver," 1936, pp. 11-20.

9. "How to Drive," 1938, Introduction.

10. "Society's Responsibilities," 1937, p. 95.

11. "How to Drive," Introduction.

12. Forest R. Noffsinger,"The American Automobile Association and Safety Education," *The Phi Delta Kappan,* 21 (January 1939), p. 170.

13. Noffsinger, p. 170.

14. *Sportsmanlike Driving,* 1955 edition, p. 3.

15. *Sportsmanlike Driving,* 1965 edition (5th), p. vii.

16. For example, see Herbert J. Stack, "The Case for Driver Education in the High School," *The High School Journal,* 30 (November-December, 1947), 253-4; "Urge all Students Be Taught How to Drive," *The Science News-Letter,* 59 (June 23, 1951), 386; Ralph C. Preston and Estoy T. Reddin, "Status of the Curriculum," *Review of Educational Research,* 27 (June, 1957), 250-61; Arthur Bestor, "Social Studies and Citizenship: The Responsibilities of the Public Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 104 (December 15, 1960), 549-557; Paul W. Kearney, "Driver Education Pays Off," *Parents Magazine and Better Homemaking,* 39 (October, 1964), 64, 94, 96.

17. Amos E. Neyhart, "The Need for Driver Education," *Motor Trend,* November 1964, p. 102.

18. Michael Lamm, "Driver Education: Are We Getting Our Money's Worth?" 48-9.

19. See "Driver Education in Schools: How Good?" *Changing Times* (October, 1967), 43-7; "What Driver Education Teaches You," *American Home,* 70 (December, 1967), 74-5; Alice Lake, "Does Driver Education Save Lives," *McCall's,* November, 1969), 153-7; Joe Shively and William Asher, "Characteristics of Students Who Could Not Take and Schools Which Did Not Offer Driver Training," *The Journal of Educational; Research,* 64 (December, 1970), 185-189.

20. American Automobile Association, *Sportsmanlike Driving* (New York, 1975), p. T.

21. Ibid., T 1.

22. 7th edition, pp. 92-105.

23. See Daniel R. Mayhew, Herbert Simpson, Allan F. Williams and Susan A. Ferguson, "Effectiveness and Role of Driver Education and Training in a Graduated licensing System," *Journal of Public Health Policy,* 19, no. 1 (1998), p. 53.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation: Factory-Dealer Relations 1956 – 1966

Fig. 1: North End Motors in Barre Vermont, shown with 1958 Studebaker police cars sold to the state of Vermont, was a typical Studebaker dealer of the late 1950s. (Photograph courtesy of the Studebaker National Museum Archives.)

Robert R. Ebert, Ph.D.

Professor Emeritus of Economics
Baldwin Wallace University
Berea, Ohio

Photo Credits as Noted

Introduction

Longstreet (1952) notes that shortly after the Civil War a written exchange between Peter and Clem Studebaker went like this:

"I, Peter Studebaker, agree to sell all the wagons my brother Clem can make."

(signed) *Peter Studebaker*

"I agree to make all he can sell."

(signed) *Clem Studebaker* (p. 37).

The arrangements between Studebaker-Packard Corporation and its dealers were not quite that simple a century later. While the Studebaker factory may have been willing to make all the cars its dealers could sell, the dealers were not selling all that the factory could make. Here, making extensive use of corporate documents, the relationship between Studebaker-Packard Corporation and its dealers is examined in that last decade of automobile and truck production by the firm from 1956 to 1966.

Table 1: United States Automobile Manufacturers Unit Sales Per Dealer 1956-1966[a]

Year	American Motors	Chrysler Corporation	Ford Motor Company	General Motors	Studebaker	All U.S. Industry
1956	47	104	189	183	44	148
1957	56	130	194	169	30	154
1958	75	83	133	141	21	118
1959	127	97	199	169	53	158
1960	142	141	214	197	44	184
1961	125	104	208	193	34	172
1962	139	119	232	261	37	212
1963	139	163	243	283	33	233
1964	125	186	276	294	15	246
1965	115	213	318	351	8	299
1966	104	214	321	331	12[b]	290

Sources:

[a] *Automotive News, 1974 Almanac Issue,* p. 62

[b] Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO), Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, April 25, 1966 (South bend, IN: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum).

Automobile Industry Structure—An Analytical Overview

The 16,708 franchised new car dealers in the United States sold an average of 1068 units each in 2016 *(Wards Motor Vehicle Facts and Figures 2017)*. In 1966, though, there were 30,278 U.S. retail outlets for new cars which sold an average of 290 units each (*Automotive News 1974 Almanac)*.

Table 1 shows that in the 1950s and 1960s the average Studebaker dealer was quite small compared to the dealers for the other four major automobile manufacturers. The study presented here tests the hypothesis that even though Studebaker-Packard Corporation made efforts to strengthen its dealer network, that network remained competitively weak and contributed to the discontinuance of Studebaker automobile production.

To understand the situation Studebaker-Packard Corporation (S-P) and its dealers confronted in the 1956-1966 period, it is helpful to summarize auto industry analysis undertaken by economists who examined the structure of the industry during that time. Joe S. Bain (1956) of the University of California, Berkley, estimated that in the 1950s an integrated producer would have needed to build in the range of 100,000 to 150,000 units per year to break even. Added economies of scale and profits were obtainable at even higher levels of output. Charles Edwards (1965) of the University of South Carolina and Lawrence J. White (1971) of Princeton calculated that economies of scale continued to be achieved in a single assembly plant through 200,000 to 250,000 units per year.

Data presented to the S-P Board of Directors by A. J. Porta, S-P Vice-President of finance in 1957, were consistent with the Bain, Edwards, and White estimates. Porta estimated that in its single South Bend plant the S-P break-even point was 103,000 vehicles for the 1958 model year, but would be 123,000 units if the high profit margin Packard and Studebaker President Classic lines were eliminated (S-P Board, December 20, 1957).

Studebaker-Packard Dealer Network Structure—1956

As the S-P sales and financial positions deteriorated (see Tables 2 and 3), in August 1956 the presidency of S-P transitioned from James J. Nance, a former executive at General Electric/Hotpoint before being President of Packard and then S-P, to Harold Churchill, a career Studebaker engineer. Along with that presidential transition came a change in the S-P dealer network structure and a management advisory agreement with Curtiss-Wright Corporation (C-W).

A full discussion of the Curtiss-Wright/Studebaker-Packard man-

Table 2: Studebaker-Packard United States and Canadian Production

Year	U.S. Cars	U.S. Trucks	U.S. Total	Canada	U.S. and Canada		
					Cars	Trucks	Total
1955	182,059[b]	19,287	201,346	8,696	190,755	19,543[a]	210,298
1956	95,834[b]	14,693	110,527	8,682	104,516	14,693	119,209
1957	72,889[b]	9,374	82,263	5,468	78,357	9,374	87,731
1958	56,869[b]	10,563	67,432	4,514	61,383	10,563	71,946
1959	153,823	10,779	164,602	8,320	162,143	10,779	172,922
1960	105,902	12,316	118,218	5,673	111,575	12,316	123,891
1961	78,664	7,648	86,312	6,227	84,891	7,648	92,539
1962	86,974	14,282	101,256	7,948	94,922	14,282	109,204
1963	67,918	13,119	81,037	8,190	76,108	13,119	89,227
1964	0	0	0	17,614	17,614	0	17,614
1965	0	0	0	18,542	18,542	0	18,542
1966	0	0	0	2,045	2,045	0	2,045

[a] Includes 256 trucks built by Studebaker in Canada in 1955.

[b] Includes 69,667 Packards built in calendar year 1955, 13,432 in 1956, 5,495 in 1957, and 1745 in 1958.

Source: *Automotive News Almanac Issues, 1956 – 1968.*

agement advisory agreement is beyond the scope of this paper. It can be noted that C-W provided financial assistance to S-P through the lease of the Utica Bend (Detroit) engine plant of S-P and Chippewa Avenue plant in South Bend (where military trucks and some passenger cars had been assembled). Those leases provided $25 million of upfront rental payments that strengthened the S-P finances. C-W also purchased the S-P subsidiary, Aerophysics Corporation, in Santa Barbara, California. Total value of the C-W lease and purchase transactions came to $35 million in cash which was instrumental in S-P being able to continue operations. C-W also obtained an option to purchase five million shares of S-P stock which never was exercised and the agreement between S-P and C-W terminated in late 1958 (S-P Board, July 26, 1956).

With closure of the Detroit Packard plants in mid 1956, the production of Studebaker and Packard vehicles was concentrated in South Bend. Among the first actions of the Churchill regime was to consolidate what had been separate Studebaker and Packard dealer organizations into a single entity. On September 1, 1956, S-P had 1360 dealers handling Studebaker exclusively, 686 dealers handling Packard exclusively, and 732 dealers handling both Studebaker and Packard for a total of 2778 dealers. The company had to resolve 414 so-called "conflict points" where exclusive Packard and Studebaker dealers existed but where dualing those dealers to handle both makes could not be justified by their sales potential. The restructuring of the S-P dealer organization by the end of 1956 resulted in approximately 2160 being "dual" dealers handling both makes, 90 dealers handling Packard exclusively, and 90 dealers handling Studebaker exclusively. Therefore, as the consolidation of the dealer networks evolved at the end of 1956, the total number of Studebaker-Packard Corporation dealers was 2340 (S-P Board, November 20, 1956).

The Studebaker-Packard/ Mercedes-Benz Agreement

One of the developments from the Studebaker-Packard/Curtiss-Wright Management Advisory Agreement was Curtiss-Wright arranging for S-P to be the exclusive marketer of Mercedes-Benz automobiles in the United States and Canada. The United States distribution rights for Mercedes-Benz vehicles by Studebaker dealers were obtained in 1957 (*S-P Annual Report,* 1956). However, the Canadian distribution rights were not consummated until November 1, 1962 (S-P Board, October 5, 1962). United States Mercedes-Benz outlets paired with Studebaker dealers numbered 350. That relationship helped many of the larger Studebaker dealers by providing them with the Mercedes-Benz line

Table 3: Estimated Sales, U.S. Studebaker Dealers: Calendar Years 1956-1966						
U.S. Unit Sales					Corporate	
Year		Cars	Trucks	Total	Number of Dealers[b]	Profits/(Loss) (millions $)
1956		104,798[a]	8,708	113,506	2778	($43.3)[e]
1957		67,754[a]	6,547	74,301	2421	($11.1)
1958		49,543[a]	4,142	53,685	2067	($13.4)
1959		133,382	5,908	139,290	2479	$28.5
1960		106,244	5,932	112,176	2614	$0.7
1961		72,155	5,484	77,639	2258	($3.1)
1962		77,877	5,899	83,776	2067	$0.5
1963		64,570	5,422	69,992	2074	($16.9)[f]
1964		26,073	1,539	27,612	1832	$8.1[g]
1965		12,042	0	12,042	1690	$10.7[g]
1966		8935[c]	0	8935[c]	735[d]	$16.5[g]

[a] Includes 28,396 Packards in 1956, 5,189 Packards in 1957 and 1745 Packards in 1958.
[b] The 2778 dealers in 1956 are as of October 1, 1956, after the consolidation of Studebaker and Packard dealers into a single dealer organization. Subsequent years are estimates of *Automotive News Almanac* issues.
[c] 1966 Studebaker Model Year Production.
[d] Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO), Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, April 25, 1966. South Bend, IN: Studebaker National Museum Archives.
[e] An additional charge of $60 million was made in 1956 for the closing of the Packard plants in Detroit.
[f] An additional charge of $52.4 million was made in 1963 for the closing of the South Bend Studebaker plants.
[g] Dollar value of automotive sales is estimated at $120.6 million in 1964; $46.2 million in 1965; and $1.8 million in 1966. Income from automotive operations is estimated at $0.6 million in 1964; losses from automotive operations of about $0.3 million were incurred in both 1965 and 1966.

Sources:
***Automotive News Almanac* Issues, 1955 through 1968 and 1974**
SASCO Special Board Meeting Minutes, April 25, 1966.
Studebaker-Packard Corporation *Annual Reports, 1956-1966*, and Studebaker Corporation *Annual Reports, 1962 – 1966*.
Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Minutes, November 28, 1956, attachment, Item 10. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of The Studebaker National Museum.

of luxury vehicles to sell, thereby bolstering their profitability (Burlingame, 1965). By 1959, the sales of Mercedes-Benz units through S-P dealers were 12,308. Sales of Mercedes vehicles through Studebaker dealers peaked in 1962 at 13,300 units (*S-P Annual Report*, 1962).

In addition to the distribution of Mercedes-Benz cars, S-P received the rights to retail, through selected dealers, the Auto Union–DKW line of low-priced small cars powered by a three-cylinder, two-cycle engine. Sales of the Auto Union cars were minimal and ultimately discontinued by 1963.

In 1964, Byers Burlingame, then President of Studebaker, observed that sales of Mercedes-Benz cars were being inhibited by their relatively high prices and the improved quality of American luxury cars. Studebaker reached a Purchase and Sale Agreement in late 1964 with Mercedes-Benz to sell retail operations in the United States and Canada back to Daimler-Benz of North America (Studebaker, Executive Committee, June 19, 1964 & Purchase Agreement, December 31, 1964).

Studebaker-Packard Factory—Dealer Relations: The Churchill Years

The size of the S-P dealer organization declined throughout 1957 and into 1958. By late 1957 the U.S. dealer force had declined to 2050 (S-P Board, October 31, 1957). Strengthening the dealer organization was one of the challenges faced by Churchill throughout his term as president of the company.

In a 1980 interview, Churchill stated that the Studebaker dealer network had a break-even point with a unit sales volume of about half the corporate break-even point. He concluded dealers could make money on, and be satisfied with, much less volume than was needed by the factory to operate profitably. He noted that although the dealer organization was a very loyal group with a good client base, they were old chronologically and did little to expand the business (King, 1980).

A major issue that had to be confronted at S-P by the Churchill regime was what to do about the Packard dealer organization. The last Packard National Dealer Council Meeting was held August 28, 1956, when the Packard dealers saw the 1957 Packards based on the Studebaker chassis, body shell, and engine. The Packard dealers were not enthusiastic about those 1957 models. Initially, S-P management proposed only a four-door Packard sedan for 1957 based on the Studebaker President 120 inch wheelbase chassis. However, the Packard dealers appealed for a station wagon in the 1957 Packard line and the ability to handle the Studebaker Hawk. Management did agree to build a 1957 Packard station wagon, but did not provide a Hawk model to the Packard dealers for 1957. Also, at that meeting the Studebaker and Packard dealer organizations were unified into a single S-P Dealer Council (Packard, August 28, 1956).

The Packard dealers at that August 1956 meeting expressed a strong desire that S-P no longer have factory-owned Packard retail outlets. Churchill responded that S-P wanted to take the factory out of competition with the independent dealers and was liquidating the Packard factory retail stores in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Hartford, Connecticut, Boston, and Chicago as quickly as possible (Packard, August 28, 1956).

Dealer quality became an issue at the January 26, 1956, and August 7, 1956, Studebaker National Dealer Council meetings. Dealers stated they had been hurt by having too many dealers established in metropolitan areas. William Keller, the S-P Sales Manager, addressed the issue by stating that if Studebaker wanted two percent of a market it would attempt to locate sufficient dealers in that market to achieve that goal. However, he indicated that if the existing dealer in a territory was meeting its market penetration objectives the factory would not put another dealer in that area (Studebaker Dealer Council, January 26, 1956 & August 7, 1956).

At the June 26, 1957, S-P National Dealer Council Meeting, chair of the Dealer Council, Frank Afton from Inglewood, California, stated that in a private meeting of dealers there was consensus that, with sales in decline, unless something was done, S-P could lose as many as 30 percent of its dealers. Some dealers at that meeting reported that Ford Motor Company pursued them aggressively to become Edsel dealers. Churchill responded he was confident S-P dealers were solid business people and would make sound decisions about taking on an Edsel franchise (S-P Dealer Council, June 26, 1957).

Concerned about the future of S-P, in the summer of 1957 Dealer Council members pressured management to give assurance that there would be a 1959 Studebaker product and that it would be a new model, not a minor facelift. Churchill, while assuring the dealers that there would be a 1959 Studebaker, was reluctant to reveal too many details of future models for fear that might damage the sale of 1958 products. Churchill did use the successful introduction of the Studebaker Scotsman economy car in the spring of 1957 as an example of the kind of product planning that the company was undertaking. He assured the dealers that tooling was underway for the 1959 models and that the 1959 Studebakers would be competitive in price, style, and choice of body types (S-P Dealer Council, June 26, 1957).

Fig. 3: Studebaker dealers ranged in size from converted service stations like Meyers Motors in Iowa City, Iowa (shown delivering a 1960 Lark Welcome Wagon) to major dealerships like Newman & Altman in South Bend (shown delivering a fleet of 1961 Champ trucks). (Photographs courtesy of the Studebaker National Museum Archives.)

Two years later, at the June 25, 1959, S-P National Dealer Council meeting, the dealers, which then numbered 2,600 outlets, having experienced strong sales with the 1959, Lark compact car (see Table 3), were in a positive mood. At that meeting the dealers were shown the 1960 line of Larks which included the addition of a four-door station wagon and convertible. Sydney Skillman, Vice President and General Sales Manager of S-P, stated that the company was appreciative of the fine job the dealer organization was doing in selling the Lark which resulted in profits to the Corporation and the dealers (S-P Dealer Council, June 25, 1959).

At that June 1959 meeting the appreciation of the dealers for the successful introduction of the Lark was highlighted in the presentation of a Dealer Council resolution congratulating Churchill and the S-P organization on the introduction of the Lark. However, at that meeting an ongoing concern that S-P had faced with its dealers since the merger was raised. The Council emphasized that S-P needed a quality dealer organization and that a dealer should not be stuck "on every corner." Skillman responded that most new dealers were put in market areas where previously S-P had not been, or was inadequately, represented (S-P Dealer Council, June 25, 1959).

Another major issue that arose at the June 25, 1959 Dealer Council meeting was the future of the Studebaker Hawk. From a line of Silver Hawks (non-supercharged six and V-8 engines) and Golden Hawks (supercharged 289 cubic inch displacement V-8 engines) in 1958, Studebaker reduced its 1959 Hawk offerings to one model, a Silver Hawk, with only the six cylinder and 259 c.i.d. V-8 engines. Skillman told the dealers that the Hawk was not included in the 1960 model plan because it accounted for only five percent of total S-P passenger car sales in the 1959 model year (S-P Dealer Council, June 25, 1959).

The response of the Dealer Council was that the Hawk should be continued and that the 289 c.i.d. V-8 engine once again be made available in it. Churchill responded that the factory could not run counter to such unanimity of opinion. He stated that offering the 289 engine would not be a problem (S-P Dealer Council, June 25, 1959). However, sales of Hawks continued to be limited throughout the 1959–1961 period. In the 1959 model year, there were 7,788 Hawks produced. In 1960,

Fig. 4: Angelos Auto Sales in Los Angeles was one of the fortunate dealers to have an Avanti for public showing in summer 1962. (Photograph courtesy of the Studebaker National Museum Archives.)

with production shortened by the effects of a steel strike, Hawk production totaled 4,507 and declined further in the 1961 model year to 3,929 (Fox, 2016 & 2017).

At the June 1959 Dealer Council Meeting plans were shown for the 1960 Studebaker Champ pickup truck. Dealers expressed enthusiasm for the truck and its styling based on the Lark, but cautioned that pricing needed to be competitive with the Big Three. The suggestion of the dealers was to price the Champ at $200 below the Big Three models. Skillman responded that the price of Studebaker pickups at that time was $1420 compared to $1485 for Chevrolet and $1419 for Ford. He stated that it would not be possible for S-P to price its Champ truck at $200 below Ford (S-P Dealer Council, June 25, 1959).

By the June 28, 1960, National Dealer Council Meeting, the popularity of the Lark had diminished in a model year that saw Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler introduce compact cars. The Dealer Council advocated reducing the number of dealers and argued that many of the new dealers for Studebaker that were paired with Big Three makes provided limited service facilities for Studebakers. The Dealer Council wanted the factory to insist on qualifying new dealers before they were signed up and suggested (which was not followed by the factory) that a dealer committee be formed in each sales zone to approve new franchises (S-P Dealer Council, June 28, 1960).

In one respect, the wish of members of the Dealer Council for fewer dealers was fulfilled. With the introduction of the Big Three compact cars for the 1960 model year many of those dual dealers dropped the Studebaker franchise. In the 1960-1961 period, Studebaker lost 356 dealer outlets (Bonsall, 2000).

The deterioration in sales and profits in 1960 led to changes in the executive structure of the company. Churchill retained the position of President of the company, but was removed from the position of Chief Executive Officer. The C.E.O. position was assumed for a limited time by Clarence Francis, who, prior to joining the S-P Board as Chair, had been President and Board Chair of General Foods Corporation. Although in a staff position, Churchill was included on an operating committee that also consisted of Francis and several directors (S-P Board, September 2, 1960). The S-P Board search for a new President and CEO ultimately led to the hiring of Sherwood H. Egbert (S-P Dealer Council, December 8-9, 1960).

Chairing the Dealer Council Meeting in December 1960 was R. L. Brown, a Studebaker dealer from Berwick, Pennsylvania. Brown and other Dealer Council members expressed dissatisfaction with the 1961 Studebaker Lark sales and inability of the company to stimulate sales. For the 1962 models the dealers asked for the Lark "boxy" look to be changed, for more streamlining in the cars, and more luxurious interiors that would appeal more to women (S-P Dealer Council, December 8-9, 1960).

A special Board meeting of S-P on November 28, 1960, reviewed the automotive program. Discussion included possible liquidation of the automotive business. However, liquidation was tabled because of the possible costs to the corporation. A major product decision made in that meeting was to drop plans for a four-cylinder subcompact Studebaker which had been a priority of Harold Churchill. Estimated cost for tooling the four-cylinder engine and body was $24 million. Losses in automotive operations in the fall of 1960 cast doubts on whether funds should be risked on a four-cylinder car (S-P Board, November 28, 1960). Furthermore, minutes of the December 1960 Dealer Council meeting indicate that both the dealers and management were skeptical about the market potential for a four-cylinder Studebaker.

Fig. 5: The Uniform Identity Program was to upgrade the appearance of Studebaker dealerships like this Clinton, Iowa, dealer. (Photographs from the author's collection.)

Studebaker-Packard Factory—Dealer Relations: The Egbert Years

With renewed weakness in auto sales, the Studebaker-Packard Board of Directors wanted to stem the automotive losses and coordinate the divisions of the company. The initial earnings from the introduction of the Lark had been used to diversify into a number of industries as varied as Gravely garden tractors, Onan generators, STP Oil Treatment, and Clarke Floor Machines (*S-P Annual Report*, 1961). To manage the diversified company a young aggressive chief executive was recruited from the McCulloch Corporation and took office on February 1, 1961. Sherwood H. Egbert replaced Harold E. Churchill as president of Studebaker–Packard, although Churchill continued as a director and consultant to the firm. In addition to coordinating its diversified interests, Egbert sought to enhance the image of Studebaker by drop-

Fig. 6: This rare photograph of a Studebaker dealer near the end of production in 1966 shows a window banner above the 1965 Studebaker Cruiser at the Anderman Motor Company in Mora, Minnesota, announcing the 1966 Studebaker. (Photograph courtesy of the Anderman family.)

ping Packard from the corporate name (which became Studebaker Corporation in 1962) and bringing out a fiberglass-bodied luxury sport-type car, the Avanti, for the 1963 model year. Under Egbert's leadership the regular Studebaker automobile line of compact Larks and sporty Gran Turismo Hawks underwent significant facelifts in 1962, 1963, and 1964 which resulted in a modest and brief increase in sales for the 1962 model year, even though Studebaker production was shut down due to a nearly six-week strike by the United Auto Workers (See Table 2).

At the August 23-24, 1961, National Dealer Council meeting the dealers viewed, and were very enthusiastic about, the 1962 Studebaker prototypes. Once again, though, discussion occurred about the issue of new dealers being placed too close to existing dealers. L. E. Minkel, Vice-President for Marketing, gave little comfort to the dealers by reporting that a survey of the U.S. had been completed by S-P which concluded that there were 3,030 points where Studebaker wanted dealers. Minkel stated management was searching for ways to broaden the market coverage of Studebaker products (S-P Dealer Council, August 23–24, 1961).

An S-P Dealer Management Program was initiated with Dealer Management Consultants in each zone. The consultants held meetings with dealers covering topics that included budgeting, trading and expense control, and capital control. From March to June 1961, 99 dealer meetings were held with 567 dealers attending (S-P Dealer Council, August 23-24, 1961).

At the Studebaker National Dealer Council meeting of July 25-28, 1962, dealer representatives viewed the 1963 Studebaker prototypes and had a five hour private discussion session with Sherwood Egbert, content and minutes of which were not reported. However, the usual discussion about the quality of dealers being signed occurred at that July 1962 Dealer Council meeting. Independent dealers did not like competition from factory owned retail outlets that had been established under the Egbert regime. Management argued that the factory retail outlets were being established only in major markets where the company had unsatisfactory dealer representation. It also was stated that the factory stores were "for sale" and it was anticipated that store managers in many cases would buy them and become independent Studebaker dealers. A consensus from that July 1962 Dealer Council meeting was that consistent pressure should be applied to dealers to raise their standard of operation. It also was suggested that members of the Dealer Council call on their fellow dealers to point out deficiencies in their operations and urge the dealers to improve (S-P Dealer Council, July 25-28, 1962).

The July 1962 Dealer Council meeting occurred as Studebaker was in the process of introducing to the market the sporty fiberglass bodied four-passenger Avanti. Egbert requested that the Council estimate the number of Avantis that could be sold nationally for the calendar year 1963. R.L. Brown, Berwick, Pennsylvania, dealer and chair of the meeting, reported that a survey of the dealers at the meeting showed estimates ranging from 5,000 units minimum to 18,000 units maximum with an average of 10,750 (S-P Dealer Council, July 25-28, 1962).

Unfortunately for Egbert, Studebaker, and the dealers, the promise of the Avanti helping draw people into Studebaker showrooms and lead to an increase in Studebaker sales was not fulfilled. Advance publicity for the Avanti was extensive and even included "Operation Airlift" in May 1962 with Avantis in a flying boxcar landing at several airports around the country. In Operation Airlift the Avanti was introduced to 7,000 people including dealers, salespeople, and special guests (Hull, 2008).

In one sense, the advanced publicity was successful with the number of orders received for the Avanti being large. Unfortunately, the factory was not able to deliver cars to many of the potential buyers. Poorly fitting bodies built by the Molded Fiberglass Company (MFG) of Ashtabula, Ohio put Avanti production far behind schedule and led to Studebaker setting up a separate Avanti body production line at the South Bend plant in December 1962 (Beckman, 2012).

By late 1962, though, the momentum of the advanced publicity and marketing for the Avanti had been lost. Studebaker dealers had to return deposits for Avantis that had been ordered but could not be delivered. By the end of 1962, Studebaker had produced only 1,389 Avantis to supply its over 2,000 dealers. Overall, Studebaker built only 4,643 Avantis in its 18-month production run for the 1963 and 1964 model years. That was less than half the average number of Avantis that the Studebaker dealers predicted would be sold in a single year. The last Studebaker Avantis were built by Studebaker in South Bend in late December 1963. The production of Avantis, Hawks, and trucks was not transferred to the Hamilton, Ontario, plant when it became the sole source of Studebaker North American output beginning in early 1964. (In late 1965, Avanti production resumed on a limited basis by South Bend Studebaker dealers Nate Altman and Leo Newman and subsequent owners. That topic is beyond the scope of this paper.) (Beckman, 2012 & Hull, 2008).

During the tenure of Sherwood Egbert as President of Studebaker, the Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO) was created as a wholly owned corporate subsidiary to sell and service Studebaker vehicles and related parts and accessories in the United States (SASCO Board, April 27, 1962). SASCO policies and actions give insight into factory-dealer relations in the last few years of Studebaker automobile production. For example, in an August 9, 1963, SASCO memo to Studebaker dealers, Roy Bender, Vice-President and General Manager of the Parts and Service Division, responded to a request of the National Dealer Council for a maintenance plan for Studebaker owners. Bender's letter introduced the Studebaker Protective Service program designed to promote service business for the dealers (Bender, August 9, 1963).

Among other efforts to strengthen the Studebaker dealer network was the creation, under SASCO, of the Studebaker Uniform Identity Program at the start of the 1964 model year. In a booklet entitled *Announcing the New Studebaker Uniform Identity Program,* dealers were shown how to improve the appearance of their dealerships to make a positive impression (*Studebaker Uniform Identity*, 1963). Developments at the administrative level of Studebaker during the fall of 1963 meant that the Uniform Identity Program never became totally operational.

Studebaker-Packard Factory-Dealer Relations: The Burlingame Years

At a special Studebaker Corporation Board meeting on November 1, 1963, it was announced that Egbert was to undergo abdominal surgery and that during his absence Byers Burlingame was being made a director and Vice President of Studebaker Corporation with all the powers of the President (Studebaker Board, November 1, 1963). Burlingame, who had risen through the ranks of the Packard Motor Car Company and Studebaker-Packard via the finance route, had his position further upgraded to Executive Vice President at the November 9, 1963, meeting (Studebaker Board, November 9, 1963). Then, at the November 22, 1963, Special Board Meeting it was announced that Egbert had resigned and that Burlingame had been elected President and Chief Executive Officer of Studebaker Corporation (Studebaker Board, November 22, 1963).

The first major executive decision made by Burlingame, announced on December 9, 1963, was the closing of the South Bend Studebaker manufacturing operations and the transfer of automobile assembly to the Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, Studebaker assembly plant. (Engines for 1965 and 1966 Studebakers were sourced from a Canadian subsidiary of General Motors.) On December 12, 1963, the Board approved those actions (Studebaker Board, December 12, 1963).

Through SASCO, Studebaker attempted to keep its dealers informed about policies regarding the move of assembly operations to the Hamilton, Ontario plant. In an August 13, 1964, letter to Studebaker Dealers, Roy Bender responded to a question raised at a Dealer Council meeting regarding Studebaker's future in the automobile business. Bender stated that the corporate position was Studebaker needed to earn satisfactory profits in the automobile business in order to stay in the automobile business. He reported that the move to the Hamilton plant lowered the break-even level of auto production from the range of 120,000 to 140,000 units per year to what was estimated at that time to be 25,000 units per year (Bender, August 13, 1964). Later, Burlingame reported that the break-even level of production at Hamilton was reduced even further to 20,000 units per year (*Studebaker Annual Report* 1964).

With Studebaker planning a significant reduction in output with the move to Canada it became important to maintain a viable dealer organization. It would have been unrealistic to expect the dealer organization to remain the size it had been going into the 1964 model year. Therefore, a critical part of corporate strategy was to keep the stronger dealers. As part of that strategy a U.S. Studebaker Dealers Drive-Away took place in spring 1964 when U.S. dealers went for a tour of the Hamilton production facility and then drove new 1964 Studebakers back to their dealerships (*Studebaker News,* June 1964).

In his August 13, 1964, letter Bender placed a great deal of responsibility on the dealers. He emphasized that the U.S. and Canadian dealer organization had the capability to order cars in sufficient volume to achieve better than break-even operations for the Automotive Division (Bender, August 13, 1964).

Among the efforts of Studebaker management to strengthen the dealer organization were discussions of possibly distributing foreign made automobiles (in addition to Mercedes-Benz) through Studebaker dealers. In 1964, both Gordon Grundy, President of the Studebaker Automotive Division, and A. R. Gale, President of the Studebaker International Division, went to Japan to discuss with Nissan Motor Co., Ltd. the possibility of Studebaker distributing Datsun vehicles in the United States and Canada (Studebaker Board, March 6, 1964 & June 5,

Fig. 7: One of the most exciting Studebakers ever built was this 1963 Avanti, known as #9. It featured a 304.5 cubic-inch, supercharged Studebaker V-8 rated at a whopping 411 horsepower. It was tested at Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah where it achieved a top speed of 170.81 mph. It was part of a factory-backed team and is the only one left still in its original race configuration. Photo by Don Keefe.

1964).

According to the minutes of a March 4, 1966, Special Meeting of the SASCO Board and recollections of Stu Chapman, Director of Advertising and Public Relations for Studebaker from 1964 to 1966, in 1965 Studebaker also considered having a link with Canadian Motor Industries (CMI). At the time, having the Canadian distribution rights for Toyota and Isuzu CMI needed a substantial dealer base (SASCO Board, March 4, 1966). According to Chapman, Studebaker considered selling its Automotive Division assets, including the Hamilton plant, SASCO, and rights of access to the dealer organization to CMI. Part of the CMI plan had been to continue production of the Studebaker automobile along with distribution and ultimately production of Isuzu cars (Chapman, 2009). In the end, none of these plans came to fruition.

Management at Studebaker was not always unanimous in its views regarding the way to assure success of its dealer network and automotive operations. In an August 19, 1965, letter to Burlingame, Grundy pushed for the rehabilitation of the Studebaker dealer body through the signing of new dealers and cancelling all inactive dealers. The marketing approach he suggested included special programs for (presumably aggressive) selected dealers and an incentive plan for firm advance dealer orders (Grundy, 1965).

In his August 24, 1965, response to Grundy, Burlingame stated he was not in favor of attempting to expand the dealer body. He argued that the problem was not the number of dealers but, rather, their quality and sales ability. He noted that if the 660 U.S. dealers who already had ordered 1966 Studebakers each sold two cars per month (or 20 for the entire year) that the U.S. sales goal of 12,000 units for 1966 would be met. He pointed out Volkswagen had sold over 300,000 cars in 1964 with 845 dealers, Volvo sold 17,000 cars with 415 dealers, and Mercedes Benz with only 350 outlets sold 11,000 units in the U.S. in 1964. Burlingame believed that the limited resources of Studebaker should be used to improve the dealer network it had rather than wasting energies on seeking something he believed Studebaker did not have and probably could not get (Burlingame, 1965).

The *Studebaker Corporation 1964 Annual Report* stated there were 1700 dealers in the U.S. and

325 dealers in Canada. However, the figure used by Burlingame of 660 U.S. dealers actively ordering 1966 model Studebakers suggests that many Studebaker dealers were not considered active.

In a February 23, 1966, analysis of the Automotive Division, Corporate Secretary Stanley B. Feuer (1966) reported that attempts to stimulate orders from the factory with a $200 allowance on cars sold from dealer inventories and on orders placed with the factory prior to February 18, 1966, did stimulate some sales. However, with the ending of the program orders had dried up. Feuer concluded that if the Automotive Division kept operating that it would incur substantial losses. He recommended the discontinuance of further production and distribution of automobiles. Acting on the Feuer report and the advice of Burlingame, a Special SASCO Board Meeting on March 4, 1966, passed a series of resolutions that included a request that Studebaker Corporation consent to the discontinuance of automobile production but continue to provide service and parts through the dealer organization (SASCO Board, March 4, 1966).

On March 4, 1966, Studebaker sent a telegram to dealers announcing the discontinuance of automobile production. A detailed letter was sent to all U.S. and Canadian dealers with at least one car in inventory on March 5, 1966, reporting that retail sales of Studebaker cars in the United States and Canada had declined from 73,277 units in 1963, to 35,373 units in 1964, and 18,262 units in 1965. In January 1966, only 872 units were sold compared with 1,396 in January, 1965. The letter explained the continued operating losses of the Automotive Division were about $300,000 per month and did not appear to be reversible without ceasing automobile manufacturing. Also explained was a $700 allowance on the new and unused 1966 Studebakers in dealer inventories as of March 5, 1966. The company assured dealers that a ready supply of spare parts for 1966 and prior model cars would be continued through a central parts depot in South Bend and selected regional parts depots (Challinor, 1966).

The last Studebaker built at the Hamilton, Ontario, plant, a Cruiser, came off the assembly line on March 17, 1966. By April 25, 1966, 712 out of 735 dealers who had cars in inventory as of March 5, 1966, accepted the assistance noted above, covering a total of 2,706 cars. Also, 559 Service Agreements had been entered into with former Studebaker dealers (SASCO Board, April 25, 1966). By December 1966, all but 13 dealers had signed the Mutual Release Agreement (SASCO Board, December 16, 1966).

Conclusions on Studebaker Corporate-Dealer Relations

A fundamental problem for Studebaker was the quality of individual dealers. The company often was faced with having to accept a relatively weak dealership or no dealership in some locations. The public perception of the company and its products may have been harmed when service and facilities were not up to customer expectations.

In a perfect world, Gordon Grundy's 1965 recommendation to get rid of inactive dealers and actively recruit more aggressive larger dealerships made sense. However, by March 4, 1966, a combination of factors led to Studebaker ending automobile production. Consolidation of all North American production in Canada may have contributed to public doubts about the future of Studebaker. Also contributing to public skepticism, which led to declining sales, were the relatively frequent changes in corporate leadership in the 1956-1966 period. Churchill replaced Nance. Then Chuchill was replaced by Egbert, who changed both product and marketing efforts of the company, but was a controversial figure at the corporate level. Then came the emergence of Burlingame whose primary focus was on the overall financial stability of the corporation. Therefore, the study presented here tests and accepts the theory that, in spite of Studebaker-Packard administrative efforts to strengthen its dealer network, the dealer network remained competitively weak which contributed to the discontinuance of Studebaker automobile production.

Works Cited

Automotive News Almanac Issues, 1955-1974: Detroit, Michigan: Automotive News.

Bain, Joe S., *Barriers to New Competition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Beckman, Andrew, *Studebaker's Last Dance: The Avanti,* Middlebury, Connecticut: Velocity Print Solutions, 2012.

Bender, Roy B., *Memo to All Studebaker Dealers, August 9, 1963*. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Bender, Roy B., *Letter to Studebaker Dealers,* August 13, 1964, in Automotive-Canada, Studebaker-Packard Corporation Subsidiaries, Studebaker-Packard Corporation of Canada, General Materials, 1959-1966. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Bonsall, Thomas E. *More Than They Promised: The Studebaker Story,* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Burlingame, Byers A. *Letter to Gordon Grundy,* August 14, 1965. Automotive-Canada, Studebaker-Packard Corporation Subsidiaries, Studebaker-Packard Corporation of Canada General Materials, 1959-1966. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Chapman, Stu. *My Father The Car: Memoirs of My Life with Studebaker,* Evansville, Indiana: M. T. Publishing Company, Inc., 2009.

Challinor, E. J., *Letter to Studebaker Dealers, March 5, 1966,* South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker National Museum Archives, Box 41, SASCO.

Edwards, Charles E., *Dynamics of the United States Automobile Industry,* Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1965.

Feuer, Stanley B., *Deterioration of Operations in Automotive Division,* Internal Memorandum, February 23, 1966, Studebaker Corporation. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Fox, Fred K. 1961 Hawks, Parts 1, 2, 3. *Turning Wheels,* August 2016, Vol. 48, No. 8, November 2016, Vol. 48, No. 11, February 2017, Vol. 49, No. 2.

Grundy, Gordon E., *Confidential Memo to Byers A. Burlingame,* August 19, 1965. In Automotive-Canada, Studebaker-Packard Corporation Subsidiaries, Studebaker-Packard Corporation of Canada, General Materials. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Hull, John, *Avanti: The Complete Story,* Hudson, Wisconsin: Iconografix, 2008.

"Hundreds of Dealers Visit Hamilton Plant for Successful '64 Drive-Away Program." *Studebaker News,* June 1964, 8. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

King, R. T., *Harold E. Churchill, Interview of in Economic History of Indiana in the Twentieth Century, 1976-1980 Project.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

Letter and Proxy Statement to Studebaker-Packard Corporation Stockholders, September 4, 1958. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Longstreet, Stephen, *A Century on Wheels: The Story of Studebaker.* New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

Packard Division, *Studebaker-Packard Corporation. National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes,* South Bend, Indiana, August 28, 1956. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Purchase and Sale Agreement of December 31, 1964. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO) Board of Directors Minutes, April 27, 1962. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO) Board of Directors Minutes, March 4, 1966. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO) Board of Directors Minutes, April 25, 1966. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Automotive Sales Corporation (SASCO) Board of Directors Minutes, December 16, 1966. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation Annual Report for 1964, South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker Corporation.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, March 6, 1964. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, June 5, 1964. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Special Meeting Minutes, November 1, 1963. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Special Meeting Minutes, November 9, 1963. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Special Meeting Minutes, November 22, 1963. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Corporation, Board of Directors Special Meeting Minutes, December 12, 1963. South Bend, Indiana. Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.
Studebaker Corporation Executive Committee Minutes, June 19, 1964. South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker National Museum Archives.

Studebaker Division, Studebaker-Packard Corporation. *National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes,* South Bend, Indiana, January 26, 1956. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Division, Studebaker-Packard Corporation. *National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes,* South Bend, Indiana, August 7, 1956. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Annual Report for 1956, South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker-Packard Corporation.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Annual Report for 1959, South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker-Packard Corporation.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Annual Report for 1961, South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker-Packard Corporation.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Annual Report for 1962, South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker-Packard Corporation.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Minutes, Book II, July 26, 1956. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Meeting, Book II, November 20, 1956. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Minutes, Book II, October 31, 1957. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Minutes, Book III, December 20, 1957. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Board of Directors Minutes, October 5, 1962. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes, South Bend, Indiana, June 26, 1957. South Bend, Indiana:

Archives of the Studebaker NationalMuseum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes, South Bend, Indiana, June 25, 1959. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes. South Bend, Indiana, June 28, 1960, South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes, South Bend, Indiana, December 8-9, 1960. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes, South Bend, Indiana, August 23-24, 1961. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation National Dealer Council Meeting Minutes, South Bend, Indiana, July 25-28, 1962. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Special Meeting, Board of Directors Minutes, Book V, September 2, 1960. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker-Packard Corporation Special Meeting, Board of Directors Minutes, Book V, November 28, 1960. South Bend, Indiana: Archives of the Studebaker National Museum.

Studebaker Uniform Identity Program, Studebaker Corporation Publication PD64-56. South Bend, Indiana: Studebaker Corporation, 1963.

Wards Motor Vehicle Facts and Figures 2017, Southfield, Michigan: Ward's Auto Group, 2018.

White, Lawrence J., *The Automobile Industry Since 1945,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971.

---

continued from inside front cover

projects that were contributing significantly to the overall knowledge base—they were actually doing exactly what I had been told would never happen.

Though I was not able to see the actual presentation, *Student and Faculty Perspective: The Cultural and Social History of the Automobile,* I did get a chance to spend some time speaking with Matthew T.D. Miller-Wells and Bella Zacchia from McPherson College in Kansas. They were wonderful young adults who I believe will be significant players in future SAH and HVA activities.

I was especially impressed by Katya O. Sullivan's presentation *Authentic Nostalgia: Engaging Millennials and Gen Z with Our Automotive Heritage*. I was so impressed with this paper that I put it in the front of this issue of *AHR* because everyone who is involved with automotive history, whether it is on an academic or commercial level, should read it. Restoration facilities, car clubs, magazine publishers and countless others could benefit significantly from this paper, which I believe is the starting point for a well-calculated marketing program to bring these younger enthusiasts into the fold. It's important and it starts here.

I would also like to take a moment to thank Casey Maxon and Erin Kleinbohl, who gave me a personal tour of the HVA History Lab and showed me the library, which was of special significance to me, as I donated about 15,000 pieces to them, mainly magazines and books but also some vintage toys and other collectibles. Erin said that my donation was the first large collection they received and comprised about 75% of the library. It was great to see my old collection again and I know that it will be used for generations to come.

If you have a collection that needs to be liquidated, I would strongly recommend that you contact HVA. It is going to a great cause and will further your own legacy in automotive history.

-Don Keefe

Automotive History Review

Spring 2019 Issue Number 59

The Society of Automotive Historians, Inc.
PO Box 1715
Maple Grove, MN 55311-6715
USA