Douglas Sackman has shown that the Californian citrus fruit growers enhanced the marketing of their products by the use of national cooperative advertising and the establishment of a brand, ‘Sunkist’.

This paper explores another example of cooperative marketing by American fruit growers, the pineapple canners of Hawaii. The Hawaiian pineapple canners did not adopt a national cooperative brand. Furthermore, unlike the Sunkist campaign, the Hawaiian pineapple cooperative advertising campaigns were sporadic and were linked to market conditions in their principal market, the continental United States.

The paper compares and contrasts the cooperative advertising of the Hawaiian pineapple industry and the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.

It is primarily based on trade journals, newspaper reports and the surviving records of the various Hawaiian pineapple cooperative organizations.

It concludes that the national cooperative advertising helped add innate values to Hawaiian canned pineapple which meant it could be retailed at a premium price.

Figure 1: CFGE Advertisement c.1907-1908

Source: MacCurdy 1925, 60.

Figure 2: HPPA Advertisement 1913

Source: Saturday Evening Post, May 3, 1913.
Figure 3: AHPP Advertisement 1921

Hawaiian Crushed or Grated Pineapple
Serve it Like Apple Sauce
One of the most tempting desserts you can serve is chilled Hawaiian Crushed or Grated Pineapple just as it comes from the container.
This golden, luscious fruit is real sun-ripened Hawaiian Pineapple, picked in its prime and sealed safe in its containers that same day.
For making pies, cakes, tarts, salads, puddings, sherbets and desserts, Hawaiian Crushed or Grated Pineapple is most convenient to use.
Your grocer has it in assorted sizes to suit your needs. Order six or a dozen times and you will have a supply for daily use and all emergencies.

Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Producers
50 E. Washington St., Chicago

Try this recipe and send for our booklet containing many good ideas for serving this delicious fruit.

Hawaiian Pineapple Pudding—Put a 3/4 cup of pineapple, well drained, in a bowl, pouring over it a sufficient thick custard (two to six minutes, etc. to a custard that will serve ten minute, serve chilled, with cream and pineapple sauce. Arrange Crushed or Grated Hawaiian Pineapple around it.

Source: Saturday Evening Post, July 9, 1921.

Figure 4: AHPC Advertisement September 1922

Treats for Summer appetites

Source: Dole Corporate Archive Honolulu.

Figure 5: PPCA Advertisement 1933

To help you toward that tip-top feeling
new dietary research urges eat this fruit daily!

Source: Saturday Evening Post, November 18, 1933.
This paper looks at the history of the cooperative marketing of Hawaiian canned pineapple in the period up to the Second World War.

In 1898 Hawaii was annexed by the United States and two years later was organized as an United States Territory. This meant the Hawaiian economy was protected by American tariffs. This led to substantial American investment in Hawaiian sugar cane industry. American investors also sought other investment opportunities in Hawaii including a variety of tropical crops. Most proved to be uncompetitive in the American marketplace. Some like the pineapple proved difficult to ship to the continental United States without high levels of spoilage. In the case of the pineapple the answer proved to be the preservation of the fruit in containers before shipment. Both glass jars and tin cans were used but cans proved to be more durable. James Drummond Dole was one of the most successful investors and together with a number of other canners built a market for Hawaiian canned pineapple in the continental United States. Production increased rapidly. By the beginning of 1908 the industry was experiencing boom-time conditions. Roderick O. Matheson, in a special report for the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, observed that Here everybody talks pineapples, plants pineapples, dreams pineapples; everything, in fact, but eat pineapples. Since I arrived here last night [sic] I have had pineapple statistics poured into me until I have developed the fever and want to become a small farmer... (Pacific Commercial Advertiser January 4, 1908, 1).

Both Dole, who had just expanded his level of output, and the other pineapple canners were ill-prepared to deal with the consequences of the aftermath of the downturn in the business cycle which struck their principal market, the continental United States, in 1907. It was only then that the industry began to look seriously at two proposals that they form a cooperative organization to deal with problems such as overproduction.

Two alternative forms of cooperation had been proposed for the pineapple industry. The first form of cooperation proposed was the establishment of a cooperative cannery. The earliest proposal of this nature was made in 1892 by a pioneer pineapple grower, E.W. Jordan. He had believed that it would be unprofitable for each grower to operate his own small-scale cannery (Thurston 1892, 520). This proposal was revised by a Californian canner, Charles P. Bentley, in an address before the Hilo Agricultural Society in 1904 (Anon 1904, 45-46). In California, with which Hawaii had close commercial ties, there had been a movement towards cooperative marketing associations in the agricultural sector (Blackford 1977, 13-39). In June 1899, 18 companies, comprising about half of the canning establishments in California, had combined to form the California Fruit Canners' Association (CFCA) (Braznell 1982, 29). (Later the CFCA was part of the merger that created the California Packing Corporation in 1916.) Bentley, who was one of the founder members of the CFCA, believed that only one large cannery could be made profitable in the Hawaiian pineapple industry. The circumstances of the industry suggested that a large cannery should be established in some central location, where it could draw its supply of pineapples from all the Islands. Several satellite canneries might then be set up connected with the central establishment (Anon 1904, 45-46). However, the suppression of competition did not appeal to the Hawaiian canners.
The second proposal was for a trade association. As early as 1897, the Pearl City Fruit Co. had proposed the establishment of a pineapple growers' association (Pearl City Board of Directors' Meeting January 30, 1897, 33). A more detailed proposal was made in 1905 by a pre-annexation pineapple industry pioneer, John Emmeluth. He drew attention to the adverse effects of competition between the products of the Hawaiian pineapple canniers in the American market. Falling profit margins and less concern with the quality of their product would provide an opening for competition from the Singapore canning industry. To avoid bringing about such an undesirable state of affairs, the Hawaiian canniers should form a cooperative association similar to that of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. This association would provide for the cooperative canning, warehousing and shipping of pineapples, but permit the various companies to retain the individual identity of their brands. Emmeluth also suggested that considerable economies of scale would result from a rationalization of the industry. He thought that his plan would probably result in a great saving of capital and in the standardization of the product (Emmeluth 1905, 251-254). Initially both suggestions were rejected by the industry.

In early 1907 the wholesale trade had shown a great interest in purchasing canned foods. There had been an active business in canned pineapple with the result that the Hawaiian pack for 1907 was almost completely in the hands of the jobbers before the beginning of the 'financial panic'. The impact of the 'panic' which broke in October 1907 created a severe crisis in the industry. The credit facilities from jobber to retailer were curtailed, business became very slow, and the wholesalers did not sell to the retail trade anywhere near the amount of canned pineapples that they had purchased. In the spring of 1908 the jobbers' inventories still contained a large proportion of the previous year's canned pineapple pack (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6).

In early January 1908 Dole showed a group of businessmen from California around the Hawaiian Pineapple Co.'s plantation at Wahiawa and his cannery at Iwilei. The head of the party was A.C. Baumgartner of Hunt Bros., the Hawaiian Pineapple Co.'s agents (Pacific Commercial Advertiser January 4, 1908, 4). Later in January the Pacific Commercial Advertiser published a report by Baumgartner on the Hawaiian pineapple industry. He observed that the Hawaiian canned pineapple had not displaced the Bahamian product from the American market. (The main source of canned pineapple for the continental United States at the turn of the twentieth century had been the Bahamas). The Hawaiian fruit was more tender and less acid. Nonetheless many people preferred the taste of the Bahamian product. Nonetheless, the Bahamian product was not a table fruit unlike for example canned peaches. The main use of Bahamian pineapple was in the manufacture of glacé fruits, and as a fruit for use at bars. However, the Hawaiian product being softer could be eaten as a table fruit and hence was in the process of capturing part of the market for table fruit.

Baumgartner's main fear was whether the American market could continue to absorb the exponential growth of the supply of the Hawaiian product for much longer. He argued that it would not be long before the canniers would all have to unite in systematic methods for developing and increasing their market. Baumgartner was obviously unaware of the fact that in 1907 Hawaiian output of canned pineapple exceeded Bahamian exports of canned pineapple for the first time. By 1914 Bahamian exports were only 1.5 per cent of Hawaiian output (Pacific Commercial Advertiser January 23, 1908, 2).

Baumgartner's fears were reflected in the crisis facing the pineapple canniers in spring 1908. The crisis was intensified by the fact that as a result of heavy planting in 1906, the 1908 pack was nearly double that of 1907 at some 400,000 cases. The bulk of the sales of Hawaiian pineapple as a rule took place in spring as future sales of the crop that was packed during the succeeding summer. In the spring of 1908, with a pack of 400,000 cases in process, their future sales amounted to about 120,000 cases. Business was so slow that, despite considerable use of traditional merchandising methods, their sales of 120,000 cases on July 1, 1908 were only increased by about 20,000 cases during the entire seven succeeding months. Thus on February 1, 1909 the Hawaiian canniers had on hand a carry-over of 280,000 cases in their warehouses, or approximately 70 per cent of the entire year's output.

Dole and his fellow pineapple canniers were very concerned about the crisis facing their industry in the summer of 1908, and decided that something had to be done to increase the consumption of Hawaiian pineapple (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6). On May 7, 1908, nine of the pineapple canniers founded the Hawaiian Pineapple Growers' Association (HPGA). Dole was elected as the first president of the HPGA (Pacific Commercial Advertiser May 8, 1908, 6).

The canniers' sales agents in the continental U.S. were dismayed by the crisis, and were doubtful as to what could be done to improve conditions. Nonetheless, the new association evaluated the situation and prepared a map of the United States showing the places where they were selling pineapple. The map revealed large areas where they were selling little if any pineapple. The HPGA also prepared a list of all the cities with a population over 100,000, and found that they had significant business in only a comparatively small number. From this evidence Dole concluded that it was of vital importance that salesmen should be sent to promote canned pineapple in areas where they had failed to penetrate the market.
The question arose immediately as to where they should send these salesmen. A number of Dole's associates suggested that salesmen should be sent to work in the Mid-West. This region had shown a recent growth in demand, and was comparatively prosperous at that time. A study of the map, however, showed that apart from a reasonable business in Boston, sales were insignificant in the large metropolitan centers of the East Coast. Traditionally this area had been supplied with canned pineapple produced in Baltimore and the Bahamas. (Dole failed to point this out in his later recollections.) Hence, they decided to concentrate their efforts on the East Coast rather than the Mid-West.

Another problem arose over how much pineapple could be sold in these metropolitan centers. If, as they believed, Hawaiian pineapple could be marketed to a large proportion of the people living on the densely populated East Coast, there was the possibility of a large increase in business. It now seemed an appropriate time to find out whether this could be done or not. Thus despite various predictions on the part of large dealers and others that they would never sell large quantities of Hawaiian canned pineapple in New York and the East, they authorized a pilot study, and employed a number of salesmen to work in New York City.

Dole saw this as the turning point in the fortunes of the canned pineapple industry. Although initially the salesmen were only moderately successful, within a short space of time they were able to put Hawaiian canned pineapple into about 1,000 stores in and around New York City, but at an enormous cost per case. It soon became obvious that the use of salesmen alone would not be sufficient to move the existing stock of canned pineapple before the next pack year. Some other and more radical measures would have to be taken to popularize the product. The results of the pilot study suggested that there was a large potential market on the East Coast for their product.

The pineapple canners had been contemplating for several years the idea that when production exceeded consumption Hawaiian pineapple was a product which could easily lend itself to some form of national advertising. Since salesmen alone were insufficient, they now seriously considered the possibility of advertising their product. In late fall 1908, at a conference in San Francisco between Dole and the other Hawaiian canners, the idea of cooperative advertising emerged. They decided that an expenditure of $50,000, or about three per cent of the existing value of their products, would be sufficient to carry out a national advertising campaign. With the necessary support, this would introduce enough new consumers to their product to restore the market to equilibrium (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6). Following this meeting Dole's fellow canner, Will B. Thomas, justified the use of advertising by the canners to find a market for their rapidly increasing production with the following rationale...

...the packers will have to do a lot of missionary work among the consumers first... Of the eighty million people in the United States, probably half of them have never tasted pineapples and the majority of the balance have looked upon them as a luxury to be indulged in only on special occasions, so it would seem there was a good field for advertising and the possibilities of creating a large demand are first class (Thomas 1908, 45).

Given that Hawaiian canned pineapple was distributed under innumerable brands, many of them wholesalers' brands, it was decided it would not be practical to advertise Hawaiian canned pineapple with reference to individual brands. The campaign was planned in connection with the New York advertising agency, J.A. Richards & Staff, in October 1908 (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6). The advertising campaign was launched in December in time for the Christmas vacation. The advertising was placed in the January issues of 13 of the most widely circulated magazines in the United States, which had a combined circulation of about five million copies and an estimated readership of 25 million. The magazines were the Ladies' Home Journal, Women's Home Companion, Ladies' World, Munsey's, McClure's, Good Housekeeping, Pacific Monthly, Everybody's, Harper's Bazar, Army and Navy Register, Sunset Magazine, Overland Monthly, and Delineator. The advertising slogan used in the advertisements was 'No, you never tasted pineapple.' They were simply designed advertisements that took up less than a quarter of one page (Ladies Home Journal February 1909, 39). The advertisements appear to have been targeted in particular at female consumers and provide an example of what Pamela Walker Laird has described as 'opening markets by persuasion.' The advertisements stressed the quality of the Hawaiian product, for example the fact that the canners used 'sanitary cans' (Pacific Commercial Advertiser December 22, 1908, 5; Laird 1998, 222, 284-288, 346-347), bought in, as has been shown above, from the American Can Co. These were the most modern type of cans and had been developed specifically to produce a higher standard of canned fruit. In emphasizing the quality of their product the Hawaiian canners were following the advice of Ernest F. Schwaab in The Secrets of Canning (1890): 'Let quality not quantity be the packer's watchword' (Schwaab 1890, 14).

Richards accompanied their advertising campaign with a broadside to wholesalers and brokers; a broadside to retailers; a store card distributed amongst a large number of retailers and wholesalers; and a portfolio to canned goods buyers in the grocery houses, containing scenes in the pineapple plantations, together with samples of the advertisements they were planning to run. They also distributed about a million inexpensive illustrated booklets showing something about pineapple growing and canning in Hawaii, with a few recipes showing different uses for the canned product. Promotional literature of this type was...
often used by companies to educate consumers in this period. Coincident with the distribution of their circulars to the retailers, the daily sales turned in by the salesmen were practically doubled, suggesting the effect on the retailers of the prospect of national advertising and assistance in selling canned pineapple (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6; Western Canner and Packer November 1931, 10; Strasser 1989, 131).

As the advertising campaign began, the canners were becoming increasingly worried about the size of the carryovers in their warehouses, particularly with the prospect of another and still larger pack approaching within a few months. Retailers were also unhappy that the Hawaiian product was priced at 25¢ a can, whereas the British Malayan product from Singapore could be purchased for just 15¢. Furthermore the Bahamian product had averaged between 17¢ and 20¢ per can between 1899 and 1901. So the Hawaiian product was also expensive compared with the Bahamian product. The Hawaiian canners were also quite disappointed at not achieving more immediate results after the advertisements first began to appear. The canners were spending large sums of money, and, while they realized that they had no reason to expect the demand created by the advertising campaign to have an immediate effect on sales, they nevertheless became very concerned (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6; Pacific Commercial Advertiser April 24, 1909, 5; Brooklyn Daily Eagle October 24, 1899, 6; Brooklyn Daily Eagle September 11, 1900, 5; Brooklyn Daily Eagle September 22, 1901, 32).

The result of this impatience was that on February 1, 1909 the canners embarked upon the third part of their strategy. Having made use of salesmen and then the national advertising campaign, they now reduced the price of their product. The wholesale price of each case of canned pineapple was reduced by 50¢. Dole argued that it was impossible to determine what part of the increase in sales which almost immediately followed was the result of the advertising, the salesmen or to the reduced price. He believed it was most probably a combination of all three. The lack of any one might have been fatal, and it was a combination which was immediately effective (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6).

As early as March 1, 1909 the pineapple canners began to receive cables showing that stocks of their product in New York, Chicago and San Francisco were exhausted and requests for rush shipments. The stocks which on February 1, and even on March 1 threatened to bankrupt the canners and prevent them from processing the new crop later that year had almost disappeared by July 1. On February 1 the jobbers probably had a carry-over equal to about two-thirds of the previous year's purchase. However, the movement of canned pineapple into the hands of the retailers and baskets of the consumers was so fast, that the succeeding summer's increased pack was easily taken care of and sold (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6). However, competition among the Hawaiian canners in marketing the winter pack of 1909-10 reached the peak in April 1910 where cut rates were resorted to move their production. Jobbers in San Francisco cut their prices by 25¢ per dozen on sliced, whole and squares in No.2½ cans (Canning Trade April 15, 1910, 14). The summer pack of 1910 was much larger than in previous years but demand increased to such an extent that most canners were oversold. Prices showed an advance over the opening rates of 1909 (Canning Trade November 11, 1910, 15).

The AHPG also made use of another form of promotion in 1909. Ernest F. Schwaab had argued in 1890 that advertising canned goods at international expositions was a useful method to increase foreign demand. Perhaps with this in mind, the AHPG made sure that the pineapple industry was well represented in the Hawaii building at the Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle in the summer of 1909. A huge pineapple made up of hundreds of large pineapples rose to a height of 25 feet. It was surrounded by miniature fields showing growing plants. Beyond these were pyramids of canned pineapples showing the labels of all the pineapples exported from Hawaii. A large part of the floor space is given up to koa wood tables where sliced pineapple was served to the public at a nominal price (Schwaab 1890, 26-7; Pacific Commercial Advertiser June 27, 1909, 1, 8).

Stephen Fox has argued that from the 1890s it was routine for any new product to be introduced to the market by a wave of advertising. Van Camp pork and beans and Campbell's soup being just two examples (Fox 1990, 38). However, the Hawaiian pineapple canning industry was the first American food industry to adopt nationwide cooperative advertising. It helped the Hawaiian canners capture a share of the growing market for convenience foods (Kessler-Harris 1983, 112-3). The industry's campaign antedated that of 'Sunkist' oranges and other citrus fruit by the Californian Fruit Growers' Exchange (CFGE) by about a year. Although the CFGE's cooperative campaign had begun a year earlier than the HGPA's campaign, it only initially covered Iowa. During 1908-09 later it was extended to cover the rest of the Midwest. The campaign of 1909-10 was expanded to include the rest of the country with the exception of the Southeast. Furthermore the Sunkist brand was only used north of Oklahoma, Arkansas and the Ohio River. South of this line the 'Red Ball' brand was used instead (MacCurdy 1925, 59-64). However, the first national advertising campaign for Sunkist citrus fruit did not take place until 1914 (Sackman 2005, 104), six years after the beginning of the first Hawaiian canned pineapple national advertising campaign. However, the early CFGE advertising was more creative than the early Hawaiian cooperative advertising as a comparison of Figures 1 and 2 reveals.
Although the HPGA had been disbanded in 1910, on December 12, 1912, nine of Hawaii's pineapple canners formed a new organization, the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Packers (AHPP). The AHPP's aims were to promote the common interests of its membership, encourage the scientific development of the pineapple industry, to work for an adequate labor supply, to institute improvements in canning methods, to advance high standards for the finished products, to extend the demand for canned pineapple through judicious advertising, to improve transportation facilities and to secure the enactment of laws beneficial to the industry (Canning Trade October 17, 1921, 12; Honolulu Star-Bulletin: Progress and Opportunity Edition October 20, 1924, 26).

The AHPP voted an appropriation of 5¢ a case on the year's pack, and launched a second cooperative national advertising campaign similar to that of its predecessor, the HPGA, throughout the spring and summer of 1913. This time the campaign was handled by Husband & Thomas of Chicago. The HPPA adopted the slogan 'Always ask for Hawaiian pineapple, no matter what the brand, so long as it comes from Hawaii' over their signature. The advertisements appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of which an example can be seen in Figure 2. The Post had a circulation of over 2 million. The advertisements also appeared in newspapers across the continental U.S. The second cooperative advertising campaign covered the period 1913-5, appropriations being as follows: 1913, $26,000; 1914, $39,000; and 1915, $33,000.

Once again, the first year of the second campaign, 1913, was accompanied by a price reduction of 34¢ a case, or approximately 11 per cent on the previous year's price of $3.10. The second campaign had been accompanied by a rapid movement of surplus stocks into consumption, and to a limited degree, further extended the distribution of canned pineapple in the United States (Canning Trade April 14, 1913, 36; Canning Trade May 12, 1913, 32; Canning Trade August 9, 1915, 32; United Kingdom 1914, 8-9; United Kingdom 1915, 5; Fox 1990, 32-3).

The climax of the 1913-15 campaign was the designation of November 10, 1915 as 'Hawaiian Pineapple Day' by the organizers of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. The exposition was widely advertised. Canned pineapple was placed before President Wilson and the State Governors on that day, and hotels and cafes throughout the United States featured Hawaiian pineapple (Canning Trade August 2, 1915, 32). In San Francisco the day was observed in an impressive manner, the event culminating in a celebration on the grounds of the Panama-Pacific Exposition that the San Francisco Chronicle believed was by far the most impressive of the events designed to promote a food product. An immense crowd was attracted and 5,000 cans of pineapples were given away to visitors at the Palace of Horticulture (San Francisco Chronicle November 11, 1915, 9). After 1915, the wartime boom meant that there were to be no more cooperative advertising campaigns until 1921 (Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 9, 1921, Pineapple Section, 5-6; Honolulu Star-Bulletin February 8, 1922, 14).

The CGFE also sought to bring its product to the attention of the urban public. Rather than using international expositions it used billboards in prominent public spaces such as Time Square and Coney Island. It also placed advertisements inside streetcars (Sackman 2005, 97-8).

The first and second cooperative advertising campaigns were the only national advertising of Hawaiian canned pineapple. However, from the mid-1910s Libby, McNeill & Libby, which had established a pineapple canning subsidiary in Hawaii began to advertise its canned produce using the 'Libby's' brand name. Stanley and Helen Resor at J. Walter Thompson (JWT), Libby's advertising agency, pioneered the use of four-color page advertisements for the canner in all the leading women's magazines from 1916. The advertising copy provided pictures and recipes describing what could be done with canned food (Anon 1964, 62). In 1916 the California Packing Corporation acquired the CFCA's Hawaiian pineapple canning subsidiary as a result of the merger. It began to advertise its canned food using the 'Del Monte' brand name. After this time the Hawaiian Pineapple Company was the only major canner in Hawaii not to have a nationally advertised brand. It did not start to develop its own national brand, Dole, until the late 1920s. Understandably it had a stronger commitment to cooperative advertising than its rivals.

The economic downturn which began in late 1920 after the end of the war boom caused the pineapple canners concern. However, although Hawaiian canned pineapple no longer commanded a premium price as it had done up to mid-1920, the wholesale trade was still accepting deliveries without question, something which was not true in all lines of canned fruit (Canning Trade November 8, 1920, 20). Nonetheless at the dinner and annual meeting of the AHPP on March 7, 1921 James D. Dole suggested that it might be a good idea to begin another national advertising campaign. A committee of three, consisting of Dole and the California Packing Corporation’s Robert I. Bentley and A.W. Eames, was appointed to investigate the matter. The committee was given full power to act (Honolulu Star-Bulletin March 8, 1921, 2) and on April 3 it was announced that a third cooperative advertising campaign, organized by Erwin Waisey Co. of Chicago, was to be launched (Honolulu Star-Bulletin April 14, 1921, 8). The campaign began at the beginning of July. It cost a total of $185,000 and was conducted in continental U.S. magazines and newspapers. An example of one of the advertisements can be seen in Figure 3. The advertisements sought to associate the product with an exotic image of Hawaii. Grocers were also encouraged to display Hawaiian canned pineapple in their windows. The CFGE had been using retailer window displays to promote Sunkist oranges since
1916. The AHPP believed the campaign to have been a success (Honolulu Star-Bulletin July 2, 1921, B1; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 16, 1921, 11; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, February 8, 1922, 14; Sackman 2005, 98-99). However, Robert I. Bentley, president of California Packing Corporation, when reviewing the success of his corporation during the summer season of 1921 felt it was probably the result of the failure of the East Coast fruit crops (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, February 20, 1922, 8).

In March 1922 it was decided to rename the AHPP the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Canners (AHPC) placing the word 'association' first. The previous name had led to confusion with the names of individual member companies (Chapman 1933, 9; Honolulu Star-Bulletin: Progress and Opportunity Edition October 20, 1924, 26).

At that time the pineapple industry was faced with large accumulated inventories. The success of the cooperative advertising campaign in 1921 led the AHPC to continue the campaign in 1922. Eight leading national women's magazines with a total monthly circulation of 8.1 million and an estimated readership of 49 million were selected for the main thrust of the campaign. Contracts were placed with the Ladies' Home Journal, the Woman's Home Companion, the Delineator, Good Housekeeping, Woman's World, People's Home Journal and Modern Priscilla. The campaign was focused on crushed or grated canned pineapple and began in the June issues of these magazines with both full color and black and white advertisements. An example of one of the advertisements can be seen in Figure 4. The campaign cost about $250,000 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, March 29, 1922, 10; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 3, 1922, 7).

The AHPC used market research to estimate the total coverage of its 1922 advertising campaign. Formal market studies based on the sifting of population statistics had been pioneered by Stanley Resor of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency (Fox, 1990, 84-5). The AHPC estimated the total coverage of its campaign at 45.6 per cent of literate urban families and 34.6 per cent of the total number of literate families in the United States. The distribution of the advertising media used by the AHPC meant that their campaign was skewed towards the North-eastern and Pacific Coast States, where total coverage was between 40 and 60 per cent, while in the South-eastern States coverage was between 10 and 30 per cent. Consumer advertising accounted for 89 per cent of the total expenses of the campaign, of which magazine space accounted for 93 per cent (Dole Corporate Archive 1922-23).

From March 1922, the H.K. McCann Co. advertising agency handled the AHPC's campaigns, which cost an average of $250,000 per year. They were designed to create a sustained consumer awareness of Hawaiian pineapple products in the United States through the medium of magazines and newspapers. For the first time the Hawaiian canners commissioned full page advertisements modeled on the advertisements pioneered by the Resors at J. Walter Thompson for Libby, McNell & Libby the previous decade. Many of the advertisements were in color. The Honolulu-Star Bulletin argued in an editorial in July 1922 that Hawaii's pineapple canners were effectively advertising Hawaii as a tourist resort simultaneously with their advertising of canned pineapple. The advertising was followed up through the liberal use of recipe books showing the consumer how Hawaiian canned pineapple could be used in many ways. Schools where home economics and domestic science classes were conducted received a great deal of attention by the AHPC. One of the members of the association, Lawrence M. Judd, reported in 1924 that 'the response throughout continental United States had been remarkable.' Window posting broadsides were also distributed to grocers. Supplementary advertising work included editorial matter in magazines wherever possible, promotion in schools and publicity in trade papers. After 1928, the demand for canned pineapples outstripped the supply, so it was not considered necessary to continue the cooperative advertising campaign (Honolulu Star-Bulletin March 29, 1922, 10; Honolulu Star-Bulletin July 3, 1922, 7; Honolulu Star-Bulletin: Progress and Opportunity Edition October 20, 1924, 26; Judd 1924, 137; Coulter 1934, 292; Western Canner and Packer July 1928, 28; Western Canner and Packer September 1935, 5).

The Hawaiian pineapple industry was initially relatively unscathed by the Great Depression. Output of canned pineapple continued to increase and reached a peak of 12.8 million cases in 1931. The wholesale price peaked at $2.2 between July 1929 and June 1930. It then fell back to $1.95 by March 1931. It was only in 1931 that the industry began to feel the full impact of the economic crisis. By December 1931 the wholesale price had reached a low of $1.2. It was estimated that only three quarters of the 1931 crop of pineapples was harvested. Libby, McNell & Libby stopped processing the outer slices of the fruit so that it could offer its customers extra high quality sliced pineapple at the lowest price for 15 years. In 1932 output at 5.1 million cases was 60 per cent down on the previous year (Western Canner and Packer November 1931, 36; Saturday Evening Post December 5, 1931, 29; January 23, 1932, 54-55; Honolulu Advertiser January 1, 1932, 1; Dean 1938, 90). Two of the minor pineapple canners went bankrupt. By October 1932, the Hawaiian Pineapple Co., which had greatly expanded production capacity during the 1920s in the expectation that Boom would last, was effectively insolvent. It was reorganized by one of Hawaii's leading sugar factors, Castle & Cooke (Commercial and Financial Chronicle March 19, 1932, 2159; San Francisco Chronicle April 22, 1931, 15; Commercial and Financial Chronicle October 22, 1932, 2839; Western Canner and Packer December 1932, 8). Although the sugar factor tried to retain Dole as a consultant he was unable to accept he had lost control of his company. So they had to temporarily
break all ties with their company’s founder (Hawkins 2007).

The severe crisis facing the Hawaiian pineapple industry led to the formation of a new agricultural cooperative association in August 1932 (Dept. of Interior 1932, 11; California Packing Corporation 1934, 10-11; Empire Marketing Board Canned and Dried Fruit Notes September 1932, 17). The principal objective of the Pineapple Producers’ Cooperative Association (PPCA) was to curtail production. However, it also sought to rekindle demand with a revival of cooperative advertising. The PPCA appointed JWT to handle the campaign. The initial $1 million campaign, which was launched in November, was one of the largest campaigns for a single food product up to that time. JWT decided to focus on the theme of health. The campaign slogan was ‘follow the latest dietetic advice – start and end the day with canned pineapple.’ Advertisements in leading women’s magazines, the Saturday Evening Post, and the American Weekly claimed that canned pineapple was a source of vitamins, and hence it was good for you. Advertisements were also placed in nutritional and professional cookery, domestic science and hospital publications. A pamphlet entitled ‘The nutritional value of canned pineapple’ was also published for distribution to medical practitioners. Newspaper representatives working with JWT were supplied with merchandising material such as reprints, gummed display units, posters and stickers, which they distributed to retail outlets including grocers, soda fountains, restaurants and hotels, bakeries and hospitals, as well as district buying offices of chain stores (PPCA/JWT News Flashes 1932-33, November 16 1932, 1-2; Fruit Products Journal December 1932, 99-100; Western Canner and Packer December 1932, 12; JWT 1934 (2), 36-39; Killian 1934).

By January 1933, when the second wave of the campaign was launched, the industry was experiencing a revival in fortunes. JWT argued that the recovery was strongest in the chain store sector of the retail trade. So in the third wave of the campaign a substantial share of the marketing work was focused on leading chain store groups such as A & P, Piggly Wiggly and Safeway. This is an early example of a proto-channel partnership albeit of a temporary nature. The third wave began with the giving out of display material to thousands of chain store and independent grocers to make possible floor and counter displays (Honolulu Star-Bulletin February 24, 1933, 1, 3; PPCA/JWT News Flashes January 10, 1933, 1; Western Canner and Packer February 1933, 30; PPCA/JWT News Flashes March 1, 1933, 1; Western Canner and Packer May 1933, 30; PPCA/JWT News Flashes April 19, 1933, 1; Western Canner and Packer May 1933, 30).

In November 1933 JWT began a new advertising campaign that personalized the ‘Pineapple for Health’ message by using for example portraits of healthy people and providing evidence that vitamins contribute to physical fitness. An example of one of the advertisements can be seen in Figure 5. Otis Pease says that the temporary fashion for associating nationally distributed foods with health giving properties originated with JWT’s 1925 campaign for Velveeta processed cheese. However, in fact, as Sackman shows, CFGE’s advertising had been associating citrus fruit with health since 1907 (Western Canner and Packer August 1933, 24; Empire Marketing Board Canned and Dried Fruit Notes July 1934, 20; Western Canner and Packer November 1933, 28; Pease 1958, 94-95; JWT 1933; Sackman 2005, 107-114).

By early summer 1934 the PPCA was beginning to lose its enthusiasm for cooperative advertising. So the summer advertising campaign launched by JWT in May had a reduced budget. The theme was still health and was based on the slogan ‘Canned Pineapple for Summer Energy’ (PPCA/JWT News Flashes June 1, 1934, 1-3; Fruit Products Journal June 1934, 313). JWT then proposed a winter campaign that placed even greater stress on the alleged health benefits of canned pineapple. The projected campaign slogan was ‘To preserve longer the characteristics of youth, science says eat more protective foods every day: canned pineapple is rated a great protective food’ (JWT 1934 (3)). When the PPCA had hired JWT to undertake its advertising in 1933 the agency had insisted on a contract in which it retained the right to prepare all copy for publication, emphasizing whatever its staff considered the best selling point. The PPCA felt that the health claims went beyond what could be supported by medical research and rejected the proposed campaign.

Cooperative advertising was temporarily suspended. However, in September 1935, the PPCA assumed direct administrative control of cooperative advertising for the industry. JWT was replaced by McCann Erickson Inc. It will be recalled that H.K. McCann had been responsible for the AHPC’s 1920s advertising campaign prior to the 1930 merger that created McCann Erickson. The PPCA’s contract with McCann Erickson reserved to the PPCA the sole right to decide the lines to be followed and the qualities to be stressed by the copy writers and artists (Honolulu Advertiser, September 11, 1935, 15; PPCA 1939, 33; Western Canner and Packer September 1935, 5). In October, McCann Erickson launched its first campaign for the PPCA with full color advertisements in leading consumer publications intended to reach just about every potential consumer in the continental United States. The McCann Erickson advertising stressed that canned pineapple was value for money at the current low prices. While it also stated that pineapple contained vitamins A, B and C which were good for health, this was not the principal focus, unlike the JWT advertisements (Saturday Evening Post November 16, 1935, 97; Saturday Evening Post November 23, 1935, 80). An example of one of the advertisements can be seen in Figure 6. They were also very similar to advertisements for Sunkist oranges in this period, as can be seen in Figure 7. During the financial year 1935-1936 a total of $345,000 was spent on
cooperative advertising compared with $205,000 during 1934-1935. The PPCA appears to have been satisfied with McCann-Erickson's work because expenditure on national advertising remained above $300,000 for the following three financial years - $317,000 was spent in 1936-1937, $349,000 in 1937-1938 and $350,000 in 1938-1939 (Western Canner and Packer October 1936, 31; PPCA 1939, 121). The McCann Erickson advertising avoided controversy unlike the earlier JWT advertising. McCann Erickson also did not make use of the modern art employed in the advertising by N.W. Ayer & Son for the Hawaiian Pineapple Co. during the 1930s.

Writing in December 1939 the president of the PPCA, Elvon Musick, and C.L. Queen observed that...From a condition of great overproduction, ruinous prices, unsatisfactory (if not unfair) trade practices and imminent bankruptcy, the pineapple companies have emerged into a condition of ample but not excessive production, fair prices, reasonable profits, fairer trade practices, and sound, stable, financial position... It has been accomplished during a period in which nearly every other industry, and the entire canning industry in particular, has suffered continuously from demoralized marketing conditions and depression generally (PPCA 1939, 5).

They might also have mentioned that the PPCA’s remit only covered canned pineapple. Several of the canners also successfully developed a significant market for a new product during the 1930s, canned pineapple juice.

The advertising campaigns analyzed in this paper would not have been possible without the establishment of a series of trade associations by the Hawaiian pineapple industry. Louis Galambos and Joseph Pratt have shown that institutions capable of coordinating the activities of industries in the United States began to be established through trade associations in the period before World War I. This was the beginning of a more cooperative form of capitalism. These trade associations, such as the HPGA, AHPP, AHPC and the PPCA, promoted industry-wide uniform standards. They also financed research and development, as in the case of the HPGA's successors. William Lazonick, William Mass and Jonathan West have identified this kind of cooperation as an important form of competitive advantage (Lazonick, Mass and West 1995, 295).

The Hawaiian canned pineapple industry appears to fit John Kenneth Galbraith's theory of 'contrived demand' at a very early stage in its history. He argues that advertising and salesmanship, the management of consumer demand, are vital for planning in the industrial system. In the modern world few producers of consumer goods would want to leave the purchases of their products to the spontaneous and hence unmanaged responses of the public.

Hence wants are contrived by the manufacturer through advertising. There is no doubt that the industry attempted to contrive the demand for canned pineapple to allow for the increase in production (Galbraith, 1975, 272-4). There was a conscious effort on the part of the pineapple canners to attract the middle class female consumer and her family through the advertising. This is clearly shown by the type of media used. As Mary Ellen Waller-Zuckerman has shown, the advertisements in women's journals 'targeted... females with purchasing power... These women could be classified generally as middle class' (Waller-Zuckerman 1989, 105; Western Canner and Packer June 1934, 22). The advertisers appear to have assumed that most of the potential purchasers of canned pineapple were middle class women, but P.N. Limerick cites an autobiography of a wife of a rancher in Montana that suggests in the late nineteenth century, most rural residents of this state lived on canned food and a heap of empty cans could be seen outside every shack (Limerick 1987, 17-18).

There are interesting parallels between the advertising campaigns of the four Hawaiian pineapple canners' trade associations and the Californian citrus industry's CFGE. Both invested in national cooperative advertising using a variety of media. Both the pineapple canners and the CFGE successfully used place association in the advertising of their produce (Sackman 2005, 104). Both Hawaii and California were exotic places although perhaps more so in the case of the former than the latter. The CFGE’s advertising also sought to associate their produce with good health from the very beginning (Sackman 2005, 107-114). The pineapple canners’ cooperative advertising did not adopt this theme until the early 1930s. However, the evidence to support this theme was less clear cut and the canners, worried about growing concerns with truth in advertising, terminated their contract with JWT over this issue. For the remainder of the 1930s they returned to more traditional advertising copy such as recipes that made use of canned pineapple.

The national cooperative advertising helped add innate values to Hawaiian canned pineapple which meant it could be retailed at a premium price. Even when canneries in Taiwan matched the Hawaiian product’s quality in the 1930s, the Hawaiian product still retailed at a higher price. The Sunkist advertising allowed the CFGE to achieve something similar for its produce, although unlike the Hawaiian canners the Californians faced domestic competition from states such as Arizona, Texas and Florida. On the other hand all three of the largest Hawaiian canners had strong national brands by the end of the 1930s, Libby’s, Del Monte and Dole. These brands allowed these canners to move production offshore in the postwar period and still retail their produce at a premium price.
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