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Making whisky Scotch: advertising a national drink and a global spirit, 1890 – 1970

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Abstract

The Scotch whisky industry of the 21st century has inherited a lineage and global reverence for its spirit. This thesis examines how Scotch whisky transformed from a locally produced spirit into a mass-marketed and globally exported luxury commodity. The success story of Scotch whisky has been cultivated by writers in the industry and marketers, capitalising on the tradition of historic distilling practice, strong links to the geography and ingredients from the landscape of Scotland, and entrepreneurial acumen that developed enduring brands. The prevailing narrative has served to report how distilling capacity grew, and those businessmen cultivated a market for their produce abroad through astute salesmanship and the quality of the spirit. While the demand for Scotch whisky can be gleaned from export and global market figures, less is known about the strategies employed in creating Scotch whisky as a distinct global spirit and their market positioning strategies. This thesis looks at promotional activity by Scotch whisky firms through an analysis of their different marketing outputs in the form of advertisements and positioning to establish how their whisky became Scotch whisky and communicate with consumers why they should be Scotch whisky drinkers.

The literature on the marketing of Scotch whisky has primarily focused on the skill of entrepreneurial blenders and the quality and prestige of the product, downplaying the role of advertisements as an expensive and sometimes extravagant activity. Examining pictorial advertisements makes it possible to explore a reproducible account of what different Scotch whisky firms have emphasised about their brands over time. This thesis underscores the significance of this activity, with globalisation a key driver in changes to the visual and textual signs used by the industry. First, it illustrates how firms communicated that their whisky is Scotch whisky, and secondly, how Scotch whisky firms developed equity for their brands. Doing this builds a more nuanced picture of not just the what and why but also the how and where of this period of significant global growth for the industry.

This thesis is novel in its creation and use of a 'digital archive', built to counter the limitations of both the existence of and access to extant Scotch whisky business records and created from periodicals such as *The Illustrated London News*, *The Economist*, *The Times*, and *Life Magazine*. This has allowed for a holistic examination of the breadth of textual and visual advertisements across publications, representing all the brands promoted in the periodicals examined. The digitisation of these adverts allows for the collation and analysis of pictorial depictions of Scotch whisky, which in turn reveal company-driven

communication about the industry, themselves, and their products, as well as public discourse on the meaning of symbols used to represent Scotch whisky.

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Author's Declaration

“I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.”

Printed Name: _____Macon St. Hilaire_____

Signature: ____[need to hand sign]____

Part One: Literature, Sources, and Methodology

Chapter 1 Introduction

O thou, my muse! Guid auld Scotch drink!
 Whether thro' wimpling worms thou jink,
 Or, richly brown, ream owre the brink,
 In glorious faem,
 Inspire me till I lisp an' wink,
 To sing thy name!
 – *Robert Burns, Scotch Drink*

When the eighteenth-century poet Robert Burns wrote the lines to ‘Scotch Drink’, across Scotland, whisky was made on a small scale as a cottage craft and consumed locally as a part of sociocultural activities.¹ Commercial distilling was limited, with the bulk of output sent as exports to England for gin rectifying. At its peak, in 1786, these exports reached 881,969 gallons.² Whisky made in Scotland had yet to become a distinctive spirit valued by drinkers beyond the borders. Burns’ poem marked a change in Excise taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain and, in his mind, foretold the end of Scotch whisky as a feature in cultural life and would end enterprising ambitions for the spirit.³ However, this is not what happened. Changes in licensing and retailing saw an expansion in commercial enterprises, and advancements in distilling technology contributed to increased distilling frequency and capacity.⁴ By the early twentieth century, Scotch whisky was mass-marketed, and exports outwith Scotland in 1910 represented 30% of the industry’s sales.⁵ Among the largest three brands, exports in the same period represented 25-45% of their business activity.⁶ Today, Scotch whisky is exported to 174 markets, which in 2022 reached an annual volume of 1.67 billion 70 cl bottles.⁷ Far removed from the whisky

¹ Iseabel Ann Glen, “An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914,” PhD thesis University of Strathclyde, 1969, pp. 1-3.

R. B. Weir, “The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” PhD thesis University of Edinburgh, 1974, pp. 1-7.

² Weir, “The Distilling Industry in Scotland,” pp. 35.

³ Robert Burns, “Scotch Drink”, in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, John Wilson: Kilmarnock, 1786, Electronic Reproduction, National Library of Scotland: Edinburgh, 2005, <https://digital.nls.uk/74571116>, pp. 29-35.

Duties on Spirits Act 1784 24 George III Session 2, c. 46, Parliament of Great Britain. U.K. Parliamentary Archive, HL/PO/PU/1/1784/24G3S2n77,

https://archives.parliament.uk/collections/getrecord/GB61_HL_PO_PU_1_1784_24G3S2n77.

⁴ Ross Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, Newton Abbot, U.K.: David & Charles Ltd., 1973, 13-21. Michael S. Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry*, James & James: Edinburgh, 1981, pp. 73-99.

⁵ Weir, p. 537.

⁶ *Ibid.* The export percentage of Scotch whisky business in 1910 by firm as calculated by Weir: James Buchanan & Co. Ltd.:29%, John Dewar & Sons, Ltd.: 45%, John Walker & Sons, Ltd.: 25%.

⁷ “Scotch whisky exports over £6bn for first time”, Scotch Whisky Association, 10 February 2023, <https://www.scotch-whisky.org.uk/newsroom/scotch-whisky-exports-2022/>.

Burns knew, Scotch whisky now forms a web of stakeholders comprised of distilleries, blenders, brokers, and multinational enterprises. Simultaneously, it is a consumable commodity of iconic brands and a cultural artefact, a treasured national drink. In a world of choice among alcoholic beverages, why drink Scotch whisky?

Histories that chronicle the change Scotch whisky underwent from local produce to global spirit have primarily focused on changes in distilling technology, the construction of new distilleries, and succeeding despite economic challenges.⁸ This focus has characterised the industry's success as an achievement influenced by the quality of the spirit, unique to Scotland. Today, Scotch whisky has a Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), a designation by the European Union for products in recognition of intellectual property tied directly to quality, reputation, or other characteristics related to the geographic site of production.⁹ This acknowledgement of the specificity of whisky made in Scotland as unique relies on universal agreement between producers and consumers. The continuation of traditional cultural ties can explain the consumption of Scotch whisky in Scotland. Still, preference is subjective. The quality of spirit alone does not explain how people outside Scotland developed an appreciation for this beverage. To justify the growth in markets outside Scotland, credit has been given to the ingenuity of “canny” entrepreneurs who crafted a superior spirit by developing blended Scotch whisky brands that appealed to consumers outside Scotland.¹⁰ A brand name does not communicate the qualities of what is inside the bottle or the attributes that make Scotch whisky distinct from other whiskies without an established meaning and cache of goodwill. To warrant the PGI designation and credit Scotch whisky brands in this development, it is necessary to understand how the industry marketed whisky and built credibility for the spirit.

The term ‘Scotch’ in Scotch whisky has become an intrinsic and universally recognised aspect of the beverage that firmly identifies it as a national drink and a global spirit, yet one that is rarely scrutinised. To cement in the minds of consumers that whisky made in Scotland is an inimitable spirit, the association of ‘Scotch’ must be continually renewed. This perpetual association complicates promoting the spirit for consumers who are not

⁸ Michael S. Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry*, James & James: Edinburgh, 1981.

⁹ “Geographical indications and quality schemes explained,” Agriculture and rural development, European Commission, https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/farming/geographical-indications-and-quality-schemes/geographical-indications-and-quality-schemes-explained_en.

¹⁰ The emphasis on the Scots word canny is a significant feature that characterises the literature which interprets the shrewdness and good judgement associated with Scottish businessmen as being inherent in the success of the whisky industry.

Allen Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, Glasgow: The Angles Share, 2002.

influenced by the connection the spirit has to its production. There has existed a tension with marketing Scotch whisky that relies on twee-out-of-time connotations of a frozen Scottish culture (typically situated in Highland stereotypes) at odds with the reality of broader cultural change and efforts to appeal to contemporary consumers. How does Scotch whisky appeal to consumers not enticed by the iconography of tartan, misty glens, and stags? There is more to the story than just a preference for whisky made in Scotland; what makes this kind of high-strength alcoholic drink (or, as some may call it, firewater) Scottish, and why is it distinct from other global whiskies? This thesis explores these questions by answering the following: How can the industry's success with a worldwide reputation and export market be explained? How did the industry convince the world to prefer whisky made in Scotland over other spirits? This thesis looks at the promotional activity of Scotch whisky brands and, by extension, the collective industry to examine how they have represented Scotch whisky and marketed that image to consumers.

Advertising is a function within marketing; with promotion conducted by different stakeholders, the Scotch whisky industry has generated abundant, diverse promotional materials. This advertising material was ephemeral and intended to convey Scotch whisky brands through objects such as posters, pub mirrors, decanters, and trade cards. This material crafted an image representing what a company wanted the consumer to think about their brand and what associations to make with their whisky; this accumulation of value for the brand is considered brand equity. This brand equity represents the tangible and intangible value created by consumers from the multidimensional aspect of a brand, including its personality, logos, and slogans; this has been defined in the literature from the work of David A. Aaker.¹¹ Advertising in printed media, while also ephemeral, served a similar function to these objects. Periodical advertisements have benefited from comprehensive preservation efforts to archive this material and sometimes digitise the contents. This has made it possible to preserve advertisements in magazines and newspapers within their published context. This material provides text and visual data created and designed to represent different whisky firms and their products. It demonstrates different strategies and identities within the Scotch whisky industry, which have developed and changed.

The various aspects of this promotion are collectively understood as material culture, a methodology that centres objects as a source to study history. Different approaches to studying material culture include utilising objects as a primary source of a “history from

¹¹ David A. Aaker, *Managing Brand Equity*, London: Free Press, 1991.

things”. This can also be expanded to a “history of things”, an analysis that considers the relationships around objects from the context of their production, use, and reception.¹² This thesis employs a combination of these two methods, focusing on printed advertisements in periodicals, to read the visual and textual information as a source and expand on the relationships between the producer advertising Scotch whisky, what is being communicated in the advertisement, and the relationship to the advertisement’s audience. This work recognises that visual periodic advertisements were pivotal in marketing history when brand-name goods emerged as dominant persuasive tools in commercial activity in Britain and the world.¹³ The advertisements discussed in this thesis have been selected from an assembled digital archive built from hundreds of Scotch whisky advertisements. These advertisements were gathered by searching digitised periodicals that include regional and international newspapers, primarily compiled from *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*, and illustrated magazines *The Illustrated London News* and *Life Magazine*.¹⁴ These publications were selected because they represent advertising outside Scotland, first in London, then across Britain, the Colonies, and the United States. Examining advertisements across publications over time makes it possible to tease out patterns and observe competition among brands, frequency of advertising, and developing and repeated tropes. The advertisement examples discussed in this thesis have been selected to represent significant developments, relationships, and points of change within the context of competing Scotch whisky firms and their brands and to reflect noteworthy points in the industry’s history that reflect the globalisation of the industry.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: a justification for the study, which includes a brief history of the Scotch whisky industry, why the industry is considered a success, and precedent from adjacent studies. Following the justification is a review of the literature demonstrating how studies have explained the success of the Scotch whisky industry. The justification section and literature review work together to illustrate why this study exists and its contribution to defining the global success of Scotch whisky. Chapter 2 discusses the physical and digital sources, the methodology for analysing these sources, and explains

¹² Giorgio Riello, “Things that shape history: Material culture and historical narratives,” in *History and Material Culture: A student’s guide to approaching alternative sources*, ed. Karen Harvey, London: Routledge, 2009, 24-25.

¹³ Roy Church, “Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations,” *Economic History Review* LIII 4, 2000, 621-645.

¹⁴ The advertisements and articles collected from digital periodical archives have been assembled and are available at the following link they are organised by periodical, year, and are distinguished with AD for advertisements: [Advertisement and Article Archive St Hilaire Thesis 2023](https://gla-my.sharepoint.com/:f/g/personal/m_st-hilaire_1_research_gla_ac_uk/EI0uv1W1EUUpHq5YIkletf4cBKyCtCjp-g7NefmHjERyNYg) or https://gla-my.sharepoint.com/:f/g/personal/m_st-hilaire_1_research_gla_ac_uk/EI0uv1W1EUUpHq5YIkletf4cBKyCtCjp-g7NefmHjERyNYg

the development of the research design. After establishing the research gaps and relevance of the research questions, this thesis contains two further parts which organise the industry's history into two themes. Part Two: Scotch whisky, a spirit for all seasons, can be categorised as representing the transformation of Scotch whisky as a beverage outside of Scotland. In Part Two, Chapter 3 begins with an illustration of the first advertisement foundations and the development of pictorial Scotch whisky advertisements through the 1890s and ends with the outbreak of World War I. Chapter 4 covers the inter-war period, changes to the structure of the Scotch whisky industry, the National Prohibition in the sale of alcohol in the United States, the maturity of advertising tropes established in Chapter 3, and the return to the American market, ending in 1939. Part Three: A Spirit at Home Abroad represents the acceptance of Scotch whisky internationally and the significance of the U.S. market in the survival and success of the industry. Chapter 5 begins with the outbreak of World War II and demonstrates how advertising and the business of Scotch whisky contrasted to World War I, it toggles between home market and U.S. advertisements demonstrating the significance of the American market for Scotch whisky and the changes advertising went through in the post-war period ending in 1959 as production of Scotch whisky soared. Chapter 6 begins in 1960 at the height of the post-war boom; it ends in 1980 with the global recession and ramifications of global changes in alcohol taste, differing marketing strategies, and the growth of single malt whiskies. The thesis ends with a conclusion in Chapter 7.

This periodisation allows the capturing and analysis of foundational tropes for advertisements, giving greater depth to their meaning and illustrating how forces acting on the industry changed the advertising of Scotch whisky and represent how different stakeholders responded to these tensions to promote their brands. Marketing innovations by entrepreneurs and the development of popular branded whiskies are a part of the Scotch whisky's global success. Still, these strategies and positions did not spring forth fully formed. Studying advertising reveals how the promotion of Scotch whisky developed and communicated the qualities that made brand equity and iconic brands possible. Understanding these advertisements also enriches the story, demonstrating how mass marketing was achieved by competing stakeholders in the industry from its emergence in the 1890s, across the world, during and after world wars, economic downturns, culminating in the mid-twentieth-century boom.

By examining this relationship at an industry-wide level over the periodisation, it is possible to tease out patterns and document changes that can be explained by context from

business history, economic and social history. This lens for analysing advertisements reveals broader cultural changes, expanding the narrative beyond the attributes of successful entrepreneurs and illustrating how brand equity developed and contributed to the popularity of Scotch whisky. By examining Scotch whisky advertisements, this study enriches the narrative of the industry's globalisation and its brands but also sheds light on the design and reception of Scottish symbols in international popular culture, the development and professionalisation of advertising imagery and techniques, the globalisation of consumable commodities, and the influence of the twentieth-century periodical press. It is a history of the industry, the development of Scotch whisky brands, and how the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky has been used to sell whisky. This offers an opportunity to study the industry in a novel way that recognises how important marketing and branding are to the industry's success and, more crucially, puts analysis of both these issues at the heart of the work.

1.1 Justification: A Spirit of Success

In a business context, the demand for Scotch whisky is a success story that transformed a traditional craft into a globally exported industry. Despite this achievement, the industry is not immune to outside forces that impact Scotch whisky's continued profitability and preference among consumers. The continued success and health of the Scotch whisky industry have an economic impact. Perceptions of Scotch whisky are also intertwined with the continued distinction that PGI designation provides, as well as the national identity of Scotland. This section contextualises why the industry's past success and relationship to marketing activity are relevant to its continued success today. To begin, whisky is defined, and the codified rules for Scotch whisky's PGI are explained, followed by a description of the contribution the industry has on the economy in Scotland and the U.K. After defining what whisky is and its' contemporary impact, a brief history follows, demonstrating how the Scotch whisky industry developed and has been described as a story of success. While the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky has had limited interrogation of its role in the Scotch whisky industry's success, this section ends with a discussion of how identity and geography have been discussed for the marketing of tea and champagne, the range of Scottish identity studies and how they have excluded Scotch whisky. These topics set a precedent for this thesis, demonstrating identity and geography's role in perceptions of consumable goods and culture.

The alcoholic beverage, known as whisky, is broadly defined as a spirit notable for the variation created by distilling fermented water flavoured by different grains (essentially a type of beer), then ageing the distilled spirit in oak barrels. At its core, the process of making whisky is fundamentally the same everywhere, but changes to the grains, water, quantities and temperatures, shape and size of the distilling apparatus, wood types, ageing, and, of course, location, consistent in its production, influence the ability to make distinct types of whisky. Scotch whisky is one of several geographically distinctive whiskies. Throughout this thesis, 'whisky' and 'Scotch whisky' will be used interchangeably, but when the whisky made somewhere else is mentioned, it will receive specific distinction. Today, whisky is distilled globally, with distinct regional designations for Irish, American, Canadian, and Japanese; this also includes significant distilling activities in India and China. There is a distinction in spelling for whiskies made in Ireland and the United States of America, which follows the convention to include the letter "e" in whiskey. The choice to spell whisky with or without the "e" reflects etymological conventions. It is natural to spell it in one's native language, and in the opinion of this author, pedantic to police the

way others are inclined to spell it. The determination to refer to Scotch whisky without the letter “e” developed over time and was not a universal convention. For this thesis, the word will always be spelt whisky when referring to Scotch whisky because that is how the spelling is defined in the contemporary legal definition.

Making Scotch whisky requires adherence to legally defined and agreed-upon materials and production in Scotland. Today, Scotch whisky has a Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) recognising the intrinsic link with the production and quality of whisky made in Scotland as distinctive from other whiskies. The recognition of Scotch whisky as a unique spirit is also tied to the laws governing how it is made and sold. Since 2009, by UK law, the current definition of Scotch whisky states that it must be made in Scotland from three ingredients: cereal, water, and yeast, it must be aged for a minimum of three years in oak barrels, and it must be bottled at a strength no less than 40% alcohol by volume (ABV).¹⁵ PGI and the protected legal definition of Scotch whisky are designations that evolved and were built by the industry's efforts to communicate the uniqueness and quality of Scotch whisky to its consumers.¹⁶ Legal protections are fundamental to protecting the industry's integrity in consumers' minds and safeguarding Scotch whisky brands from fraud by imitation and adulteration. This modern definition of Scotch whisky plays a vital role in securing the industry's future success and is built on efforts by industry stakeholders through its development and history. By examining how crafted perceptions of Scotch whisky have shaped the industry's ability to protect itself in the marketplace through the reinforcement of Scotch whisky's attributes, this thesis identifies marketing strategies from the past that remain relevant to the marketer today.

The perception of Scotch whisky as a quality spirit has commercial implications for the businesses producing and exporting the spirit, and an economic impact not only in Scotland. The Scotch Whisky Association (SWA), the industry's principal trade body, has reported that Scotch whisky exports in 2022 reached over 174 global markets, with an estimated 53 bottles exported every second.¹⁷ Exports are the largest destination for Scotch whisky. With the production requirements for Scotch whisky in Scotland, principally distillation and ageing, the industry's health impacts labour in Scotland and adjacent value

¹⁵ “Definition of ‘Scotch whisky’ and categories of Scotch whisky,” The Scotch Whisky Regulations 2009, UK Statutory Instruments, 2009 No. 2890, Regulation 3, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/2009/2890/regulation/3/made>

¹⁶ Julie Bower and David M. Higgins. “Litigation and Lobbying in Support of the Marque: The Scotch Whisky Association, c. 1945–c. 1990.” *Enterprise & Society*, 2021, 1–31. doi:10.1017/eso.2021.33.

¹⁷ “Scotch whisky exports over £6bn for first time”, Scotch Whisky Association, 10 February 2023, <https://www.scotch-whisky.org.uk/newsroom/scotch-whisky-exports-2022/>.

chains. The SWA are the principal source for supplying data on the impacts of the industry in support of lobbying efforts to the governments in Scotland and the U.K. In a 2023 contribution report by the SWA for a roundtable discussion with the Scottish Parliament, Europe, and the External Affairs Cultural Committee, the SWA outlined the significant contribution the industry makes with the following information:

The Scotch Whisky industry employs 11,000 people directly in Scotland, 7,000 working in rural areas. The industry supports 42,000 jobs across the UK, 36,000 of which are based in Scotland. With a £5.5 billion economic impact across the UK economy (£3.8 billion in Scotland), the sector is one of the most significant net contributors to the UK/Scottish balance of trade in goods. Scotch Whisky represents 77% of all Scottish food and drink exports, 25% of all UK food and drink exports, and 1.5% of all UK exports.¹⁸

The report further indicates that in 2022, the total value of Scotch whisky exports was £6.2 billion, with the American market valued at £1,053,101,227 for a volume of 136,910,904 70cl bottles; the closest export market in value was France, with £488,262,575 and a volume of 204,961,336 70cl bottles.¹⁹ The contrast in value and volume between France and the United States represents a difference in the segments of the Scotch whisky industry marketed to each country, emphasising high-value luxury whisky for the American market. Together, this data represents the contribution the Scotch whisky industry makes to the economy in Scotland and the U.K. The value of exports also highlights the significance of positive perceptions in export markets, especially the American market, to maintain export value and preference for Scotch whisky.

Turning back to the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, the poem from which it was taken represents a defining moment in Scotch whisky history. The event that inspired Burns' poem illustrates early efforts to make Scotch whisky an enterprise and sets the background for developing within a hundred years of an export industry. His poem was written as a lament, marking the 1784 closure of the Ferintosh distillery.²⁰ In the eighteenth century, whisky was distilled and consumed locally, with Ferintosh being one of a few exceptions with a reputation that extended beyond the distillery's immediate vicinity. Ferintosh historically had an advantage due to distilling duty-free, granted by the

¹⁸ "SWA National Outcomes", Scottish Parliament Constitution, Europe, External Affairs and Cultural Roundtable Scotch Whisky Association Contribution, 15 June 2023, <https://www.parliament.scot/-/media/files/committees/constitution-europe-external-affairs-and-culture-committee/swa-national-outcomes.pdf>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Burns, "Scotch Drink", in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, John Wilson: Kilmarnock, 1786, Electronic Reproduction, National Library of Scotland: Edinburgh, 2005, <https://digital.nls.uk/74571116>, pp. 29-35.

government as compensation for the destruction of the previous distillery by Jacobite supporters following the landowner Duncan Forbes of Culloden's support of the 1688 revolution.²¹ The government later recalled this duty-free exemption with the 1784 Duties on Spirits Act, commonly called the Wash Act.²² Due to the loss of competitive advantage gained by distilling duty-free, this Act led to the distillery's closure. The 1784 Act created separate rules for whisky distilling and distribution by dividing the country into Highland and Lowland regions. Small-scale distilling was widespread and, to this point, had not been illegal for personal consumption. Still, this Act was an effort to regulate all distilling activity across Scotland through licenses. This impacted the spirit, with whisky made in the two regions differing in taste and quality, with smuggled Highland whisky gaining a reputation in the Lowlands of Scotland and into England. In the Highland region, illicit whisky was made with small-capacity pot stills on a small scale of spirit output. This impacted the flavour and contrasted with the larger capacity and frequency of production in the Lowland distilleries.

Despite an effort to modernise taxation on legal whisky making, it marked a period of rampant illicit distilling across Scotland.²³ With the unintended consequence of the 1784 Act leading to an influx of smuggling and, ultimately, tax evasion, the government in London eventually issued a new Act to make licenses for operating legal stills more affordable by issuing the 1823 Duties on Spirits Act.²⁴ This contributed to an influx of legal distilleries across Scotland.²⁵ The prevalent and repeated explanation is that the founding of legal distilleries in the Highlands directly resulted from the 1823 Act. Yet, as German and Adamson demonstrate, the pipeline from illicit to legal distillery was more

²¹ Robert Hamilton Bruce Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*. 1st ed. London: Putnam, 1951, 5th ed. London: Putnam & Co., 1974, p. 9.

Ross Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, Newton Abbot, U.K.: David & Charles Ltd., 1973, pp. 38-9. Michael S. Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry*, James & James: Edinburgh, 1981, p. 33.

²² *Duties on Spirits Act 1784 24 George III Session 2, c. 46*, Parliament of Great Britain. U.K. Parliamentary Archive, HL/PO/PU/1/1784/24G3S2n77, https://archives.parliament.uk/collections/getrecord/GB61_HL_PO_PU_1_1784_24G3S2n77.

²³ Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland*, pp. 10-2. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, pp. 53-72. T. M. Devine, "The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky-Making in Northern Scotland, c. 1780-1840," in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 54 No. 158 Part 2 (Oct, 1975), 155-177.

²⁴ *Public General Act 1823, 4 George IV, c. 94*, The Parliament of Great Britain, U.K. Parliamentary Archive, HL/PO/PU/1/1823/4G4n244, https://archives.parliament.uk/collections/getrecord/GB61_HL_PO_PU_1_1823_4G4n244.

²⁵ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, pp. 68-83.

T. M. Devine, "The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky-Making in Northern Scotland, c. 1780-1840," in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 54 No. 158 Part 2 (Oct, 1975), 155-177.

complex than the Act could resolve.²⁶ Many of the distilleries that still exist in Scotland today acknowledge their legal establishment coincided with the years after the 1823 Act. Nevertheless, the distinctive flavour contrast between the distilling operations in the Highlands and Lowlands remained a guiding influence as distilling technology changed, and spirit output grew.

Following the nineteenth-century licensing changes, advances in distilling technology contributed to the scale and scope of distilling activity. In contrast to the traditional pot still, a column still allowed the spirit to be produced in larger volumes and at greater speed.²⁷ The spirit made in the column stills was less expensive but had less flavour. Across Scotland, Scotch whisky became available for distribution through intermediaries between the distillation and the consumer. These intermediaries were often local grocers or wine and spirit merchants, who developed a method of blending the spirit from traditional pot stills with the spirit from column stills and then marketing them under their brand-name whisky labels.²⁸ The popularity of blended Scotch whisky contributed to investment in infrastructure and distilling capacity in the 1870s and 1880s, which saw the production and consumption of Scotch whisky increase from 10 million gallons a year to 20 million gallons a year by 1890.²⁹ This increase in the available whisky stock made it possible to mass market.

When these branded blends took the spirit beyond their locality and outwith the borders of Scotland, a means to distinguish this product from other beverages required promotion and advertising as an activity of marketing, helping to establish whisky made in Scotland as a distinct segment within the drinks industry. The 30 August 1890 issue of the *Illustrated London News* commemorated these improvements to distilling capacity and the proliferation of legal distilleries for a growing export demand.³⁰ It included illustrations depicting scenes from the Glenlivet and Royal Brackla distilleries alongside a description of Scotch whisky production from barley to bottle, with the example of Andrew Usher & Co., Edinburgh as the blender and dealer. The article praised the industry's transformation, once confined to Scotland's borders, which became a favoured drink in England and across

²⁶ Kieran German and Gregor Adamson, "Distilling in the Cabrach, c. 1800-1850: The Illicit Origins of the Scotch Whisky Industry," in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 39 Issue 2, Dec 2019, 146-165.

²⁷ Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, 13-21. Moss and Hume, pp. 73-99.

²⁸ Blending refers to the practice of combining different grain and malt whiskies from different distilleries and of different ages to be sold as a distinctive brand or bottled offering.

²⁹ Ross Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, Newton Abbot, U.K.: David & Charles Ltd., 1973, 24.

³⁰ "Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 30 Aug. 1890, pp. 275-278. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, link.gale.com/apps/doc/HN3100458401/ILN?u=glasuni&sid=bookmark-ILN&xid=7108b205. Accessed 16 Feb. 2023.

the British Empire. The publicity of the article in the *ILN* demonstrated that the Scotch whisky industry had achieved a newsworthy notoriety that would interest their readers and highlight a defining point in the industry's trajectory, where Scotch whisky became more visible through promotion and was widely recognised as a beverage outside of Scotland.

The rise of these blended whisky brands is attributed in the literature to the entrepreneurs of these brands, who were responsible for the success of Scotch whisky; they established the popularity of blended whisky and increased the consumption of Scotch whisky within the British Empire.³¹ Utilising their names, these firms evolved from the operations of the mid-nineteenth century via grocers and wine and spirit merchants into distinctive Scotch whisky brand labels by the 1880s. The development of Scotch whisky branding during this period was a function of marketing that, combined with advertising, communicated the qualities the whisky firms wanted to represent to consumers.

While the growth of firms during this period was numerous, the companies that have received frequent study, known as the Whisky Barons, include John Dewar & Sons, John Walker & Sons, and James Buchanan & Co. In contrast to these whisky companies, the pot still distillers and the grain distillers did not develop brands at the level or frequency of the blending interests. This distinction is vital because the blending of ageing malt whisky stocks purchased by the blenders to mix with grain whisky for their proprietary labels provided an avenue for the increasing whisky inventory that was then marketed and primarily distributed by the blending interests. For this thesis, the efforts of malt and pot distillers are highlighted when applicable. Nevertheless, it is essential to acknowledge that the ratio of brands emerging was dominated by blends of malt and grain whisky, with visibility of marketing efforts resting disproportionately with the blending brands. Blended Scotch whisky brands were prevalent, but the Whisky Barons and their brands dominated the industry in spirit, sales, and export volumes. A little over one hundred years from when Robert Burns was drinking whisky from small rural pot stills, the bulk of Scotch whisky consumed was utterly different, now the result of entrepreneurs creating popular blended brands.

³¹ Allen Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, Glasgow: The Angles Share, 2002., David Daiches, *Scotch Whisky; Its Past and Present*, New York: Macmillan, 1970., Iseabel Ann Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914," PhD thesis University of Strathclyde, 1969., Nicholas Morgan and Michael Moss, "The Marketing of Scotch Whisky an Historical Perspective," Chapter 6 in *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, edited by Richard S. Tedlow and Geoffrey Jones, London: Routledge, 1993, 116- 31., Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*. R. B. Weir, "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," PhD thesis University of Edinburgh, 1974.

This synopsis of the growth of Scotch whisky emphasises the influence of taxation and technology on local distillation and how entrepreneurs' blending spirits in Scotland transformed the industry by introducing their proprietary brands. An increased inventory of spirits blended and marketed by brand name made it possible to mass market outside Scotland. Still, it does not explain how Scotch whisky became favoured by drinkers without a cultural association with Scotland. The success of the blenders, specifically the firms that made up the Whisky Barons, is attributed to their ability to appeal to the English market and create a commodity for the middle and upper classes.³² Andrews implies that until the Whisky Barons, Scotch whisky was considered solely a beverage indulged in by the wealthy on hunting or sporting excursions in the Highlands and not a part of broader society's consumption outside Scotland.³³ Hands illustrates this acceptance in the English market as a process by the blenders to make Scotch respectable, using the example of two of the Whisky Barons, Buchanan and Dewar's.³⁴ Therefore, the transformation and international expansion of Scotch whisky were not just one of the developing brands associated with quality, but also reimagined the perception of the entire industry and the meaning of whisky. The thesis chronicles this change by utilising the industry's published advertisements to communicate the appeal of drinking Scotch whisky and how that contributed to the industry's success.

The 1890 *ILN* article marked a point of acceptance for Scotch whisky outside Scotland; this ascension to global spirit by the national drink of Scotland was further recognised eighty-four years later, in 1974. Alcohol drinks writer John Doxat crowned Scotch whisky as the “undisputed king of whiskies” to the readers of *The Times*.³⁵ Doxat bestowed this accolade because, despite changing preferences for spirits and alcoholic beverages, Scotch whisky continued to perform ahead of other world whiskies. The increased spirit volume, quality claims, and links to Scotland alone do not reveal what contributed to the preference for Scotch whisky over other whiskies and distilled spirits. While the articles in the *ILN* and *The Times* demonstrate a vision of a successful industry, its activity is not without criticism, and due to the impact on the economy and labour, it is relevant to understand what actions contribute positively to the maintenance of the industry.

³² Hands, “Making Scotch Respectable: Buchanan and Walker,” in *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*, 69-81. Moss and Hume, *Making of Scotch whisky*, 102. Wilson, *Scotch The Formative Years*, 1-2.

³³ Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, Glasgow: The Angels Share, 2002.

³⁴ Hands, “Making Scotch Respectable,” 69-81.

³⁵ John Doxat, “Whisky the undisputed king.” *Times*, 2 Dec. 1974, p. II. The Times Digital Archive, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS470121346/TTDA?u=glasuni&sid=bookmark-TTDA. Accessed 1 Aug. 2024

Ten years after Doxat made his proclamation about Scotch whisky's supremacy, the future and fortunes of the industry had drastically changed. In the face of an industry shedding labour and consolidating operations through distillery closures in the 1980s, Lynne Baxter wrote an indictment of the industry's promotion of the spirit.³⁶ Baxter illustrated an industry that exploited Scottish culture to promote Scotch whisky and strategically utilised the past to conceal its structure and activity. She concluded that tartanry was a kitsch image of the beverage frozen in the nineteenth century. The promotion activity by Scotch whisky firms aimed to narrow a segment in the market, alienating contemporary drinkers from continuing to be competitive.³⁷ The industry's purposeful reliance on Scottish associations to create a homogenous idea of Scotch whisky reifies its distinction from other whiskies based on cultural and geographic association with Scotland. Yet, corralling the diverse parts of the Scotch whisky industry as a cultural confederation obscures the lines between industry actors and competitors. This pattern of homogeneity through concealed activity within the industry had already been recognised when *The Economist* criticised it in 1951.³⁸ In 1957, when reporting specifically on the Distillers Company Ltd. (DCL), the de facto leaders of the Scotch whisky industry, *The Economist* referred to this shrouded behaviour as a 'tartan curtain'.³⁹ This tartan curtain alludes to the industry's presentation as a homogenous entity and hints at an existing enquiry into its success. What does the tartan curtain reveal about this national drink and global spirit if pulled back?

This thesis offers a novel interpretation of the history of Scotch whisky by examining the growth of international consumption and how whisky appealed to consumers, as demonstrated in pictorial advertisements. A precedent for this investigation exists for other consumables in Britain and within the Anglosphere, such as tea and Champagne. Tea studies have examined the pathway from produce grown outside of Britain, which was adopted as a part of broader British culture, and its relationship to the British Empire.⁴⁰ The role advertisements played in adopting tea drinking within British society is

³⁶ Lynne Baxter, "Political Economy of Scotch Whisky", in *The Scottish Government Yearbook 1985*, ed. David McCrone, Unit for the Study of Government in Scotland Department of Politics, University of Edinburgh: Edinburgh, 1984, pp. 77-106.

³⁷ Lynne Baxter, "Political Economy of Scotch Whisky", 78-79.

³⁸ "Distillers' Activities." *Economist*, 22 Sept. 1951, p. 710. The Economist Historical Archive.

³⁹ "Distillers." *Economist*, 24 Aug. 1957, p. 643. The Economist Historical Archive.

⁴⁰ Denys Mostyn Forrest, *Tea for the British: The Social and Economic History of a Famous Trade*. Chatto and Windus, 1973.

Ellis, Markman, et al, *Empire of Tea : The Asian Leaf That Conquered the World*. Reaktion Books, 2015. Erika Diane Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire : How Tea Shaped the Modern World*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

demonstrated in the work of Chatterjee, Higgins and Velkar.⁴¹ The utilisation of tea advertisements as a source to represent change over time and influence in consumer behaviour is critical to the methodology employed in this thesis, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2. Similarly, to the point made by Hands regarding making Scotch whisky drinking socially acceptable, the presentation of tea drinking in advertisements was critical in its broader cultural acceptance. Whereas British tea brands developed by retailing tea in the U.K. that had been grown elsewhere, Champagne, like Scotch whisky, is an alcoholic beverage with brands marketed with an intrinsic link to the geography where it is produced. The marketing of Champagne, emphasising its French national and geographic origins, has been demonstrated in Kolleen M. Guy's 2003 work *When Champagne became French: wine and the making of a national identity*, and Graham Harding's study of the adoption of Champagne in Britain as a luxury for celebrations, in the 2021 *Champagne in Britain, 1800-1914: How the British transformed a French luxury*.⁴² The referenced studies on tea and Champagne have an overlapping time frame documenting the significant origin and development in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This literature acknowledges consumables' considerable contribution to national and global cultures and how commercial activity contributes to society.

This thesis argues that understanding the appeal of Scotch whisky to international drinkers can help explain the role of export in the industry's business success and the broader adoption of Scotch whisky in drinking culture. The acceptance of Scotch whisky as a popular beverage embedded in social culture has been detailed in the 2013 *Greek Whisky: The Localization of a Global Commodity*, by anthropologist Tryfon Bampilis.⁴³ This account demonstrates how Scotch whisky was presented as a beverage in Greece and how its meaning reflected the tastes of those who drank it. The study demonstrates postwar investment in Greece, which saw increased imports of foreign alcohol, with examples of Scotch whisky advertisements between 1960 and 1970.⁴⁴ The recognition of alcohol advertisements to influence social habits and preference is further evidenced in a 2014 PhD

⁴¹ A. K. Chatterjee, 'Mythologizing late Victorian tea advertising: *the case of the Illustrated London News (1890–1900)*', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 2024, pp. 1–40. doi: 10.1080/2373518X.2024.2315397.

D. M. Higgins and A. Velkar, 'Storm in a teacup: Empire products, blended teas, and origin marking debates in 1920s Britain', *Business History*, 2024.

⁴² Kolleen M. Guy, *When Champagne became French: wine and the making of a national identity*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Graham Harding, *Champagne in Britain, 1800-1914: How the British transformed a French luxury*. London: Bloomsbury, 2021.

⁴³ Tryfon Bampilis, *Greek Whisky : The Localization of a Global Commodity*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

⁴⁴ Bampilis, *Greek Whisky*, 90-100.

thesis by Rochelle Pereira-Alvares. In the thesis, Pereira-Alvares investigates marketing and advertisements for two North American multinational enterprises, Seagram and Hiram Walker, between 1950 and 1969.⁴⁵ Scotch whisky was not the principal focus of that research. Still, Scotch whisky was included because of the significant advertising undertaken by Seagram and Hiram Walker to promote the Scotch whisky brands they owned and imported into the North American market. Both studies demonstrate that by the mid-twentieth century, Scotch whisky had a reputation and influence in the drinking habits of other nations. Building on this knowledge, this thesis bridges a gap by establishing the foundational tropes and motivation for drinking Scotch whisky, which were first utilised to promote the spirit out of Scotland and led to its popularity in other markets. This includes analysis of tropes used by Scotch whisky advertisements to align the spirit with a shared identity with Scotland and its people. However, within studies of Scottish identity, the inclusion of Scotch whisky, the so-called national drink, is limited.

Literature on Scottish identity can be organised into two streams of focus, one on Scotland the nation, which considers identity as a brand and a crafted myth and the other on the diaspora, with influence from Scottish people and culture on Colonial communities. While the interrogation of whisky as a part of this identity with Scotland is minimally included in the literature, when it does appear, it represents a disconnection from how Scotch whisky has invoked association with Scotland and questions the authenticity of these connotations. This conflict can be seen in the work by Scottish historian Murray Pittock, in *Scotland: the Global History: 1603 to the Present*, and *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*, whisky is only briefly mentioned as part of superficial perceptions of Scotland's identity alongside recognisable symbols of tartan and bagpipes.⁴⁶ This exclusion is on purpose because it is assumed that the reader, like most of the world, understands that Scotch whisky and Scotland are known together, but there is more to Scotland's identity and history than whisky. In an unfinished and posthumously published volume on the myths of Scotland by historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History*, whisky is only mentioned once, in a poem on the power of whisky, which demonstrated the poet's clan affiliation.⁴⁷ These accounts by Pittock and Trevor-Roper represent how the nation's history has contributed to its identity.

⁴⁵ Rochelle Pereira-Alvares, "Mickey's, Minis and Pints: An Investigation of the Marketing and Advertising Initiatives of Seagram and Hiram Walker, 1950-1969." PhD thesis, The University of Guelph, 2013.

⁴⁶ Murray Pittock, *Scotland: The Global History: 1603 to the Present*. Yale University Press, 2022.

Murray Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland the Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. London: Routledge, 1991.

⁴⁷ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, Yale University Press, 2008, 174.

The following literature examines the identity of Scotland as a brand. In *Scotland – the brand: the making of Scottish heritage*, Scotland's cultural and built heritage, is discussed for its appeal in generating tourism.⁴⁸ While the idea of Scotland in the minds of visitors contributes to the influx of tourism and ultimately impacts the economy, this perception of Scotland also influences positive perceptions of exports from Scotland. This is demonstrated in “Scotland the Brand – Marketing the Myth?”, which represents the significance of Scotland for marketing textiles and whisky made in Scotland.⁴⁹ By examining Harris Tweed and Scotch whisky, the study demonstrates how association with and protection of this link with Scotland are critical to their competitive position and desirability in international markets.

The field of diaspora studies addresses Scottish identity through the examination of emigration experience and the development of associational culture among the Scots abroad. Within these studies Scotch whisky is mentioned briefly when discussing social celebrations such as making toasts, celebrating the New Year (Hogmanay), and for confirmation of cultural membership. This is confirmed in the work, *The Scottish Diaspora, Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand*.⁵⁰ In *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930*, whisky maintains this pattern of appearance as briefly mentioned alongside points related to cultural membership. When discussing the poet Robert Burns, Bueltmann asserts that whisky was included as a part of praising for his writing with Burns Suppers acting as a site of memory and nostalgia.⁵¹ This link with the commemoration of Robert Burns and the consumption of Scotch whisky could explain the emergence of a market for Scotch whisky among the Scots diaspora. Still, that specific enquiry is beyond the scope of this current research. While Scottish societies were demonstrated as sites for consuming Scotch whisky in New Zealand, Scotch whisky is only mentioned once in an account of these social clubs in the Scottish diaspora. Bueltmann refers to the conflict of gender integration in the St. Andrew's Society of Washington, D.C., when the organisation of a 1912 banquet would exclude women because whisky was

⁴⁸ D. McCrone, A. Morris, R. and Kiely, *Scotland - the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999.

⁴⁹ Gillian Black, Rachael Craufurd Smith, Smita Kheria, and Gerard Porter. "Scotland the Brand - Marketing the Myth?" *Scottish Affairs* 24, no. 1 (2015): 47-77.

⁵⁰ Tanja, Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013, 124 & 192.
Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840*. MSI ed. Manchester University Press, 2017.

⁵¹ Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011, 127, 164, & 168.

to be served.⁵² From these accounts Scotch whisky took on a role as a part of tradition and ceremony and was not interrogated because it was already embedded with cultural meaning, while the popularity of the beverage following migration patterns can be understood as an expectation and requirement for Scots abroad, it does not explain how the spirit came to be favoured beyond the diaspora.

The literature and articles discussed above provide a framework for the periodisation of this thesis, examining advertisements between 1890 and 1970. This framework allows for capturing and analysing foundational tropes in advertisements, giving greater depth to their meaning and illustrating how forces acting on the industry changed the advertising of Scotch whisky. It offers evidence from across the industry to demonstrate how different stakeholders responded to these tensions to promote their brands. Marketing innovations by entrepreneurs and the development of popular branded whiskies contribute to the global success of Scotch whisky, but these strategies and positions did not emerge fully formed. Studying advertising reveals how the promotion of Scotch whisky evolved and communicated the qualities that enabled brand equity and iconic brands. Understanding these advertisements also enriches the narrative, showing how mass marketing was achieved by competing stakeholders in the industry, from the emergence of pictorial advertisements in the 1890s, across the world, during and after world wars, and through economic downturns, culminating in the mid-twentieth-century boom. This section has been a synopsis of the industry's history and justification for this study; it highlights periods of success for the Scotch whisky industry and its impact on the economy and Scotland. The following section explores how the literature has examined and explained the industry's longevity and success.

⁵² Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together : Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015, 196.

1.2 Examining and Explaining Success

Scotch whisky has garnered significant international recognition and popularity, while it holds the mantle as a national beverage of Scotland, the export business supplies the bulk of the industry's success. What makes it both successful and Scotch encompasses a wide range of explanatory features and points that have contributed to its global recognition and popularity through the usage of heritage, brand names, mythology and iconography of Scotland, and cultural and social associations with drinking Scotch whisky. Where the previous section demonstrated some of these explanatory features that justify what success has meant for the Scotch whisky industry, this section examines how the literature has explained or omitted this success. Despite the contributions the Scotch whisky industry has made to Scotland's economy and industrial history, it is only briefly mentioned in the literature on Britain and Scotland's Business and Industrial Histories. Regarding the history and development of alcoholic drinks in Britain, Scotch whisky is further neglected. This section reviews these accounts, examines their contribution and limitations and demonstrates the position of the Scotch whisky industry in the literature.

Business and industrial histories for Scotland have focused primarily on the industries of coal, iron, and textiles. The Scotch whisky industry has not received treatment in these accounts of industrial change or economic transformation, with only a few references to Scotch whisky activity adjacent to other topics. In an edited volume, co-edited by Professor Sir Tom Devine, who, in 2021, the *Financial Times* referred to as “Scotland’s most distinguished historian,” *Scotland in the 20th century*, whisky appeared once.⁵³ In outlining the economy, the fragility of the manufacturing sector is discussed; Scotland is criticised for its reliance on older industries that were once significant contributors to the economy and global positioning, such as heavy industry and textile manufacturing. The author, the distinguished Economic and Business History historian Peter Payne, says, “The product cycle is ever shortening, only the distillation of whisky seems to have achieved any real immunity from its lethal influence on business longevity.”⁵⁴ Is the absence of whisky in discussions on government regulation, manufacturing, agriculture, and adjacent industries due to its relative success and survival against declining or obsolete native industries? Where the literature on Scotch whisky has, like the industry in the past, focused

⁵³ John Lloyd, “Sir Tom Devine: ‘I’ve always thought England would destroy the Union’,” *Financial Times*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/da3d7186-5419-42c6-8e75-71c63193a354>.

T. M. Devine and Richard J. Finlay, eds, *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

⁵⁴ Peter Payne, “The Economy” in *Scotland in the Twentieth century*. eds T M Devine and R J Finlay. Edinburgh University Press, 1996, 34.

on a production-led strategy, business history studies would benefit from applying critical examination to the manufacturing changes that have occurred in the Scotch whisky industry and yet remain primarily shrouded from analysis. This thesis does not measure the impact of industrial change in Scotland. Indeed, it does not justify that the Scotch whisky industry is more or less critical to the economic history than coal, steel, or textiles. Yet, with an industry that demonstrably impacts the economy today, highlighting the lack of attention, even by the esteemed practitioners of the past, acknowledges an area for further scrutiny. It is possible that, like studies of Scottish identity and the diaspora, when it comes to the economy and industry history, the success and contribution of Scotch whisky have been acknowledged and accepted without scrutiny.

In Clive Lee's 1995, *Scotland and the United Kingdom: The Economy and the Union in the Twentieth Century*, when writing on rationalisation strategies during economic regeneration in Scotland, Lee refers to the whisky industry as an "apparently secure industry." This is compared to a backdrop of multinational ownership and decisions to move production that impact the economy. Lee notes that outside international investment has been necessary and beneficial, but it does not come without risks.⁵⁵ When this account was written, the Scotch whisky industry was still transforming from the ownership and marketing changes of the 1980s; future studies would benefit from explaining how multinational ownership and production consolidation have altered the Scotch whisky industry and how it relates to other manufacturing industries in Scotland.

Devine and Lee contribute to another volume on the economy in Scotland, this time an overview of three hundred years, in *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy since 1700*.⁵⁶ Whisky is cited with greater frequency, but the citations for whisky are primarily about agriculture and illicit stills. However, whisky is mentioned further concerning industry production in regions across Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century, once as luxury goods exported to the United States along with high-quality tweed before the 1920s, and lastly, concerning the regional economies in 1975-2000. The emphasis on agriculture and illicit whisky stills is connected to Devine's article, "The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky-Making in Northern Scotland, c. 1780-1840".⁵⁷ Kieran German and Gregor

⁵⁵ C. H. Lee. *Scotland and the United Kingdom: the economy and the union in the twentieth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, 112-115.

⁵⁶ Devine, T. M., C. H. Lee, and G. C. Peden, *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy since 1700*. eds. T. M. Devine, C. H. Lee, and G. C. Peden. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

⁵⁷ T. M. Devine, "The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky-Making in Northern Scotland, c. 1780-1840," in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 54 No. 158 Part 2 (Oct, 1975), 155-177.

Adamson have challenged this article because Devine suggested that the 1823 licensing law change saw a proliferation of newly registered legal distilleries in the Highlands of Scotland, claiming that illicit activity declined and was transformed directly into an industry.⁵⁸ German and Adamson counter that the legislation changes of the Excise Act saw the influx of licensed distilleries. However, they reflected the involvement of landowners and entrepreneurs investing in the industry, which did not represent a blanket turn to legal distilling. This conflict of interpretation demonstrates a need for more in-depth research into the ownership and investment in the industry, which is unfortunately out of the scope of the periodisation of this thesis.

The limited mention of the Scotch whisky industry within the context of the Economic and Industrial Histories of Scotland is contrasted with the volume of histories produced by the industry or those with close ties to it. The general outline of Scotch whisky's history is well known partly because manufacturers have produced much of the account by publishing company histories and consumer pamphlets, integrating them into brand histories as part of their marketing campaigns, and pushing narratives to the popular press. This signifies a recognition that a company or brand's history contributes to the firm's perception and reinforces the efforts to create positive brand associations as is achieved through promotional activity. The collective success of the industry has produced iconic brands with longevity, despite ownership changes the brand identities and histories remain a tool for contemporary marketing.

Company histories have been written to commemorate and reinforce the longevity and heritage of Scotch whisky firms, brands, and distilleries. They are regularly updated with different angles on various aspects of their brand. Many illustrate some of the structural shifts in the industry reflected by the different levels of stakeholders in the companies' development, such as a family dynasty turned subsidiary, a distillery valued for its contribution to blends and later as a sought-after single malt, or a "great man" history that illustrates the rise of a limited company to a global brand. Many of these companies now represent a heritage brand in a portfolio of interests within larger multinational enterprises. The significance of the publication dates also offers its purpose as an artefact, illustrating the biases of the time written by the authors, often commemorating a significant milestone, and offering the opportunity to reflect on the continued history. In many cases, these histories are published directly by the profiled company or in cooperation, allowing access

⁵⁸ Kieran German and Gregor Adamson, "Distilling in the Cabrach, c. 1800-1850: The Illicit Origins of the Scotch Whisky Industry," in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 39 Issue 2, Dec 2019, 146-165.

to materials. Often, the tone is congratulatory, speaking to achievements and significant moments without a critical analysis of decision-making or more considerable contextual consequences.

Examples of company histories include the 1958 *House of Haig* and the 1980 *Pride of Perth: The Story of Arthur Bell & Sons Ltd.*; these accounts provide a narrative that steeps the origins of Scotch whisky in the mists of time and demonstrates the entrepreneurs' contribution in creating a family company and successful whisky brand.⁵⁹ In the early 2000s, company histories were published to celebrate the longevity of brands and acted as a marketing profile demonstrating the equity achieved by the brand. These are glossy full-colour texts that include a surface history of the firms; they are not intended to interrogate the past activity of the firm but to celebrate the quality and popularity of the Scotch whisky brand. This kind of company history includes the 2005 *A Teacher's Tale: 175 Years of Scotch Whisky Through the Eyes of William Teacher & Sons* and the 2007 *The Legend of Laphroaig*.⁶⁰ The company history often narrates a list of events that gloss over challenges the business and industry faced, celebrates the perseverance of the entrepreneur who created a great product and praises the founder's attention to quality. The fact that the industry has been so involved in writing its history is essential to consider the intention and narratives they constructed. While critical analysis is not the purpose of these company histories, they offer pathways for further investigation into the industry's more extensive connections and history. This is a very brief sample of company histories to demonstrate the companies' perspective dictating their histories. The following texts are written about the industry by authors connected to it or with a deep affection for Scotch whisky.

The following authors provide secondary source literature that can be understood collectively as the 'Gentleman Scholars'. While company histories are intended to celebrate the success of businesses, the contribution of the 'Gentleman Scholar' is the memoir-like books written primarily in the first half of the twentieth century by authors with a connection or interest in Scotch whisky. The following texts form the central resource for contemporary whisky writers when they reference the history of whisky. These are texts written with the author's nostalgic relationship to whisky and often an expression of their perspective on the industry as it was in their time. Usually, their

⁵⁹ James Laver, *The House of Haig*, London: John Haig & Co. Ltd., 1958.

Jack House, *Pride of Perth: The Story of Arthur Bell & Sons Ltd.*, London: Hutchinson Benham Ltd., 1980.

⁶⁰ Helen Arthur, *A teacher's Tale: 175 years of scotch whisky through the eyes of William Teacher & Sons*, Bristol, UK: Allied Domecq Spirits and Wine, 2005.

Marcel van Gils and Hans Offringa. *Legend of Laphroaig*. Odijk, Netherlands: Still, 2007.

musings focus on the industry's future, writing at a time when whisky blending was dominant; there is criticism of the big business of blending, the decline of single malts, and their predictions for future availability. The image and cultural significance of quality play an important part in how these authors wanted whisky to be thought about and consumed. These texts are often quoted in subsequent publications and have had numerous editions, but they can be derivative. While critical reading is necessary, it is not without merit and offers an opportunity to understand repeated mythologies. They offer a wealth of research questions on the industry's success; however, it is challenging to substantiate in the archival record. When a whisky text includes a bibliography, these authors are consistently the basis of the historiography and the historical evidence.

The first contribution to the 'Gentleman Scholars' theme is a travel memoir by Tommy Dewar, the fraternal partner in John Dewar & Sons, the famous Scotch whisky producer. The Dewar brothers inherited their father's business and transformed it through exports. Dewar's *Ramble Round the Globe* is based on his global tour, which established a network of retail agents for his company. Dewar's business represents a significant part of the story of the globalisation of whisky. While *Ramble* is essentially a vanity piece masquerading as a travelogue, it nevertheless illustrates Dewar's influence on portraying a fashionable lifestyle intertwined with the Empire and its connection with his brand.⁶¹ The 1894 publication follows his two-year trek to twenty-six countries (principally British colonies, although not all), where he established a network of thirty-two agents to conduct the global export of Dewar's whisky. While the publication is not written with explicit information about establishing these agents, it offers a glimpse into the industry and how one of the largest firms at the time expanded in the global market. Dewar's excelled at selling an image of luxury and Scotch whisky as a product of Scotland; their advertising history could fill a thesis by itself and significantly contribute to trends discussed later within this thesis.

Several authors write about the whisky industry from the consumer's perspective and as someone with cultural and national ties to Scotland. Their writing is not just about whisky as a spirit but consuming whisky as a cultural artefact, writing from a place of personal narrative and preserving an image of whisky from their experiences. The first of these, Aeneas MacDonald (a pseudonym for the Leith-born George Malcolm Thomson, who was co-founder of Porpoise Press), is praised by the publishers and whisky writers today as

⁶¹ Thomas R. Dewar, *A Ramble Round the Globe*. London: Chatto and Windus Piccadilly, 1894.

writing “The finest whisky book ever,” in his work *Whisky*, published in 1930.⁶² This statement includes endorsements from Charles Maclean and Dr Nicholas Morgan, both respected within the Scotch whisky industry for their contributions to public knowledge and enthusiasm for the industry's history through their trade publications.⁶³ Their validation of this book gives credence to its contribution to the history of the spirit. *Whisky* is a source that is part of material culture, offering the point of view of a consumer of whisky at the time it was written. The text illustrates a recognition of the significance of whisky to the identity of Scottish people and its importance to the economy. MacDonald presents Scotch as being symbolic of the country, preferring pot still (i.e. Highland/malt whisky) over the continuous still (Lowland/grain whisky) and linking it to cultural insights (whilst expressing disdain for blended whisky). Rather than being a statistical account of the industry, MacDonald’s work is focused on more romantic writing, extolling whisky’s virtues as a cultural symbol and expressing his heartfelt love of both the spirit and his country.

Neil M. Gunn (a friend of MacDonald) wrote *Whisky and Scotland*, published in 1935, which was fundamental during early efforts in the 1930s to preserve the rapidly declining Highland way of life.⁶⁴ Gunn worked as an excise officer before writing full-time and is remembered for his literary contributions to Scottish culture. *Whisky and Scotland* identifies significant ways in which whisky is tied to thinking about and understanding Highland identity and Scottish nationalism. Gunn is very transparent and passionate about his opinions on the industry at the time of writing. Similarly to MacDonald, Gunn equates the blending and consistency of a mass-marketed whisky with the erosion of national pride, describing the differences in whisky, like poetry. When writing *Whisky and Scotland*, Gunn worked as an onsite exciseman at Glen Mhor distillery. He integrated his deep knowledge of whisky production with a broader understanding of its place within Scottish

⁶² Aeneas Macdonald, *Whisky*, 1st ed. Edinburgh: Porpoise Press, 1930, facsimile ed. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2016.

⁶³ Charles Maclean is a whisky writer who began his career writing copy text for the industry before embarking on a career writing and editing books and magazines about Scotch whisky, he is a well-recognised figure within the contemporary industry. Kirsty Clarke, “Charles Maclean whisky writer whisky expert and Hollywood actor,” Whisky corner, Interview, <https://whiskycorner.co.uk/news/charles-maclean-whisky-writer-whisky-expert-and-hollywood-actor/>, Last accessed 11 December 2023. Dr Nicholas Morgan left a career in Academia to establish the business archive for the Scotch whisky company United Distillers, following this he moved into marketing where he contributed to the research and utilisation of brand history in marketing, which has led to the publication of two books, and he has contributed to several peer-reviewed articles on the industry. “Meet the maker: Nicholas Morgan writer,” The Whisky Exchange, <https://www.thewhiskyexchange.com/feature/meetthemaker/nicholasmorgan>, Last Accessed 11 December 2023.

⁶⁴ Neil M. Gunn, *Whisky and Scotland*, 1st ed. London: George Rutledge and Sons this ed. London: Souvenir Press, 1998.

history and culture.

Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart was a diplomat and journalist working for the Foreign Office during both World Wars. In his 1951 publication, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*, Lockhart acknowledges that his technical knowledge of the making and sale of whisky is lacking but that he instead offers a personal narrative detailing his long association with the drink. His great-grandfather founded the Balmenach Distillery, where he spent much of his childhood, which influenced his writing on Scotch whisky.⁶⁵

Lockhart's work as a diplomat was every bit as colourful as his depictions of whisky and its meaning to Scotland - playing professional football in Russia whilst on duty there, then working during the Second World War to keep Russia involved in the war before being captured and held prisoner in the Kremlin on suspicion of trying to kidnap Lenin (which was true). After the war, Lockhart took to writing about whisky and devoted significant space to writing on the industry's entrepreneurs and the relationship between the government and the industry. In line with Gunn and MacDonald before him, Lockhart espoused the beauty and value of single malt whiskies, eschewing the more popular and dominant blends. Lockhart's work is essential as one of the earlier publications, which has since become foundational in later writing on the subject, with many of his points repeated in subsequent work.

Allen Andrews's 1977 *The Whisky Barons* is a foil to Gunn, MacDonald, and Lockhart's writing.⁶⁶ Andrews was an author and Scotch whisky enthusiast who wrote a celebratory text that praises the entrepreneurs of the blended brands of Scotch whisky. Little is known about the author, and his volume is available because of the 2002 reprint. In his preserved acknowledgement, he recognises Lockhart's contribution to Scotch whisky history writing. Still, he states that most of his information is gleaned from the work of the following authors: Ross Wilson, whom Andrews calls the principal archivist of the Scotch whisky trade and David Daiches, for his authoritative record.

In contrast to Dewar, who was publicising his travels alongside export market development for his business, Wilson was writing from a position that benefited from insider access through his employment with the Scotch Whisky Association. Wilson wrote a survey of the industry's growth, referring to external forces acting on the industry and preserving data gathered about the industry with *Scotch: The Formative Years*, which begins in 1905

⁶⁵ Robert Hamilton Bruce Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*. 1st ed. London: Putnam, 1951, 5th ed. London: Putnam & Co., 1974.

⁶⁶ Allen Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, The Classic Expressions. Glasgow: The Angels Share, 2002.

and focuses on the industry in response to World War I, U.S. Prohibition, the economic climate during the Great Depression, and government intervention in the industry throughout this period.⁶⁷ The text is essential because it provides figures for export volume and values that were available to the industry. While this information helps give context to changes in the industry over time and responses to the pressures on the industry, the source of these figures is not provided, and the accuracy of the data cannot easily be verified. Wilson also published a second book, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*.⁶⁸ This volume provides a condensed history of the industry and echoes some of the main points from *The Formative Years*, but it is written for the casual whisky enthusiast. It is similar in tone to the works discussed for MacDonald, Gunn, and Lockhart, whereby it celebrates Scotch whisky as a unique and special spirit apart from other alcoholic beverages. Although published later, it is necessary to include the work of Charles H. Craig, with his 1994 *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record*.⁶⁹ Craig's work reflects intimate knowledge of the Scotch whisky industry as an insider. Craig was an industry executive who trained in blending whisky. He is credited for his contribution to the success of Invergordon Distillers and was a lecturer for the Scotch Whisky Association.⁷⁰ This record, assembled by Craig, demonstrates chronologically notable points in the industry's history, which include milestones achieved by firms and brands across the industry. It is similar to Wilson's work; it relied on insider access to sources to generate the survey. However, it does not contain reflection and functions more as a comprehensive industry timeline.

Scotch Whisky: Its Past and Present by David Daiches slightly differs from the gentlemanly scholar approach to Scotch whisky writing.⁷¹ However, it is unique for its time of publication as a social history. It was first published in 1969 and is now in its sixth edition. Daiches was a literary critic and cultural historian who set out to tell the history not only through the usual texts but also by consulting the contemporary companies, with their consent, as well as oral histories and interviews. It is essential to acknowledge that the company's information was a controlled data release and contributed to constructing narratives with a bias that served the company's desired image. Unfortunately, the interviews and oral histories are not documented with the academic rigour we would expect in academic writing today. Nevertheless, the text is popular and shows continued

⁶⁷ Ross Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*. London: Constable, 1970.

⁶⁸ Ross Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*. David & Charles: Newton Abbot, 1973.

⁶⁹ Charles H. Craig, *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record*. Dumbarton: Index Pub, 1994.

⁷⁰ Charles H. Craig Obituary, *The Herald Scotland*, 21 September 2013, <https://www.heraldsotland.com/opinion/13123771.charles-craig/>

⁷¹ David Daiches, *Scotch Whisky: Its Past and Present*, 1st American ed. New York: Macmillan, 1970.

interest in the industry's history. It provides a valuable bridge between the mythologies presented by the Gentleman Scholars, the data-driven accounts by Wilson and Craig and more rigorous academic accounts.

More generally, in popular whisky writing, the stories put forward by these writers and preserved by subsequent writing have been canonised into a history of the industry. Together, these works are essential for capturing the early depictions of the meaning of whisky by writers intimately familiar with the industry and the culture in which it was produced. Their writings have become industry legends and are often repeated and cited enough to be reified. Despite this, these writers rarely, if ever, talk about the branding and marketing of the whisky, which in turn helps them and their stories become part of the branding and marketing themselves. While these authors were knowledgeable and passionate about the industry, their accounts are focused mainly on reception by a casual audience and therefore reflect that in the narrative they construct. Scotch whisky has not escaped the attention of academics, although the literature on the topic is still relatively meagre compared to other industries. Where substantive work by academics has been undertaken, it has not been in very recent times. Nevertheless, critical academic texts have laid the groundwork for exploring and understanding the history of whisky, the development of distilling technology, and critical insights regarding the significant actors within the industry. The following texts address how the success of the Scotch whisky industry has been explained within the structures of academic historical enquiry.

One of the earliest academic treatments of the industry was produced by Dr Iseabal Glen for her unpublished BLitt thesis at the University of Glasgow in 1963, titled *The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961)* and further PhD at the University of Strathclyde on *The Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914*.⁷² In a departure from the previous section's focus on Scotch whisky's social and cultural place in Scottish society, Glen's work primarily focuses on the economic study of the whisky industry, including mention of the significance of exports. It offers valuable insight for developing research strains to understand further the role of finance, government control and international relationships, and the experience of different-sized firms participating in export activity. Her work also points to the impact on industry structure, with the firms with surplus whisky stocks surviving the wartime distilling restrictions and absorbing

⁷² Iseabal Ann Glen, "The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study," BLitt diss., (University of Glasgow, 1963); Iseabal Ann Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914, PhD thesis (University of Strathclyde, 1969).

smaller firms. Glen also identifies the difficulty in accessing the industry in the 1960s, detailing her challenges regarding data and companies' willingness to speak to her.

Glen's work complements that of Dr Ronald Weir; his 1974 thesis outlines the whisky industry's development and structure, examining the factors that made expansion possible and activity when the industry faced a declining market. His thesis signifies the attractiveness of spirits for raising government revenue, and the periodisation ends in the 1910s. It serves as a foundation for understanding later export drives for revenue. Where Glen's studies focus on the economic history of the industry origins and the post-war industry, Weir's thesis produces a detailed history of the industry, highlighting the developing dominance of the Distiller's Company Limited and the firms that came to dominate the industry. Weir's work continued in the publication of one of the critical historical texts on Scotch whisky, *The History of the Distillers Company 1877-1939*.⁷³ Weir's work illustrated the rise of the then mighty Distiller's Company as the significant incumbent in the industry, detailing both technical and economic aspects of its work, its reach into other sectors (in particular chemicals and pharmaceuticals), and how it had grown to become the largest firm in the industry. The writing work of both Glen and Weir formed an essential role in building a foundation for studying the Scotch whisky industry. Still, Weir's published work is overwhelmingly cited in the secondary literature. In contrast, Glen's is not despite the latter's attention to detail, quality of analysis, and breadth of understanding present in her academic work.

Two significant texts forming an overview of Scotch whisky that have been released in multiple editions are Moss and Hume's *The Making of Scotch Whisky* and Buxton and Hughes' *The Science and Commerce of Whisky*.⁷⁴ Moss and Hume's publication forms the bedrock of Scotch whisky literature and is the resource perhaps most frequently quoted by writers of all kinds in the industry. Moss and Hume incorporate archival research and secondary sources on the whisky industry and expand on the industry history to its first publication in the early 1980s. There is some engagement with the context of Scotland's economic and social history, but this is essentially a synopsis focusing on how whisky has been made over time, charting its rise from localised production into a globalised product

⁷³ Ronald B. Weir, *The History of the Distillers Company, 1877-1939: diversification and growth in whisky and chemicals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; Ronald B. Weir, "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," PhD thesis (Edinburgh University, 1974).

⁷⁴ Ian Buxton and Paul S. Hughes, *The Science and Commerce of Whisky*, Cambridge: Royal College of Chemistry, 2014; Michael S. Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, Ashburton: James & James, 1981.

with a specific focus on technicalities and economic considerations.⁷⁵ The latter point is, of course, most helpful to this thesis, with Moss and Hume identifying critical periods when the product globalised and the drivers of this. Buxton and Hughes' *The Science and Commerce of Whisky*, published by the Royal Society of Chemistry (Hughes was a Professor of Brewing and Distilling at Heriot-Watt University), is a scientifically focused piece which covers a short history on whisky making globally, devoting most of its chapters on distillation and technology as well as research on the barrelling and ageing of whisky. While this work primarily focuses on the chemistry and technical aspects of whisky making, it is valuable to mention that it highlights the relationship to commerce in making whisky. While it may have cultural significance as a national beverage, it must have consumers to exist as a global industry. These substantial works of literature by a handful of authors go a long way in establishing a foundation for further enquiry into the history of Scotch whisky. To explain the expansion of the industry and the popularity of Scotch whisky, the authors have emphasised the activity of entrepreneurs in creating popular brands, which is consistent with broader Business History literature.

While the Scotch whisky industry faces few shortages of company histories or texts reflecting on its history and successes, the work of business historians offers a critical analysis of the industry's activity. Where the Scotch whisky literature has focused overwhelmingly on reporting distillery capacity and output, entrepreneurs, and blended Scotch whisky, the literature in business history expands to address topics of entrepreneurs and ownership, organisation, and cooperation that conceals and reveals activity by industry actors. These accounts offer context on how the industry changed from the nineteenth through the twentieth century and acknowledge the scale of the sector and its contribution to the Scottish and British economy. While the literature on brand development has focused on creating equity and recognition based on quality driven by entrepreneurs, apart from decrying its success, it has not demonstrated how this equity was established or changed over time as the industry internationalised.

To understand the growth of global alcoholic industries, the literature has emphasised the power of the brand name created by entrepreneurs. This is not isolated only to Scotch whisky; it has received limited inclusion in these studies. For example, in 'Brands and the Evolution of Multinationals in Alcoholic Beverages,' Teresa da Silva Lopes emphasises the power of the brand as a business strategy and the accumulation of marketing

⁷⁵ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 194-195.

knowledge between 1960 and 2000.⁷⁶ She defines characteristics of global brands as having ‘personalities’ that have been accumulated over time, and, in the case of alcohol, brands are associated with a region or country. She further cautions against using the term ‘global brands’ because international activity has not been evenly marketed to qualify as global in distribution confidently.⁷⁷ Guided by Lopes’ caution on ‘global brands’ usage, there is a gap for further study in the relationship to the mass marketing of Scotch whisky compared to other British commodities. The remainder of Lopes’ article examines the mergers and acquisitions that led to the formation of alcohol Multinational Enterprises in the 1960s.

Further defining the distinction between international and global activity, Lopes and Mark Casson, in “Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands,” argue that to consider a brand global is when its marketing strategy in different international markets has become standardised.⁷⁸ This builds on the worldwide branding work of David Aaker and Erich Joachimsthaler.⁷⁹ Lopes and Casson further demonstrate that global brand success relies not just on the initial founding entrepreneur’s legacy but on continued refinement and rejuvenation for brand longevity.⁸⁰ This continued rejuvenation, or lack of refinement, is relevant to this thesis because it reveals multiple ways to create a brand of Scotch whisky or a Scotch whisky firm than the few family or “canny” entrepreneurs demonstrated in the Scotch whisky literature. While brand building and the direction of entrepreneurs remain a central feature of this thesis, there is a gap in acknowledging how these brands built power, interacted and competed for positions in a crowded marketplace. A further distinction highlighted by Lopes and Casson bears significance here as they mention the importance of imagery in marketing, specifically for industries where production technologies are standardised; this is particularly important to Scotch whisky.⁸¹ While there is variety in Scotch whisky, the innovation element usually associated with entrepreneurs is not just the contents of the bottle of whisky but also the significance of the image, both 2D pictorial images and subjective public perceptions, in the success of Scotch whisky brands.

⁷⁶ Teresa da Silva Lopes, “Brands and the Evolution of Multinational in Alcoholic Beverages,” *Business History* vol 44 No.3, 2002.

⁷⁷ Lopes, “Brands and the Evolution of Multinational in Alcoholic Beverages,” 2-4.

⁷⁸ Teresa da Silva Lopes and Mark Casson, “Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands,” *Business History Review* 81, no. 4 (2007): 652.

⁷⁹ David A. Aaker and Erich Joachimsthaler, “The Lure of Global Branding,” *Harvard Business Review*, 1999.

⁸⁰ Lopes and Casson, “Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands,” 652-653.

⁸¹ Lopes and Casson, “Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands,” 656.

Teresa da Silva Lopes and Mark Casson continue in *Global Brands: The Evolution of Multinationals in Alcoholic Beverages* to demonstrate the growth of multinational enterprises in alcoholic beverages, which was achieved through a focus on brand development. While emphasising global brands, they have been categorised as old firms with little critical investment in patents or copyrights, denoting trademarks as critical intellectual property and periodising their global expansion from the 1960s.⁸² However, in *Trademarks, Brands, and Competitiveness*, edited by da Silva Lopes and Duguid, the role of trademarks utilised by brands as a tool for competitive advantage is emphasised.⁸³ The chapter in that edited volume by Stephan Schwarzkopf demonstrates the role of advertising agencies in driving brand identities and contributing to developing needed intellectual protections beyond trademark legislation.⁸⁴ Acknowledging the role of managing advertising beyond the represented brand's firm demonstrates that the promotion of brands is a more complex system than just the entrepreneur's wellspring and expands the narrative of this development. Chapter Three explains the relationship between trademarks and the development of pictorial advertisements in magazines and newspapers. Still, generally across Scotch whisky, from the institutional beginning of trademark registration in the U.K., trademarks were overwhelmingly utilised to protect the labels on the physical bottles of Scotch whisky. While they appear in advertisements to represent the bottle to consumers, they are not the means for brand building but a function within multi-dimensional strategies.

From this examination of the alcohol industry through the lens of brands and entrepreneurs, Duguid asserts that the theoretical models in business history literature used to explain the success of notable brands, such as Wedgwood or Heinz, are characterised by the actions of individual entrepreneurs, does not correctly explain alcohol brand development in nineteenth-century Britain. He argues that wine and spirit brands arose from a complex web of different interests and pressures and did not emerge solely from an entrepreneur.⁸⁵ Additionally, he criticises entrepreneurial accounts for overlooking the role of consumers and stating that they are reacting to the purposeful actions of firms.⁸⁶

⁸² Teresa da Silva Lopes, *Global brands: the evolution of multinationals in alcoholic beverages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

⁸³ Teresa da Silva Lopes and Paul Duguid, *Trademarks, Brands, and Competitiveness*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2010.

⁸⁴ Stefan Schwarzkopf, "Turning Trademarks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Practiced and Conceptualised Branding, 1890-1930," in *Trademarks, Brands and Competitiveness*, eds. Teresa da Silva Lopes and Paul Duguid, London: Taylor & Francis, 2010, 165-188.

⁸⁵ Paul Duguid, "Developing the Brand: The Case of Alcohol, 1800—1880," *Enterprise & Society* 4, no. 3 (2003), 433.

⁸⁶ Duguid, "Developing the Brand," 411.

Duguid's point about the role of consumers is critical to this work, supporting the argument that it was not enough for entrepreneurs to create a branded product and relationships with international retailers, but making a culture of Scotch whisky drinkers through promotion was integral to the success of internationalisation. Duguid's periodisation ends in 1880 and does not capture the emergence of the Scotch whisky industry. Still, the context for change in the more comprehensive alcohol drinks industry, with the emergence of notable brands, contributes to the changes demonstrated in this thesis. While this study does not compare Scotch whisky to the development of other alcoholic drinks in Britain and globally, it is essential to acknowledge a gap in the literature regarding Scotch whisky, and academics have addressed similar questions for Madeira, Sherry, Champagne, and beer.⁸⁷

Brands and entrepreneurs have a significant role in explaining the success of the Scotch whisky industry. Still, the organisation of the industry did not remain the same over the life of Scotch whisky brands, and this activity, while obscured by the tartan curtain and homogeneity of Scotch whisky, contributed to the visibility of different brands and the competitive advantages of firms over others. From establishing larger-scale licensed distilleries, the organisation and ownership within the Scotch whisky industry have been discussed around two pivotal points in the industry's history: the amalgamation and consolidation activity by Distiller's Company Limited and the ownership and takeover activity of multinational enterprises. The literature on the Distiller's Company is essential for understanding how brands and advertisements reach consumers, presenting themselves as independent entities while benefiting from the resources and capital through cooperation in the home and international markets. Weir's work is the most in-depth (covered earlier in the thesis). Still, others have more recently started to analyse the activities of the industry's longstanding incumbent (before it was taken over in the 1980s). Andrew Perchard and Niall G. MacKenzie demonstrate its early cartel behaviour in their book chapter "Behind the 'tartan curtain': cartelisation in the Scotch Whisky Industry, 1830-1960."⁸⁸ The

⁸⁷ David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *Business History Review* Vol. 79, Issue 3, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

James Simpson, "Too Little Regulation? The British Market for Sherry, 1840-90," *Business History* Vol 47, Issue 3, 2005.

Graham Harding, *Champagne in Britain, 1800-1914: How the British Transformed a French Luxury*, London: Bloomsbury, 2021.

Ignazio Cabras and David M. Higgins, "Beer, Brewing, and Business History," in *The History of the Beer and Brewing Industry*, Ignazio Cabras and David M. Higgins eds., London: Routledge, 2017.

⁸⁸ Andrew Perchard and Niall G. MacKenzie, "Behind the 'tartan curtain': cartelisation in the Scotch Whisky Industry, 1830-1960," in *A History of Business Cartels: International Politics, National Policies and Anti-Competitive Behaviour*, eds. M. Shanahan and S. Fellman, London: Routledge, 2022.

analysis of DCL's management behaviour is integrated by Niall G. MacKenzie, Andrew Perchard, David Mackay, and George Burt in "Unlocking dynamic capabilities in the Scotch whisky industry, 1945-present," wherein they demonstrate how a focus on production output over marketing and branding ultimately hindered the industry, with organisational and ownership changes altering the marketing and management of Scotch whisky, unlocking dynamic capabilities from the 1990s.⁸⁹ As a confederation of the key whisky houses of Buchanan's, Dewar's, White Horse, and Walker's (from 1924 onwards) and various others, Distillers Company exercised enormous control over the industry for decades as the most powerful organisation both economically and politically. Branding and marketing were key elements of this power, underpinning its position in the industry and the broader appeal of its product. This drove sales and, with it, influence.

Stephen R.H. Jones discusses the eventual shift to being more marketing-driven in "Brand Building and Structural Change in the Scotch Whisky Industry since 1975," where he acknowledges a conflict in the existing literature from Morgan and Moss around the capabilities of marketing activity and further from Weir, who did not recognise marketing and brand management as an effective tool in improving profitability.⁹⁰ Jones details the change in how the industry marketed brands of Scotch whisky from the upheaval in ownership and organisation of the 1980s. This is a crucial facet of the industry's history and emphasises that historic advertising could not be as sophisticated as claimed because it lacked the later developments of market segmentation. Where Morgan and Moss emphasise the sophistication of the blended brand's marketing from the outset, they do not demonstrate the role of promotion in marketing, highlighting the power of the brand name for a few enduring examples. Focusing on a few brands contributes to a narrative of these brands as innovators and the result of entrepreneurial genius, but neglects the contribution of firms that arose simultaneously and no longer exist. This thesis looks at advertising examples, a marketing facet that can be reproduced and chronologised to demonstrate what marketing looked like for different-sized companies across the industry and over time, providing proof of what promotional marketing looked like and how it marketed an image of the industry to consumers.

The interest business historians have shown in the ownership and organisation within the

⁸⁹ Niall G. MacKenzie, Andrew Perchard, David Mackay, and George Burt, "Unlocking dynamic capabilities in the Scotch whisky industry, 1945-present," in *Business History*, 2022, DOI: 10.1080/00076791.2022.2085251.

⁹⁰ S.R.H. Jones, "Brand Building and Structural Change in the Scotch Whisky Industry since 1975," in *Business History*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (July 2003), 72-89.

Scotch whisky industry is also associated with examining cooperation in the industry. This can be found in the work of Julie Bower, who has studied how the industry liaised during periods of boom and bust to market Scotch whisky with the production-driven industry stock cycle, “Scotch whisky: History, Heritage and the Stock Cycle,” this article primarily looks at pricing as an element of marketing but does not extend displays of cooperation to promotion.⁹¹ Continuing on the theme of collaboration, Bower and David M. Higgins demonstrate in “Litigation and Lobbying in Support of the Marque: The Scotch Whisky Association c. 1945-c.1990” how the industry trade body and the wider industry worked to create legal recognition and protection for an appellation for Scotch whisky.⁹² This required cooperation from the industry, lobbying with governments, and legal action against threats to the respectability and quality of Scotch whisky around the world. The ability to recognise Scotch whisky as a geographically distinct produce, with a legal framework of protection, was built on the understanding of what Scotch whisky means to consumers and the public. Examining Scotch whisky advertisements is an opportunity to demonstrate how this was developed and changed over time, culminating in the successful acquisition of an appellation. This literature has shown that the definition and intellectual idea of Scotch whisky are worth protecting and are needed to protect the integrity of the product in consumer’s minds. However, they have not demonstrated how the industry and the SWA used the iconography and qualities of Scotch whisky to educate the consumer and convince governments of its unique properties so that they could validate them with legal protections.

For the SWA to successfully create a definition of Scotch whisky agreed on by the industry and accepted by consumers, the industry needed to communicate the characteristics that warrant that qualification. That required understanding consumers' preferences and what determines why and what they drink. This is essential to understanding what made Scotch whisky popular and globally recognised. The latter half of the nineteenth century was a significant period in the context of British retailing and marketing of branded goods and the emergence of pictorial promotional material. The development of this is explained in the work of Richards and Nevett, with the later work of Church contrasting their arguments, with all emphasising the role of advertising in the emergence of branded

⁹¹ Julie Bower, “Scotch Whisky: History, Heritage and the Stock Cycle,” in *Beverages*, (Apr 2016), Vol.2, no. 2, 11.

⁹² Julie Bower and David M. Higgins, “Litigation and Lobbying in Support of the Marque: The Scotch Whisky Association c. 1945-c.1990,” in *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 24, Issue 1, March 2023, 286-316.

goods.⁹³ Within this context, this period is vital for demonstrating how Scotch whisky firms transitioned their whisky labels from localised grocers, blenders, and wine and spirit merchants into national brands, and this work argues that they achieved this through their marketing efforts. Thora Hands acknowledges the role of the drinker in making Scotch whisky and other branded alcohols popular through two case studies that demonstrate how entrepreneurs Buchanan and Walkers and wine and spirit merchant W&A Gilbey used brand image and advertising to gain a competitive advantage and sell their spirits.⁹⁴ In “Making Scotch Respectable: Buchanan and Walker,” the points Hands makes about changing the perspective of Scotch whisky in the minds of drinkers reinforce the significance of entrepreneurs, the brands, and advertising in the growth of Scotch whisky.⁹⁵ She further demonstrates the complexity of retailing changes and the importance of brands in the minds of consumers by showing how W & A Gilbey positioned brands and altered their retailing practice for their wine and spirits in “Selling the Illusion of the Brand: W & A Gilbey.”⁹⁶ Taking direction from Hands, this work bridges these facets with the role of the consumer to understand what the industry needed to communicate about themselves and how the consumer understood the meaning of Scotch whisky. Hands’ work is essential for recognising the utility of advertisements to demonstrate the activity of the Scotch whisky firms in the emergence of international brands of Scotch whisky. The following section addresses why the broader Scotch whisky literature has neglected advertising as a vital part of the growth and success of the industry. Then, it looks at how the industry has recognised this record's contribution to its history before moving on to the methodological framework of this thesis to answer how whisky became Scotch whisky.

Hands' points about changing the societal impression of Scotch whisky in consumers' minds reinforce entrepreneurs' significance during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, their success in creating recognisable brands, and the role of advertising in achieving this end. Promotion utilising printed advertisements communicates to customers the product qualities and brand integrity that the firm wants consumers to associate with

⁹³ Thomas Richards, *The commodity culture of Victorian England: advertising and spectacle, 1851-1914*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990.

T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: a history*, London: Heinemann on behalf of the History of Advertising Trust, 1982.

Roy Church, “Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations,” *Economic History Review* LIII 4, 2000, 621-645.

⁹⁴ Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 69-81 and 85-90.

⁹⁵ Hands, “Making Scotch Respectable,” 69-81.

⁹⁶ Hands, “Selling the Illusion of the Brand: W & A Gilbey,” in *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 85-90.

their promoted wares. Where the Scotch whisky literature accounts have favoured the entrepreneur and power of the brand in the success of the industry, Daiches acknowledges the role of the consumer in promotion and the power of advertising to influence consumers where he accuses the whisky drinker of 1969 of being led by the extensive advertising conducted by the blending brands, so much so that it has transformed the public palate and that it is not down to taste, but habit formed from brand awareness.⁹⁷ If this is the case, then the quality and entrepreneurial skill of the blenders, emphasised by Moss and Hume, Morgan, and Weir, are less critical. However, Daiches and Hands both echo the success of brand equity achieved by entrepreneurial skills employed through advertisements.⁹⁸ If the advertising by the blenders had persuasive power, it set a precedent that advertisements were critical to the choices the consumer made and instrumental to the success of the firms that extensively advertised. However, the correlation is not clear-cut. Advertising was a more comprehensive practice than just the firms that became the Whisky Barons. However, because the literature has focused on enduring examples, the study of advertising's development and contribution to the industry has not been holistically examined.

Advertising practice appears briefly in the whisky literature. In Weir's research on the distilling of Scotch whisky, he examines advertising as a function of marketing through the expense incurred by entrepreneurs. He does not evaluate advertising activity or its development; instead, he dismisses it as homogenous and isolates Scotch whisky advertisements from the existing academic study of advertising. After detailing the strategies that helped propel the success of the significant blending firms in his thesis, Weir acknowledges the influence that advertisements had on consumer choice. Still, he concludes that it is challenging to ascertain success from promotion due to the complicated context of business activity and advertising expense.⁹⁹ An example Weir uses is the firm John Dewar & Sons, where he highlights private profit and loss accounts, showing that between 1891 and 1900, the total expense on advertisements by Dewar's grew from an annual total of £688 to £22,244.¹⁰⁰ This expense and activity correlate to increased marketing efforts in expansion from Scotland to England and increasingly to Colonial and International markets. Weir recognises the expense of advertisement growth in this decade but emphasises the distribution element of marketing combined with the role of

⁹⁷ David Daiches, *Scotch Whisky; Its Past and Present*, New York: Macmillan, 1970, 75.

⁹⁸ Daiches, *Scotch Whisky; Its Past and Present*, 76. Hands, "Making Scotch Respectable." 69-81.

⁹⁹ Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland*, 562.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 535.

entrepreneurial sales missions as the crux of the growth in foreign markets. The expense of Dewar's advertising is an extreme example, with an approximately 3000 per cent increase over the decade. Still, it indicates that it was considered an important, if not valuable, part of marketing for the firm. Weir's dismissal of advertisements based on the inability to quantify firm success contributes to a broader neglect of the relationship of industry-wide promotion in a changing retail and export environment.

Part of this dismissal is because Weir deems further study unnecessary due to the homogeneity of the imagery and repetitive themes focused on "the identification with Scotland, the emphasis on the age of the blend, and the longevity of the firm."¹⁰¹ While Weir is not wrong with this observation of repeated themes, the frequency of advertisements represented an industry-wide effort to communicate to the consumer and overcome challenges through clear messages about the quality and trustworthiness of the brand. Promotion is an active occupation, and the images and messages advertised represent decisions made by the firms about their product and themselves. This activity mirrors the industry's history and is a public way for firms to broadcast and record their efforts. While this thesis toggles between industry-wide analysis of advertising and brand examples, the history of Scotch whisky advertising cannot be told without acknowledging the role of company identity. Two things were happening concurrently in advertising during this period, across the industry: advertising uses iconography to reinforce visual links to Scotland, putting the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky, which works to communicate the differentiation between other spirits, especially those made in Ireland.¹⁰² The second concurrent action is developing brand identity, repeating the firm name and trademarks, and increasing symbols associated with the firm. The prevalence of shared themes in advertising did not prevent certain brands from gaining a larger share of brand awareness and longevity than others.

Further to Weir's point on the generalised themes of Scotch whisky advertisements, he says,

No attempts were made through advertising to persuade the consumer to identify with a particular image, and the consumer was not inveigled into believing that a

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 562.

¹⁰² In the 19th century the line between Irish and Scotch whiskies was blurry, with distinction by name appearing in advertisements as early as c. 1830-40 in newspapers. Further issue arises between firms retailing both spirits and/or having distilling interests in both places. The connections and diversion between the two industries would benefit from a comprehensive study, for now it is necessary to acknowledge an early historical distinction existed for retailing.

brand would make him instantly successful or socially popular.¹⁰³

Weir's views are problematic; however, all images have a message and a relationship to shared cultural history or shared knowledge. Additionally, by distilling the entirety of advertisements for Scotch whisky as simply depictions of kilted Highlanders in a sweeping romantic landscape, it treats the visual culture embraced and cultivated by the Scotch whisky industry as a fixed point instead of as a deliberate and fluid tool of communication for the firms and the industry. The research in this thesis explores some repeated themes, but emphasises that they are not stationary and change over time according to communication needs. The Scotch whisky industry and the whisky firms have undergone dramatic changes over the last century. Still, alluding to their origins in the past obscures the complexities that have impacted how whisky has been made, sold, and promoted.

There are two popular whisky non-fiction publications dedicated to whisky marketing and advertisements. They recognise the dynamic images utilised by the industry to advertise over time, but neither are intended for academic analysis of the images or provide context for their creation; largely, they are perpetuating the industry brand talking points and repeated anecdotes found in whisky trade books for the casual reader. In the 2005 publication, *Still Going Strong: A History of Scotch Whisky Advertising*, author John Hughes provides a narrative that focuses on the largest multinational enterprise of Diageo's brands, as the title, "Still Going Strong" refers to Diageo's iconic brand Johnnie Walker.¹⁰⁴ Hughes' work is celebratory in how he approaches the material, which is understandable as he was the marketing director for the Scotch whisky brand Famous Grouse for fifteen years. While beautifully illustrated, his work covers some themes across the industry's history. Still, it is largely focused on a few recognisable brands. It is ultimately targeted at an audience looking for surface explanations, nostalgia, and brand loyalty in the form of a pictorial coffee table book. Nevertheless, as a visual chronicle of the history of one part of the industry, it helps present the emergence and development of different Scotch whisky brands.

An earlier publication, *The Art of Whisky: A Deluxe Blend of Historic Posters from the Public Record Office* (1998), by Jim Murray, is a colourful catalogue of the archive's holdings from guard books.¹⁰⁵ While utilising the images of advertisement posters held in

¹⁰³ Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland*, 562.

¹⁰⁴ John Hughes, *Still Going Strong: A History of Scotch Whisky Advertising*, Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2005.

¹⁰⁵ Jim Murray, *The Art of Whisky: A Deluxe Blend of Historic Posters from the Public Record Office*, London: The National Archive London, 1998.

the Public Record Office, now held by the National Archive at Kew, it does little more than provide anecdotes about the brands represented in the images. The publication by the National Archives recognised the public's interest in this material and likely selected Murray because of his work as a whisky trade book writer with publications in 1997 on a guide to drinking whisky. The way that Murray interprets the visual language of the posters is based on his imagination and persona and is not grounded in historical context or the history of art. While this may suffice for the casual enthusiast, it misses an opportunity to add to our understanding of trademarks and their role in developing Scotch whisky brands. The holdings of the Public Record Office exist because of the Trade Mark Registration Act of 1875, wherein goods had to be registered with a copy of the trademarked image; often, this was a significant part of the development of the brand identity.¹⁰⁶ The study of Scotch whisky trademark development and relationships has continued to be neglected by the literature; its relationship to Scotch whisky advertisements is discussed in the introduction of Chapter Three, but this aspect of brand history would benefit from a future holistic study.

The literature for advertising refers to this appeal to cultural symbols as semiotics. The designers of advertisements, whether they were entrepreneurs or advertising agencies, created meaning in the advertisements through coded messages that rely on the relationship to the consumer who was aware of the visual and textual system to interpret it.¹⁰⁷ While the selection of images for advertisements or even the name of a whisky brand or blend may not have been chosen to convince the consumer they were transported by drinking Scotch whisky to the lochs or Balmoral, these associations have value and intent behind them. The knowledge and use of these coded messages change as Scotch whisky is exported further away from Scotland and will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. Weir's assertion that advertising was a huge expense for some firms but was not intended to persuade consumers is also contrary to the advertising literature for this period. It perpetuates the idea that the entrepreneurs who advertised were great men with brand identities and promotional campaigns that sprouted fully formed from their genius well-spring, ignoring the context for the emerging professionalism of advertising and the role of Scotch whisky drinkers in its popularity.

The marketing of Scotch whisky has played a significant role in the growth of these

¹⁰⁶ "Intellectual property: trademarks, 1876-1938," The National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/trade-marks/>.

¹⁰⁷ William Leiss, Stephen Kline, Sut Jhally, Jackie Botterill, and Kyle Asquith. *Social Communication in Advertising*. London: Routledge, 2018, 122-123.

whisky brands and firms beginning in the late 19th century. Morgan and Moss attribute this period of mass marketing and expansion in national and international markets, as a phenomenon driven by the acumen of the blending entrepreneurs.¹⁰⁸ The credit to entrepreneurs as an explanation for the growth and success of brands in the Scotch whisky industry is consistent with the literature for wider consumable goods during this study period.¹⁰⁹ This position taken by Morgan and Moss is significant because of their respective impact on the understanding of the history of the Scotch whisky industry, with the longevity of these narratives being crucial to promotion by the contemporary industry.¹¹⁰

While marketing is recognised as a central function in the longevity and success of the Scotch whisky industry, analysis of marketing development has largely remained in the realm of private corporate research. Marketing is studied across multiple disciplines, from those that actively apply marketing activities in real-world applications, such as marketing theory, understanding how marketing can move beyond current applications and more successfully influence the consumer, and economic and business historians who utilise marketing history and theory to understand how marketing has influenced the course of business.¹¹¹ Academic studies on the marketing of alcoholic drinks are more substantial and have largely focused on the success of a few global brands of multinational enterprises, highlighting the role of entrepreneurs, trademarks, and brands.¹¹² The research in alcohol brands has been built on a foundation of broader economic and marketing

¹⁰⁸ Nicholas Morgan and Michael Moss, "The Marketing of Scotch Whisky an Historical Perspective," in: *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, edited by Richard S. and Geoffrey Jones Tedlow, 116-31. London: Routledge, 1993, 123.

¹⁰⁹ A selection of citations on the study of branded consumable goods include works on domestic soaps, alcoholic beverages, and Coca-Cola:

Niall Caldwell and Swetketu Patnaik, "The Emergence of Brand Building: William Lever and Sunlight Soap (UK, 1884)," *Proceedings Academy of Management Proceedings* 2018, no. 1 (2018): 13931.

Roy Church, "Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain: Reinterpretations," *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 4 (2000): 621-45.

Laura A. Hymson, "The Company that Taught the World to Sing: Coca-Cola, Globalization, and the Cultural Politics of Branding in the Twentieth Century," PhD thesis The University of Michigan, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Nicholas Morgan was the archivist responsible for the establishment of what became the Diageo archive and, in that role, has had a career contributing to the literature on the Scotch whisky industry representing the brands within that company. Michael Moss was an instrumental force in the establishment of and preservation of Scottish Industrial and Business history archives and was the co-author on one of the few Scotch whisky industry history texts, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*. Michael Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*. Ashburton: James & James, 1981.

¹¹¹ S. D. Hunt, "On the intersection of marketing history and marketing theory," *Marketing Theory* 11, no. 4, 2011.

¹¹² Teresa da Silva Lopes, *Global brands: the evolution of multinationals in alcoholic beverages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.; Teresa da Silva Lopes and Mark Casson, "Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands," *Business History Review* 81 no. 4, 2007.; Teresa da Silva Lopes, "The Impact of Multinational Investment on Alcohol Consumption Since the 1960s," *Business and Economic History* 28, no. 2, 1999.; Paul Duguid, "Developing the Brand: The Case of Alcohol, 1800-1880," in *Enterprise & Society* 4, no. 3, 2003.

theory, mass marketing and the Scotch whisky industry is discussed before incorporating influential literature on the marketing of international and global brands.

Mass marketing is significant to the Scotch whisky industry because it represents the development of the industry in relationship to increased distilling capacity and further retail outlets beyond the place of production. The contemporary literature on mass marketing as an area of enquiry in business histories has responded primarily to the following texts. The first, Richard S. Tedlow's 1990 *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America*, puts forward a theory in which corporations have utilised three phases of marketing for marketing strategy, applied in the context of understanding the development of marketing in America, it has been utilised by other academics to understand the development of mass marketing in industries across numerous regions. The theory proposes that marketing development can be observed in three phases: fragmentation, unification, and segmentation.¹¹³ The three phases demonstrate an evolution of marketing based on the ways that businesses operated within different markets and how this led to an era of mass marketing explained by scale economies, benefiting from efficiency measures, and the practice of market segmentation, whereby strategies are taken to market to different target groups.¹¹⁴

The second important text on mass marketing builds on Tedlow's theory, even including a chapter wherein Tedlow proposes a further fourth marketing phase. This text, the 1993 edited volume, *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, includes a chapter giving a historical perspective on the marketing of Scotch whisky and contributes a chapter with an economic theory of marketing significant for studying globalisation and marketing activity beyond communication.¹¹⁵ Mark Casson provides a chapter on an economic theory of marketing, emphasising the contribution of entrepreneurs and innovation to marketing.¹¹⁶ The theory outlines four key aspects of marketing: market research, promotion, transaction management, and distribution.¹¹⁷ This literature forms the foundation from which business historians have interpreted mass marketing practice, and the interpretation of which will be explored in greater detail in the following sections.

¹¹³ Richard S. Tedlow, *New and improved: the story of mass marketing in America*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1990.

¹¹⁴ Tedlow, *New and improved: the story of mass marketing in America*, 4-6.

¹¹⁵ Richard S. Tedlow and Geoffrey Jones, eds, *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, London: Routledge, 1993.

¹¹⁶ Mark Casson, "An economic theory of marketing," in *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, ed. Richard S. Tedlow, London: Routledge, 1993.

¹¹⁷ Casson, "An economic theory of marketing," in *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, 184.

The phenomenon of branded goods moving into global distribution through mass marketing has been studied by business historians, with many responding to the paradigm created by Tedlow in his appraisal of Coca-Cola.¹¹⁸ Morgan and Moss are critical in applying Tedlow's mass marketing paradigm to the Scotch whisky industry. They recognise that the complexities of Scotch whisky production can fit into the paradigm in some respects, but elements such as ageing stock and blending skills complicate mass production activity.¹¹⁹ The second phase of Tedlow's paradigm, the unification phase, focuses on brand integrity based on specification, consistency, quality, and price positioning.¹²⁰ Morgan and Moss note that advertising was a significant element of brand integrity development but ultimately, they consider success due to the power of the brand name.¹²¹ Based on Weir's thesis research, they acknowledge that advertising was a significant tool in these marketing efforts by the blenders but conclude that without brand integrity following Tedlow's paradigm, no amount of promotion would move an inferior product.¹²² Morgan and Moss correctly assert that the industry's growth into mass marketing for 1860 – 1890 did not rely on mass advertising. However, the evidence of the adoption of mass advertising by the industry from 1890 offers the question that, if the quality of the product and the salesmanship of the entrepreneurs was enough, then what were the firms trying to communicate to the consumer through the utilisation of this medium?

Brands do not emerge fully formed in the public imagination or the boardroom. Consumers' recognition and visibility of branded products were created and reinforced through promotion. Consumers need to see the brand associations to form equity by developing an awareness and dialogue with the brand and product, which is preserved in printed advertisements. This brand equity, as Morgan, Moss, and Weir have argued, emphasises the role of entrepreneurs in growing the popularity and recognition of brands of Scotch whisky.¹²³ This may be the case for the Whisky Barons and reflects the narrative

¹¹⁸ Tedlow, *Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*.

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Morgan and Michael Moss, "The Marketing of Scotch Whisky an Historical Perspective," in: *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing*, edited by Richard S. and Geoffrey Jones Tedlow, 116-31. London: Routledge, 1993, 125.

¹²⁰ Tedlow, *New and improved: the story of mass marketing in America*.

¹²¹ Morgan and Moss, "The Marketing of Scotch Whisky," 125.

¹²² Morgan and Moss, "The Marketing of Scotch Whisky," 123.

R.B. Weir, "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1974, 544-8.

¹²³ Brand equity represents the tangible and intangible value created with consumers from the multidimensional aspect of a brand from its personality, logos, slogans, this has been defined in the literature from the work of David A. Aaker in *Managing Brand Equity*, London: Free Press, 1991.

of events that benefit their brand equity. However, how did promotion through advertising contribute to the equity of other Scotch whisky brands and the industry as a whole? While the elaborate advertising promotions can be attributed in some part to entrepreneurial acumen, the advertising of Scotch whisky was developing across the entire industry and responded both to competing brands and consumers. In the changing landscape of branded national commodities and increasing mass media, Scotch whisky brands were at the epicentre of changing marketing, one that was shared by notable brands such as Pears soap, Cadbury's, and Heinz, whose contributions to advertising and brand emergence have been well documented in the literature.¹²⁴ Just as the literature asserts that poor quality whisky would not sell, the ideas of great men entrepreneurs are wasted if there are no consumers for their produce. The link between consumers and the success of Scotch whisky marketing hinges on the product's acceptance and the creation of brand equity reinforced by promotion.

The studies discussed in business history have shed light on the characterisation of the Scotch whisky industry's success as attributed to entrepreneurs and blended brands. Historians have investigated the role of innovation by entrepreneurs as well as organisational studies that explain how the industry developed. Building on the complexities of the whisky industry when considering marketing practice illustrated by Morgan and Moss, the broader study of marketing theory and history in consumables, including alcoholic drinks, offers a useful lens through which to look at whisky. While these accounts may not answer how Scotch whisky became a popular whisky, they offer important definitions and ways of thinking about the emergence and activity of international and global brands. In conclusion, this thesis offers valuable insights into the pivotal role of advertising in shaping the Scotch whisky industry, underscoring the significance of brand integrity, promotion, and consumer recognition, as well as the continual evolution of marketing strategies within the industry. The next chapter examines the sources examined towards developing an understanding of promotion and advertising's role in the Scotch whisky industry's success and details the methodology for this research.

¹²⁴ David J. Jeremy, "The rise of unified mass marketing in the UK," in *A Business History of Britain, 1900-1990s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 472-477.

John Bradley, "Building the Cadbury Brand," in *Cadbury's Purple Reign: The Story Behind Chocolate's Best-Loved Brand*, John Wiley & Sons, 2008, 88-104.

Nancy F. Koehn, "H. J. Heinz 1844-1919," in *Brand New: How entrepreneurs earned customers' trust from Wedgwood to Dell*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2001, 43-90.

Chapter 2 Sources and Methodology

While brand histories and casual histories celebrate the enduring success of Scotch whisky's various brands and distilleries, obtaining records that validate the industry's history is challenging. If documents have been preserved or were kept as part of record-keeping practice, they are primarily housed within private corporate archives.

Contemporary brand marketers utilise this information from archives for promotional purposes. Still, it is typically without context for what relationship the information has to the rest of the industry and without reflection on what it means for the brand's history.

While the industry guarded its' activity and crafted positive perceptions of Scotch whisky distilleries and brands, they have frequently and openly utilised the medium of promotion to create brand equity, representing how it wants the public to think about Scotch whisky. Though advertising material can be found in these corporate archives, due to their intended nature to be released to persuade the public, they exist in significant numbers across diverse collections, allowing for greater access to researchers.

The extant discussion of advertising in the Scotch whisky literature has largely minimised its contribution to the product's success, but in the last few decades, the Scotch whisky industry has acknowledged the value in preserving promotional material and records of business activity as a tangible resource for the verification of their brand heritage and marketing activity. Preserving business material had a slow development presenting challenges for archivists who have undertaken these efforts balancing the needs of the business while meeting preservation and storage needs. The establishment of private company archives has been documented by Nicholas Morgan in 1992 as the archivist for United Distillers plc, published in the *Business Archives Council* journal, by Jacqui Seargeant for John Dewar & Sons Ltd and by Christine Jones for United Distillers and Vintners Archive, both in 2000 in the *Scottish Industrial History* journal published by the Business Archives Council of Scotland.¹²⁵ These accounts all emphasise the wealth of advertising material and the utility in telling the history of their respective brands and that of the wider Scotch whisky industry.

These accounts also detail the challenges with gathering material that has not been kept

¹²⁵ Nicholas Morgan, "Born 1990, still going strong: setting up the United Distillers' Archive," in *Business Archives Principles and practice*, No. 63, May 1992, Business Archives Council, 1-11.

Jacqui Seargeant, "The Whisky of his Forefather's," in *Scottish Industrial History* Vol 20, 2000, the Journal of the Business Archives Council of Scotland, 37-46.

Christine Jones, "Distilling the Past," in *Scottish Industrial History* Vol 20, 2000, the Journal of the Business Archives Council of Scotland, 23-36.

consistently resulting in inconsistent record keeping and irreversible loss. The material that has been preserved while it informs active marketing campaigns and brand history it has also been recognised for its function within public facing spaces in brand homes to enhance the experience of visitors and visualise the story of the brand. Brand homes are sites of tourism and entertainment often associated with distilleries offering the visitor an opportunity to engage with the brand through tours of production areas, the chance to sample the product range, and celebrate the history and success of the company, and ultimately purchase whisky. This has become a sophisticated enterprise and where companies have a long-standing heritage through their archive, they engage the material in the design and display of the brand homes. This recognition of the quality of visual artefacts in Scotch whisky material culture to engage visitors and consumers not just in a function of promotion of the brand but in the interest of history is reflected in the cultivation of interested readers and collectors.

Despite the recognition by the industry to make efforts to preserve the material culture, and advertising ephemera, and the acknowledgement of public interest, academic analysis has not been conducted with the negotiation of access and gaps in material a guiding force in the methodology and sources used in this thesis. Material that has previously only been accessible in limited physical form is now accessible through digitisation efforts. Utilising these digitised resources this thesis examines how pictorial Scotch whisky advertisements developed and changed, enriching the history of Scotch whisky. However, this is not just a story of whisky in Scotland but reveals the way that an industry developed and changed, how companies developed and practiced brand identity and equity, and how marketing and advertising activity evolved to reflect international activity. This has been a summary of the current state of Scotch whisky literature, presenting the vacuum for understanding how Scotch whisky gained consumers globally. The next section sets out the research design of this thesis and identifies theories in the literature which guide the methodology and gives context for interpreting the advertisements for Scotch whisky.

The starting point for this research began with recognition of the value of material culture generated by the Scotch whisky industry. This is understanding the advertisements as well as branded barware, trade cards, and posters as artefacts and reflective of past social and cultural relationships between products and consumers. Increasingly multi-disciplinary academics, museums, libraries and archives are incorporating this type of material to interpret these objects to access meaning from the reasons they were created or how they

were used.¹²⁶ The existence and inclusion of Scotch whisky material culture can be seen in museum collections as well as incorporated into distillery visitor experiences.¹²⁷ While this material for the Scotch whisky industry, and especially those of the international brands, can be found now in collections as well as on auction sites as collectibles because of their frequency as mass marketing and their ephemeral nature, it is difficult to construct a chronology without significant gaps and analysis beyond case studies. This material has also been separated from the companies that it represents which limits the context for the design of the objects and the authenticity of their existence. For that reason, in order to meet the aims of the thesis and answer the research questions it was prudent to move away from diverse promotional objects and focused on advertisements in the records of Scotch whisky firms and brands, in public archives. There is still information that can be gleaned from these objects, but to demonstrate the history and change for the industry that is easily reproducible, more substantial representative material was needed.

It is worth noting here that this doctoral work started in October 2019 during the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, meaning all the archives were and remained closed for much of the time the research was to be conducted. Travel was similarly limited making accessing the typical materials in archives very challenging and indeed impossible for a period. When the archives did reopen, they were only opened on a very limited basis, and many have yet to return to their previous opening times. Access was thus very, very limited for much of the research period of the thesis. Physical archives were always going to prove a challenge for the research in this project, but it was exacerbated by the limitations on access. Ultimately a judgement call had to be made for the completion of this project and the utilisation of digital materials was a solution. The materials consulted are detailed in the next sections, followed by the methodology for analysing the material utilised.

¹²⁶ For a guide to material culture as a discipline see: Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, London: Routledge, 2016, 4.; Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds, *Writing Material Culture History*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.; Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, vol 18 no 2, Fall-Winter 2011, 232-248.

¹²⁷ The Powerhouse Museum in Ultimo New South Wales, Australia have several Scotch whisky objects of material culture in their collection such as Object 86/4256 a Bell's Scotch whisky jug, collection.powerhouse.com.au/object/65421. The usage of advertising ephemera by the Scotch whisky industry can be seen in the distillery visitor centres with museum elements at Dewar's Aberfeldy Distillery, in Aberfeldy, Scotland <https://www.dewars.com/gl/en/aberfeldydistillery/> and the Clydeside Distillery, in Glasgow, Scotland <https://www.theclydeside.com/>.

2.1 Physical Archives

At the outset of this research to examine the success of the Scotch whisky industry an examination of the materials found in business archives was conducted. The utility of using advertisements as an object to reveal the history of the industry was recognised early on but presented challenges due to the incomplete records for this material. The following accounts reveal the materials that were examined in physical archives and their limitations.

Starting with the Scottish Business Archive at the University of Glasgow Archive and Special Collections, the promotional records held there for William Teacher & Sons Ltd., distillers, Glasgow; D. Johnston & Co. (Laphroaig) Ltd, Port Ellen, Scotland; and Whyte & Mackay Ltd., Glasgow were consulted.¹²⁸ The material for Laphroaig is limited to bottle labels. The Whyte & Mackay material is more substantial and includes material from c.1939 to the 1980s. The advertising material deposited for Teacher's is the most substantial with examples ranging from original illustrations and photographs utilised in the composition of the advertisements. While the Whyte & Mackay and Teacher's advertisements demonstrate examples of their advertising campaigns during the periods preserved, it is difficult to make a detailed analysis of their activity and is limited by the absence of context. Without knowing if and where the final advertisements were published, or even how long they remained in use, makes it challenging to construct a proxy for understanding advertising development and change within the industry, although they do remain valuable for use in conjunction with other advertising material.

The limitations of access and scant advertising material held in Scotland was further illustrated after consulting limited advertising material at the National Library of Scotland for Johnnie Walker and Arthur Bell & Sons, Ltd.¹²⁹ This material deposited with the National Library is for a c. 1996 manual for marketing direction for the Johnnie Walker brand and a c. 1950 series of postcard advertisements depicting a marketing campaign for Bell's Scotch whisky. These two examples represent the uneven way that advertising material has been kept and the ways it has been preserved. The level of business archive professionalism developing over time impacts the way that business records were kept and in a climate of distilleries and brands changing hands as assets the records are sometimes deposited in the new company archives, maintained with the old firm, deposited into a

¹²⁸ This material is identified with the following information: For Teacher's: UGD 306/2/1/18 marketing and public relations, UGD 306/2/1/20 photographs, UGD 306/2/1/21 framed photographs, paintings, and prints. For Laphroaig: GB 248 LAP/11. For Whyte & Mackay: GB 248 UGC 234/8/1 advertising c. 1939 – c. 1980s.

¹²⁹ The material at the National Library of Scotland: For Johnnie Walker: FB. L. 294 c. 1996 "The Spirit of the World" marketing manual; For Arthur Bell & Sons Ltd. Pc.52 (1-11) series of advertisements c. 1950.

public collection, or discarded. When held by a corporate archive and consistent within corporate archives for other industries, restriction is private and at the discretion of the company for archive and agreements for publication. When material is deposited into public archives restrictions like embargos on access still exist but typically have a date when that embargo ends but may maintain publication restrictions. In the case of the Whyte & Mackay collection, even though it is held by a public archive, it took a year to receive permission from the company to access this material. Private corporate archives were considered with some communication regarding potential access, but the restrictions on access to material and the permissions needed for writing about privately held material influenced why it has not been included in this thesis. With the limitations of this material, it was necessary to examine published advertisements and material submitted by the different whisky stakeholders to the registration of trademarks and intellectual property.

The National Archives at Kew, London maintains the records of the former Stationer's Hall and UK Patent Office with the records for the registration of intellectual property for trademarks c. 1876 – 1938 and advertising c. 1842 – 1924.¹³⁰ The physical records of advertisement registrations include filing information and an attached image for evidence of the copyright being registered, these records are dispersed among the other registrations for the time filing which requires sifting through each box to identify the relevant Scotch whisky registrations. From the archive's catalogue this is limited to 49 records that mention 'whisky', while these are valuable as primary sources, they serve to verify the development of efforts to protect intellectual property by the industry but are limited in demonstrating the overall development of advertising and like the records above, the records themselves do not confirm how they were utilised. In addition to the physical records to view at the archive the National Archive has a searchable digital database for images of these records that have been digitized.¹³¹ The results of this search utilising 'whisky' provides 253 results, these are not confined to just Scotch whisky examples, and while in colour graphic illustrations they are primarily for the bottle labels and offer a colour version of labels that are discoverable via the Intellectual Property Office trademark database.¹³² Together these two sources start to build a history of the registration of brand

¹³⁰ Research guides for the National Archive: "Intellectual property: photographs, art-work, literature, music and advertising registered for copyright 1842-1924 (and 1887-1955)," <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/copyright-records-stationers-hall/>. "Intellectual property: trade marks, 1876-1938," <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/trade-marks/>.

¹³¹ The National Archive image search: <https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/search/?searchQuery=whisky>.

¹³² International Property Office, "Search for a trade mark," <https://trademarks.ipo.gov.uk/ipo-tmtext?reset>.

identity through copyright and trade mark for the Scotch whisky industry, the introduction to Chapter Three includes an explanation of the relationship of Scotch whisky trademarks to the beginning of pictorial Scotch whisky advertisements and a table of these trademark images in Appendix 1, but they do not form the principal source for analysis in this thesis.

The search for a source of Scotch whisky advertisements that would offer a body of data to analyse led to the illustrated magazines held in the collection of the British Library. These include the magazines produced by the Pears' soap company in their illustrated weekly magazine and annual Christmas issue.¹³³ The illustrated magazines produced by the Pears' soap company operated as an advertising space, not only for their soap products but for the inclusion of other branded goods. This is consistent with the development of illustrated magazines during this period, and Pears' who were early adopters of pictorial advertising in these spaces took advantage of their popularity and cultural influence in the creation of their own magazine.¹³⁴ The inclusion of Scotch whisky advertisements in the Pears' magazines contributes to an understanding of the growing expense taken by whisky firms to expand the reach of their advertising images across publications. The collection of Pears' Pictorial weekly and annual magazines is limited in publication date, while it captures a window in advertising history, the Illustrated London News (ILN) offers a more substantial contribution to understanding the development of Scotch whisky advertisements across the industry. The British Library holds a collection of physical copies of the illustrated weekly magazine, but it is ultimately access to a comprehensive digital archive of the ILN that makes a substantial contribution to the data in this thesis.¹³⁵ This was borne out of necessity – the closure of physical archives and the difficulties in accessing materials combined to make it very difficult to undertake typical archival-research based doctoral project. As a result, using digital repositories such as the ILN allowed for the collation and analysis of advertisements in the industry to answer the research questions and fulfil the purpose of the thesis.

¹³³ The British Library: *Pear's Annual*, London, c. 1891 – c. 1921, UIN: BLL01013930319; *Pear's Pictorial*, London, c. 1893 – c. 1903, UIN: BLL01013912536.

¹³⁴ Alison Hedley, *Making Pictorial Print: Media Literacy and Mass Culture in British Magazines, 1885-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021, 69-71.

¹³⁵ The British Library: *The Illustrated London News*, c. 1842 – 2003, UIN: BLL01009542903. Gale Primary Sources, *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive 1842-2003*, <https://www.gale.com/intl/c/illustrated-london-news-historical-archive>.

2.2 Digital Archives

The analysis of illustrated Scotch whisky advertisements from the 1890s and their extensive preservation through digital archives of periodicals like the Illustrated London News makes it possible to trace the development of Scotch whisky domestically and internationally because of the distribution of periodicals within the Empire and Anglophone countries. The utilisation of digital material circumvented significant challenges regarding access to private corporate archives and allows for illustration of the scope of promotion activity and the ability to analyse concurrent industry activity.

It is easier to quantify and analyse data from the periodical by the digitisation of the entire ILN publication from 1842–2003 in Gale Cengage’s database (Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003), the database uses Optical Character Recognition (OCR) which created a searchable transcript with metadata that facilitates browsing.¹³⁶ Access to the database makes quantitative and qualitative research possible, which can answer questions about brand formation and competition, first entrants, points of change, and documentation of patterns. The search feature was used for this database to identify instances where the words ‘whisky’ and ‘scotch whisky’ appeared in the metadata. The results from this search identified the types of advertisements that appeared with a marked change in frequency, as well as the first instance of the inclusion of pictorial elements from the 1890s. The nature of the results based on searching metadata transcripts required further sorting to identify relevant advertisements.

During the periodisation of this research, a legal or industry-wide standardisation term for what would today be considered single-malt Scotch whisky or blended Scotch whisky was contentious, leading to government intervention both in the U.K. home market and in the U.S. to define Scotch whisky in an attempt to define and protect consumers and the whisky firms.¹³⁷ The usage of ‘Scotch’ to denote whisky with an origin in Scotland emerged in the mid-century to distinguish between whisky with an origin in Ireland. This preceded the adoption of advertising in the ILN by firms selling whisky from Scotland.¹³⁸ Different

¹³⁶ J. Mussell, ‘Digitisation’. *Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-century British periodicals and newspapers*, eds. A. King, A. Easley, & J. Morton, (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 20–3.

¹³⁷ *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Whiskey and other Potable Spirits*. Parliamentary Papers, XLIX.451, 1909.

An Act of June 30, 1906, Public Law 59-384, 34 STAT 768, for Preventing the Manufacture, Sale, or Transportation of Adulterated or Misbranded or Poisonous or Deleterious Foods, Drugs, Medicines, and Liquors, and for Regulating Traffic Therein

¹³⁸ Advertisements for Kinahan’s L L whisky alongside their branded stout beer from Dublin sold by Kinahan’s LL whisky, wine and Foreign Spirit Stores, 25, King William Street, Strand appears in the 22

firms initially included the word ‘Scotch’ with an inconsistent frequency and sometimes emphasised their brand name, followed by whisky. For instance, searching for ‘Scotch whisky’ between 1890 and 1914 yielded 499 results, but by searching ‘whisky’, there were 1,747 results. The contrast in the number of results did not mean that ‘Scotch’ did not appear in the advertisement but was missed by a search of the text in the metadata. The limitations of the metadata search required the sifting through the results to ensure the accurate accounting for advertisements for whisky marketed with an origin in Scotland.

In addition to these search modifications, the search used exclusion words to limit results and make the volume of results more straightforward. Repeated words excluded were for known brands of Irish whiskey, such as Kinahan and Bushmills, or for products that frequently mentioned whisky, such as Eno’s fruit salt.¹³⁹ The exclusion feature for the Illustrated London News Historical Archive (1842-2003) is limited to the usage of nine words in the ‘terms’ box after the initial search term, in this case, ‘whisky’; the utilisation of this feature significantly decreased the manual workload. The ‘document type’ was also selected based on the database’s established organisation. The narrow document type helped to limit instances where ‘whisky’ was utilised in articles and fiction pieces in the magazine. The listed alterations made to the search were precautions to ensure accuracy in documenting the advertisements for Scotch whisky during this periodisation; the author acknowledges that it is not an absolute with the possibility of a small number of advertisements missed. However, the volume of recorded advertisements has made it possible to speak on the adoption of advertising by the Scotch whisky industry in the ILN and how this coincided with the efforts to increase consumption and exports.

In his *Still Going Strong: A History of Whisky Advertising*, Hughes briefly mentions that this was a significant publication because they were the first of the illustrated newspapers to recognise the value of advertisements to generate revenue.¹⁴⁰ His work, however, focuses on the advertising examples from the Diageo archive, and does not elaborate further on the role of the ILN in the promotion of Scotch whisky. An edited volume by Alexis Easley, Andrew King and John Morton demonstrates the value of using the ILN as a resource and artefact reflecting multi-disciplinary approaches to researching the

April 1843 issue of the *ILN*. This brand of whisky continues to be advertised but it is 1850 before the distinction appears for ‘Scotch’ whiskies by wine and spirit merchants.

¹³⁹ For a complete list of the excluded words from search results see the Appendix.

¹⁴⁰ Hughes, *A History of Scotch Whisky Advertising*, 21.

periodical press in the 19th century.¹⁴¹ Andrew King also contributes an essay for the Gale Digital Archive collection of the ILN Historical Archive demonstrating the variety of research methodologies possible for studying advertisements within the ILN and contained in this digital archive.¹⁴² Further precedence for research and teaching opportunities using this resource is provided in an overview of literature of digital periodicals by Christopher Eaton.¹⁴³ This literature contributes to a precedence that while physical advertising material from the late 19th century, including those for Scotch whisky, may be scattered or incomplete, the efforts especially of digital archives to compile a complete collection of these publications makes them a valuable resource for a variety of data collection and research.

The publication length of the ILN makes it a valuable resource to establish a consistent reliable source for Scotch whisky advertisements. Utilising further digital archives of newspapers and periodicals the advertisements discussed in this thesis have been assembled by searching digital periodicals that include regional and international newspapers, primarily compiled from *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Times*, and illustrated magazines *Life Magazine*, with the ILN advertisements forming a singular digital archive of over 1500 unique images of Scotch whisky advertisements from c. 1890 – 1970. These periodicals capture changing advertising strategies and campaigns across different levels of stakeholders within the industry making it possible to assemble patterns and narratives that represent development and change as the industry internationalised. The reliance of the ILN for the majority of the advertisements discussed in this thesis is related to its consistent publication across the entirety of the thesis periodisation. In this way these advertisements act as a control with which comparison from other periodicals and other markets can be made. Using a strategy employed by cultural and art historians to read the visual and textual information from the advertisements, the focus is not on design and aesthetics but to read the information in the context that explains what the Scotch industry looked like, was motivated by, and the dialogue they had with their consumers.

Advertising is a dialogic interaction between firms, brands, and the public, by examining them at an industry-wide level over the periodisation it is possible to tease out patterns and

¹⁴¹ Alexis Easley, Andrew King, and John Morton, eds. *Researching the nineteenth-century periodical press: case studies*. London: Routledge, 2018.

¹⁴² Andrew King, "Advertising in the Illustrated London News," *ILN Historical Archive 1842-2003*, Cengage Learning, 2011, <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/andrew-king-advertising-illustrated-london-news>.

¹⁴³ Christopher Eaton, "Multimodal and Pedagogical Possibilities in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals Research." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 54, no. 4 (2021): 625-645. <https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2021.0047>.

document changes that can be explained by context from business history, economic and social history, and wider cultural changes, expanding the narrative beyond the attributes of successful entrepreneurs and illustrating how brand equity and brand associations developed. This section has explained how the data for this thesis was assembled, a comprehensive bibliography of citations for this advertising archive is compiled in Appendix 2. The following section briefly addresses the theories and literature utilised to interpret the assembled advertisements.

2.3 Methodology

The interpretation of the advertisements in the digital archive collection that underpins this research is built on the methodological and theoretical approaches in the wider advertising literature but combines also with the context of business and industrial history of the Scotch whisky industry. In this way, the advertisements, while digital represent material culture for their influence as means of promotion and for what they can reveal about their creation.¹⁴⁴ Interpreting pictorial advertisements is necessary to discern what the different companies wanted to communicate with their consumers about their brand and products as well as identifying the relationships these examples have to the activity of other firms and how this can illustrate the development and changes to the Scotch whisky industry as it internationalised. This includes the role of the entrepreneur and the development of brands as an element in the design and function of these advertisements, which touches on the significance emphasised by the business history literature, but ultimately the central feature of this analysis is how these advertisements contributed to wider perceptions of Scotch whisky as an industry and a beverage. While this study moves the focus of authorship for branding and advertising away from the individual entrepreneur it recognises the role of some firms in their use of the professional services of advertisement agencies. Recognising the influence and reception of Scotch whisky as a participant or accessory to social change allows for the demonstration of change to the advertisements over time but it also means we learn about the development of brand power and reveal more about what mattered to the industry and the consumers during different periods of time and against different obstacles.

The *ILN* was not just a magazine in London but had a global circulation. Thomas Smits' work on the reach of the *ILN* in Australia between 1842-1872 provides an indication of how influential the periodical was in creating a connection between Britain and the Australian colonies, reaching consumers with the branded commodities advertised inside the magazine.¹⁴⁵ During the periodisation of his study, Smits found that 8-11% of the *ILN*'s total circulation went to the Australian colonies. Although, the periodisation of this thesis is outside Smit's study, it illustrates the climate in which readers were already exposed to the mass cultural influence of the magazine and when Scotch whisky advertisements appeared, the barriers to acceptance of the visual messages communicated by the industry

¹⁴⁴ Giorgio Riello, "Things that shape history: Material culture and historical narratives," in *History and Material Culture: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, ed. Karen Harvey, London: Routledge, 2009, 24-25.

¹⁴⁵ Smits, *Looking for the Illustrated London News in Australia's Digital Newspapers*.

would be diminished. Smits argues that through the reach of the *ILN* in the Australian colonies contributed to a formation of a British national identity using the media contained to construct “imagined communities” but he argues that this identity existed in a multiplicity of identities.¹⁴⁶ As an article of transmitting the news, the *ILN* was influential for connecting people across the Empire with a contemporary unity, an imperial identity, but over time this also reflected a localised culture as well as reinforcement of nostalgic cultural identities through diasporas. This theme of imagined communities and a multiplicity of identities is integral to my argument about the kinds of messages the Scotch whisky industry was cultivating in their advertisements and will be repeatedly examined in the examples of this thesis.

One of the arguments in this thesis is that the frequency of Scotch whisky advertisements that appeared in print contributed to the growth of Scotch whisky as a mass-consumed cultural product. The literature on the role of advertising establishes that periodicals such as the *ILN* were widely distributed and read, which supports the argument that they were influential in the development of mass consumerism. Hedley and the literature argue that the influential role of the weekly illustrated magazines, through aesthetic strategies, impacted how the readers connected to and acted on mass culture.¹⁴⁷ This impact on mass culture was not isolated to Britain, with the reach of the *ILN* extending to a global readership. These changes in technology, consumption, and promotion converge to establish the starting point of the periodisation and analysis of this thesis.

This study relies on the digitisation of complete periodical magazines and newspapers which allowed for the mining of Scotch whisky advertisements and analysis which identified patterns and change that is easily referenced and reproducible. This study is novel for its curation of a collection of Scotch whisky advertisements across periodicals and representing the entire industry not just specific brands. While the inclusion of Scotch whisky advertisements in Scotch whisky histories has been limited, including them at this volume is only possible because of the accessibility afforded by digital collections. The ease of access and reproducibility from these digital archives are a benefit, but interpretation is ultimately subjective though influenced by theories from the literature.

Historians Frank K. Beard and Stefan Schwarzkopf have both written about the challenges in developing this area of research within advertising and business history and their

¹⁴⁶ Smits, *ILN Australia*.

¹⁴⁷ Alison Hedley, “Advertisements, Hyper-Reading, and Fin de Siècle Consumer Culture in the Illustrated London News and the Graphic,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 51 (1): 138–67, 2018, 139.

criticisms of how to interpret advertisements has played a guiding role in how advertisements are utilised in this thesis.¹⁴⁸ Their criticisms and the relationship to the work herein are addressed below.

Beard provides two criticisms to the utilisation of advertisements as an artefact for interpretation. These are related to the limitations of collections that are European and American centred that do not include analysis of advertisements for other regions of the globe including Asia, Africa, and South America.¹⁴⁹ When it comes to the advertisements in this study, many of the publications utilised while intended for a primarily British audience, reached a British Colonial readership in Asia, Africa, and South America, but their intended audience was largely British consumers. There is an interesting and beneficial contribution from looking to the transition from strictly targeting the British diaspora with Scotch whisky advertisements, but it is one that historians following this study will have to pick up. Additionally, the advertisements utilised in this study from the publication *Life Magazine*, reflect how the American market for Scotch whisky became a significant focus for Scotch whisky exports in the 20th century, which makes an important contribution to the internationalisation story. As another alternative to British Imperial exports Europe has a long heritage of Scotch whisky exports, resources like Delpher, for Dutch digitised newspapers, provides the potential for greater insight into the internationalisation of Scotch whisky.¹⁵⁰

For the sake of space within this study, the work focuses primarily on contrasting Home market advertisements in Britain with those for the American market, because of its significance in the growth of exports in the early to mid-twentieth century. The second criticism from Beard is connected to the geographic limitations but focuses on the absence of identified advertisements in diverse archives.¹⁵¹ This is especially relevant to the digitisation of periodicals, there are more magazines and newspapers that have examples of Scotch whisky advertisements but because of lack of access to them they are not included in the collection assembled for this thesis. The advertising examples utilised from this

¹⁴⁸ Frank K. Beard, "Archiving the Archives: The World's Collections of Historical Advertisements and Marketing Ephemera," in *Explorations in Globalization and Glocalisation: Marketing History through the Ages*, Vol. 18 (2017), Proceedings of the 18th Biennial Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing (CHARM), Held at Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, England, U.K. June 1-4, 2017, 32-48.

Stefan Schwarzkopf, "The Subsiding sizzle of advertising history: Methodological and theoretical challenges in the post advertising age," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* Vol. 3 Issue 4, 2011, 528-548.

¹⁴⁹ Beard, "Archiving the Archives," 48.

¹⁵⁰ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the National Library of the Netherlands, *Delpher*, <https://www.delpher.nl/>.

¹⁵¹ Beard, "Archiving the Archives," 48.

collection are indicative of the digitised periodicals that were accessible through the databases utilised. While this provided chronological advertisements it has limitations on the patterns and relationships that can be identified, limited by the audiences the periodicals were directed. For this reason, it is not possible to identify if advertising campaigns, themes, and designs were consistent across different segments of a whisky firm's products with different advertisements published in different periodicals and this type of comparison largely reflects the contrast between advertisements between those in the United Kingdom and the United States. This limitation makes it possible to identify overarching themes and patterns that reveal activity of the industry during the internationalising process, but not to claim that the examples chosen are the only types of tropes or patterns produced by the industry for the periodisation.

The criticism and guidance that Schwarzkopf distinguishes are related to three paradigms identified in the advertising historiography, these are modernisation, Americanisation, and Semiotics.¹⁵² The modernisation paradigm developed in the 1980s by a cluster of advertising historians, utilises content analysis to create a narrative history of the development of consumer culture that emphasises the role of “great men” and “ad men” in creating the systems that have influenced consumer behaviours.¹⁵³ Within these narratives Schwarzkopf points to the example of advertisements from the 1960s being isolated or “de-historicised” from the designs and aesthetics that existed previously.¹⁵⁴ My study identifies the establishment of aesthetic and design elements within Scotch whisky advertisements and builds a narrative around the maintenance of these elements. The second paradigm, Americanisation, he identifies is related to the influence of the advertising industry by agencies in the United States.¹⁵⁵ This paradigm recognises the professionalism and influence that American advertising had on wider global advertising activity, but contrary to some accounts, Schwarzkopf highlights that by centring these accounts to America, has emphasised this contribution at the detriment to evidence of cross-cultural exchanges.¹⁵⁶ Pictorial advertisements for Scotch whisky began in Britain, and while there is evidence of advertising for Scotch whisky created by agencies in export markets, including the US, as the significance and control of brand equity emerged the influence on design and aesthetic elements reflects a trans-Atlantic influence. Critical to the interpretation of these advertisements is the understanding that the symbols utilised to

¹⁵² Stefan Schwarzkopf, “The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising history,” 531-536.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 531-532.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 533.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 533-535.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 534.

represent Scotch whisky had to utilise references that people, especially those outside Scotland, would understand and associate with Scotland. The push and pull of trans-Atlantic influence on advertising whether by agencies, the brands, or the consumer, is a part of the advertising narrative. While it tells us about the development of themes within the industry for advertising Scotch whisky it also contributes to a wider knowledge of the development of advertisements in the twentieth century that moves away from the Americanisation paradigm.

The last paradigm that Schwarzkopf discusses is for Semiotics utilised to interpret signs and symbols in advertisements through content analysis.¹⁵⁷ With this paradigm, Schwarzkopf is not encouraging historians to move away from its use but identifies how the absence of context can be detrimental to interpreting advertisements by producing what the researcher is searching for and lacks the full knowledge of how people in the past saw and understood the meaning of these advertisements.¹⁵⁸ The role of the consumer in reading advertisements is also acknowledged by Leiss et al in discussing semiotics, the interpretation of signs used in advertising also reflects participation in creating the meaning for those signs not just by the advertising designers or the brand but by the acceptance and direction of the consumer in that process.¹⁵⁹ This is an important aspect of interpretation and guides the inclusion of both business history accounts but also evidence of cultural, social, and political context that informs how consumers interpreted and influenced the development of Scotch whisky advertisements. For this reason, the work of Daniel Pope in *Making Sense of Advertisements* and Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi in *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising*, is useful for approaching the analysis of the individual advertising examples and the wider patterns that emerge across the periodization.¹⁶⁰

Daniel Pope's *Making Sense of Advertisements* underpins the analysis of advertisements in this study.¹⁶¹ This guide was created for students of history, to understand how advertisements can be utilised as an artefact for historical research, Pope details a number of questions that can be utilised for content analysis. These questions dictate how to approach and advertising example by asking: What is the ad trying to do? Who is the

¹⁵⁷ Schwarzkopf, 536-538.

¹⁵⁸ Schwarzkopf, 536.

¹⁵⁹ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 122-123.

¹⁶⁰ Daniel Pope, "Making Sense of Advertisements," *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, June 2003.

Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi, *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising*, New York: De Gruyter, Inc. 2002.

¹⁶¹ Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising*, New York: Basic Books, 1983. Daniel Pope, *Making Sense of Advertisements*, 2003.

intended audience? What strategies are used to sell the product? What do ads conceal and reveal about an Era? What else do you need to know to analyse this ad?¹⁶² The last question justifies the utilisation of the business history literature for Scotch whisky as well as the contemporary articles from newspapers that give evidence of changes in the industry that impacted the way that companies promoted their products. For the previous questions the answers to these questions are interpreted using semiotics to identify symbols utilised by the designers, but seeking further information to determine the strategies to reach intended audiences is analysed using the principles of design that artists and historians of art utilise to read a pictorial composition.¹⁶³ This strategy can help to reveal priorities and strategies in the design of the advertisement utilising principles of design such as hierarchy and scale. This is an agreed upon system for interpreting visual language and offers a pathway to understanding advertisements without a textual explanation from business records. The question, “What do ads conceal and reveal about an Era?” extending beyond historical context that can be gained from advertisements, the concept of concealing and revealing when reading these images is a goal of semiotics.

Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi illustrate in *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising*, the theoretic influences in the development of semiotics to study advertisements, as well as how branding and advertising works to create a system of the interpretation and reinforcement of signs.¹⁶⁴ They state that advertisements provide information on different levels, with surface meanings, but underlying meanings forming a signification system. These signification systems are generated by brands and firms through multiple marketing activities such as through the brand name, the logo, and advertisement text, these are signs that relate to signified meaning relating to personality, lifestyle, and consumer desires.¹⁶⁵ Content analysis of advertisements joined with the context from business, social, and cultural histories makes it possible to identify the meaning from the signification systems and how to interpret the importance of the signified. Collectively this can contribute to an understanding of the efforts of brand marketing. This work incorporates these efforts to understand the layers of meaning in advertisement examples and these efforts to create meaning from brands is identified throughout the thesis and where advertisement priorities do not always reinforce brand signs. The interpretation of complex meaning for surface and underlying signs was

¹⁶² Pope, *Making Sense of Advertisements*, 3-8.

¹⁶³ The principles of design are balance, movement, rhythm, emphasis, contrast, repetition, proportion, and unity.

¹⁶⁴ Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising*, 19-30.

¹⁶⁵ Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs*, 23.

cautioned by Schwarzkopf, for that reason when giving interpretation utilising a few advertisements reference to further examples of the element discussed are referenced in the appendix to indicate the justification for the interpretation made here.

In sum, this thesis is a history of Scotch whisky advertisements told through those published in the periodic press demonstrating the forces acting on the marketing of Scotch whisky and the development of national and internationally recognised brands.

Recognising the challenges and restrictions of private company archives and public material culture this research utilises digitisation of entire printed periodicals to create a reproducible archive of Scotch whisky advertisements from 1890 – 1970. This research has been conducted with a multi-disciplinary approach that utilises the lens of visual and cultural history with the context of business and marketing theory. This expands the academic histories that have isolated the narrative of Scotch whisky history, and it builds on the work of business history and marketing academics writing on the Scotch whisky industry.

Part Two: Scotch whisky, a spirit for all seasons

Chapter 3: “The universal drink in Camp, on Moor, or Loch, is used in the Palace and the Shieling”, 1890-1918

The expansion of the Scotch whisky industry outside of Scotland occurred concurrently with broader changes in retailing and the promotion of consumable goods. The last decades of the nineteenth century were transformative in using illustrations in dynamic advertisements in newspapers and magazines.¹⁶⁶ Before this change, newspapers as advertising spaces were restricted in design to resemble the classified format with limited space and visual variation. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst have been credited for their roles in making editorial changes that allowed for the development of visual advertising within their periodicals.¹⁶⁷ As the first illustrated magazine, the Illustrated London News (ILN) is significant for being at the forefront of this change in advertising. The inclusion of Scotch whisky advertisements placed the Scotch whisky industry within the cluster of this change. Beyond editorial changes, the literature also credits the emergence of pictorial advertising to innovation in printing technology, changing commodities culture, the spectacle of international exhibitions, and increasing competition.¹⁶⁸ This chapter begins by examining the context for the marketing of Scotch whisky and situating it within this changing commercial environment. It asks why stakeholders in the Scotch whisky industry started to advertise this way and what it tells us about the industry and whisky during this period.

The 30 August 1890 issue of the Illustrated London News commemorated these improvements to distilling capacity and the proliferation of legal distilleries for a growing export demand.¹⁶⁹ The introduction to this thesis established that the decades leading up to the 1890s saw the production capacity of distilling in Scotland double.¹⁷⁰ This made it possible to extend the distribution of Scotch whisky and cultivate more markets for the spirit. The retailing of Scotch whisky in the last half of the nineteenth century was

¹⁶⁶ Gillian Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*. Studies in Culture and Communication. London: Routledge, 1988, 35.

¹⁶⁷ Leiss, et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 75.

¹⁶⁸ Benson and Ugolini, *A Nation of Shopkeepers*, 9. Church, “Advertising consumer goods,” 629-634. Hedley, “Advertisements, Hyper-Reading,” 141-143. Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 87-91., and Schwarzkopf, “Turning Trademarks into Brands,” 166-169.

¹⁶⁹ “Scotch Whisky.” Illustrated London News, 30 Aug. 1890, pp. 275-278. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, link.gale.com/apps/doc/HN3100458401/ILN?u=glasuni&sid=bookmark-ILN&xid=7108b205. Accessed 16 Feb. 2023.

¹⁷⁰ Ross Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 24.

managed by diverse stakeholders from the distilleries retailing their spirit directly to consumers and to wholesale customers that would blend and retail it as their own label via their grocery business, dedicated whisky blending businesses, or wine and spirit merchants who then distributed further to hospitality venues and direct to consumers as more and more entrepreneurs and investors entered the trade and the demand for Scotch whisky expanded from Scotland. The association Scotch whisky, whisky became a proprietary label associated with different firms or sold with emblematic names. These names, both for the firm and the type of Scotch whisky, were utilised to represent the firm's products, offering guarantees of quality and consistency and a way to identify their product with their business; this development is consistent with studies of the emergence of brands and trade marks.¹⁷¹ From the 1880s, these names and whisky labels were registered as unique intellectual property through the Trade Mark Act. The utilisation of trade marks by retailers has a long history, but the recognition of these marks as protected by the government through registration developed in the 19th century in Britain.¹⁷² The emergence of Scotch whisky firms filing protection for their trademarks has a role in the emergence of iconic Scotch whisky brands. This thesis links the designs of these marks with the development of advertisements further in this section, but once a brand or firm's trade mark was registered, how did they distinguish and promote their labels, and what does this mean for the emergence of pictorial advertisements?

In this environment of increasing industry stakeholders with competing brands, once a whisky had a distinguishable identity, some firms took action to promote this product. The promotion activity created awareness for the whisky label and the firm and was a part of marketing efforts to expand distribution into more markets. As branded Scotch whiskies developed trade at home and in international markets, the sales and distribution of Scotch whisky reflected the established mercantile system and kinship networks that utilised a mixture of travelling sales agents and auction systems at ports. There are some examples of the role of kinship networks in establishing overseas agents. Weir points to this as a pivotal foundation for the export market, but Scottish mercantile activity is better understood for other commodities such as sugar and wine.¹⁷³ Firms hired these agents in distant markets to

¹⁷¹ Schwarzkopf, *Turning Trademarks into Brands*, 166-168.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁷³ R. B. Weir, "Alcohol Controls and Scotch Whisky Exports (1870-1939)." *British Journal of Addiction*, 83: 1289-1297. 1988, 1290.

Two articles on mercantile kinship: S. D. Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834*. Cambridge Studies in Economic History - Second Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade." *The Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (2005): 467-91.

manage the product from arrival to point of sale. For clarity, it should be noted that the agent system for the sale and distribution of Scotch whisky was not the same as the hiring of advertising agencies, but in specific markets, such as the United States, promotion was handled by the agent in that market. The visibility of agents in export markets in advertisements is briefly discussed throughout this thesis, with their inclusion typically reflecting specific legal requirements with the example of the United States for labelling and distribution. The company acquired these agents through sales missions, which demonstrated the distribution and marketing logistics of their whiskies. Along with the negotiation of agents, these sales missions also promoted their whiskies in a public forum. The following case study demonstrates the role of these sales missions in participation in international exhibitions and how that fed into the emergence of periodic advertisements.

The example of John Dewar & Sons' activity in promoting their whisky abroad illustrates the broader changes in the marketing of blended brands, the changing industry, and the growing global popularity of Scotch whisky. A complete study of the sales missions conducted during this period does not exist, but it is known that other firms sent salesmen on this task.¹⁷⁴ The sales mission conducted by Tommy Dewar for John Dewar & Sons of Perth was one of the visible efforts to promote exports during this period because of his efforts to publicise the activity. He undertook a two-year-long journey to twenty-six countries to observe established distribution channels for Dewar's whisky and to set up further reliable agents to increase their level of export. When Dewar returned to Britain, he published *A Ramble Round the Globe* in 1894. It presented the business trip as a light-hearted travelogue that ultimately served as marketing promotion, not only for his family's brand of whisky but the global travel lifestyle to the leisure class of society and aspiring readers.¹⁷⁵ His publication promoted the idea that the reader could have Dewar's whisky anywhere they travelled and perform the lifestyle Dewar was projecting. This is in line with the efforts collectively by the Scotch whisky blenders to appeal to middle- and upper-class drinkers in England identified in Hands' work on 'Making Scotch Respectable' using the example of Buchanan and Walker.¹⁷⁶ While Dewar did not discuss his business

¹⁷⁴ Morgan notes that due to limited records, it is known that Walker's had an export business in Australia between the 1860s and 1880s, but there is limited information on the scope, subsequent sales missions and later branch offices were established by members of the family. Nicholas Morgan, *A Long Stride: The Story of the World's No. 1 Scotch Whisky*, London: Canongate, 2020, pp. 47, 57-68.

¹⁷⁵ Tommy Dewar, M. A. Wyllie, and Sidney Robertson Cowell. *A Ramble Round the Globe: By Thomas Dewar with 220 Illustrations by W.L. Wyllie ... Sidney Cowell A.S. Forrest: James Greig: Seymour Nation Stanley L. Wood: Archie Macgregor and the Author.* 1894.

¹⁷⁶ Hands, "Making Scotch Respectable," 69-92.

activity, he did describe his experiences travelling, which gives insight into the extent of business activities he engaged in. In this way, Dewar was not presenting the whole purpose but a curated, entertaining, and evocative example of his glamorous lifestyle to be emulated while reinforcing that the consumer should be asking for Dewar's whisky. The success of this endeavour could be explained away by entrepreneurial spirit, risk taking, and the personality of Tommy Dewar, but the trip would not have been possible without the loan provided to Dewar by the Distiller's Company Limited.¹⁷⁷ This speaks to the intentions of both Dewar and DCL to invest in cultivating international markets for Scotch whisky.

While Dewar does not mention it in his travelogue, the whisky brand was represented at several international exhibitions that coincided with his travels, notably the 1893 Columbian Exhibition, also known as the Chicago World's Fair, and the 1894 Antwerp International Exhibition, which was publicised in the *Illustrated London News*.¹⁷⁸ Fig3-1, from the *Illustrated London News* 1894 Special Issue for the Antwerp International Exhibition, shows a photograph taken of the Dewar's whisky display where an elaborate miniature building was constructed. To international viewers, this would represent a fantasy amalgamation, part whisky shop, part embodiment of an imagined setting inspired by Scotland's literary culture. The correspondent for the ILN describes the display and their activity at other International Exhibitions,

Perhaps one of the prettiest stands in the British section is the exhibit of John Dewar and Sons, Limited. Scotch whisky distillers, of Perth, N.B., and London. This firm are well known at all exhibitions, and for many years have been staunch supporters of all meetings of the kind, for they recognise the value attaching to the prominence thus given to goods. The stand itself is very picturesque, and is something after the "pagoda" style of architecture, with a thatched roof of white heather that came direct from "bonnie Scotland."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Weir, R. B. "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1974.

¹⁷⁸ "Dewar, John & Sons, London. Highland whisky," *The official directory of the World's Columbian exposition, May 1st to October 30th, 1893. A reference" book of exhibitors and exhibits, and of the officers and members of the World's Columbian Commission, Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1893, 597.* "Interior of the Exhibition." *Antwerp International Exposition 1894 (Supplement). Illustrated London News*, 1 Sept. 1894, pp. 4+. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.*

¹⁷⁹ "Interior of the Exhibition." *Antwerp International Exposition 1894 (Supplement). Illustrated London News*, 1 Sept. 1894, pp. 4+. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.*



Fig. 3.1 – John Dewar and Sons. “Antwerp International Exhibition stall”. Illustrated London News, 1 September 1894, p. 12. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

By creating a display that was eye-catching and experiential Dewar's was able to create a memory and a link to their brand for potential consumers that visited the exhibition. The display is an element of nostalgia for popular cultural references to Scotland invoked through the usage of heather and the architecture, but it also situates itself as a representative of British trade and export potential. International exhibitions were organised by host countries to display goods available for trade and to foster trade relationships with other nations. Attendee companies were creating cultural capital, sharing information, making declarations of national identity, and furthering their commercial, Colonial, and industrial accomplishments.¹⁸⁰ Efforts to promote Scotch whisky as a national drink of Scotland while simultaneously representing British branded commodities was occurring as globally commercial efforts to increase global trade occurred. The implications of the global exhibitions, especially with the development of name-brand goods, require further study; it is included in this thesis for how it demonstrates the spectacle of promotion at a pivotal time when consumers were becoming increasingly influenced by direct advertising. The correspondent tells the readers of the ILN that Dewars recognised the economic potential of exhibitions, with part of their success gained from the distinction achieved by participating frequently at these exhibitions and receiving awards from the organisers for the quality of their spirits.¹⁸¹ This demonstrates a calculated strategy by Dewars to gain visibility afforded their brand at the exhibitions and achieving this attention through linking their brand to Victorian perceptions of Scotland. While Dewar's participation is visible through the report in the ILN, a brief comment in Glen's economic study of the Scotch whisky industry notes that Mackie & Company, later White Horse Distillers, were eager to use participation at exhibitions for promotion of their brand and complemented this with similar sales tours as described for the Dewars example.¹⁸² These exhibitions are understood as an integral launchpad to the development and cultural awareness for branded commodities, and through their inclusion in the ILN, Dewars received promotion of their activity and emerging brand identity that extended beyond the visitors to the exhibition.

¹⁸⁰ Louise Krasniewicz, "All the World in One Place," Expedition Magazine 57.1: Expedition Magazine. Penn Museum, 2015 Web, 18 Jul 2021, <http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=22573>.

¹⁸¹ The article further mentions the reception of medals at various International Exhibitions, the rigour of the award process is not known entirely for these Exhibitions with medals received for participation and others from blind tastings by committee. This is an area that would benefit from further study, but for the purpose here whether legitimate or not the collection of these medals and awards was utilised by brands in the Scotch whisky industry to promote and guarantee the quality of their spirits.

¹⁸² Iseabal Ann Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914." PhD, University of Strathclyde, 1969, 624.

The changing retail landscape for branded commodities contributed to the emergence of dynamic advertising built for a receptive consumer audience. Participation at these exhibitions provided a competitive advantage in creating recognition of branded goods and loyalty. McClintock demonstrates in her research on the emergence of branded soaps, the first brand packaged soap was sold at the 1884 Berlin Conference, this was a significant step in changing the way soap was marketed. For context, in the 1870s hundreds of small soap firms competed but by the end of the century an oligopoly of only ten large firms remained.¹⁸³ This demonstrates a shift in the public consciousness for branded goods and is also supported in the literature by Richards. In examining the changing Victorian commodity culture, Richards suggests that the spectacle created by brands at the Exhibitions instilled an understanding amongst consumers that placed commodities, especially branded ones, in a highly regarded position in the public imagination.¹⁸⁴ An additional element was the shifting in barriers between the commodities purchased by the different social classes. The kinds of products available at the exhibitions appealed across class lines and presented them in a way that placed them within reach of more people.

Richards suggests that this was a sort of democratisation of commodities, replacing the former cultivation of taste by the wealthy in privacy with one in view that could influence the emerging middle-class purchasing habits.¹⁸⁵ This visibility is key in transitioning from the spectacle and prestige of the exhibitions promoting brands in the open to the advertisements that entered the homes of readers through newspapers and magazines. At these exhibitions, Scotch whisky as an industry with emerging national brands, took pride of place represented among Britain's agricultural and manufacturing produce ready for global export.

The literature and company narratives have represented these sales missions of firms such as John Dewar & Sons as the result of entrepreneurial skill and savvy salesmanship of a quality product.¹⁸⁶ While these sales missions established networks for distribution and created awareness of the blended brands, this thesis argues that emerging advertising served to continue the work of the salesman in his absence and after the exhibitions ended.

¹⁸³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 210-211.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990, 59-61.

¹⁸⁵ Richards, *The Commodity Culture*, 59-61.

¹⁸⁶ R.B. Weir, "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1974.

Nicholas Morgan, *A Long Stride: The Story of the World's No. 1 Scotch Whisky*, London: Canongate Books, 2020.

Communicating the quality of the whisky was an integral element of advertisements in extending the salesman's work. Participation in exhibitions propelled the visibility of brands into the view of global consumers. Richards links the acceptance of the spectacle of promotion at exhibitions with the openness of consumers to receive the messages of increasingly elaborate advertisements.¹⁸⁷ Advertising is about communication that leads to consumption, which creates a dialogue visualising what the company wants the consumer to think about and associate with their brand of products and responds to how the consumer interprets this information. Exhibitions were integral to the emergence of branded commodities, but how did brands translate their product displays into advertisements? The example from Dewar's shows an invocation of Scottish iconography through the usage of heather in the display; other whisky companies emulated this and set a precedent for using Scottish symbolism to create brand associations. As brands gained a foothold in retailing, the registration of trade marks created a visual record to be used by the brand to promote their goods and provide a guarantee of quality with the trade mark appearing on Scotch whisky bottles. The following paragraphs examine the contribution of these marks in the transition to pictorial Scotch whisky advertisements.

The emergence of registered trade marks for brands of Scotch whisky coincided with the spirit's increase in popularity and availability in markets outside of Scotland. These marks had a role in the emergence of brand personalities and in creating equity with consumers, demonstrating the quality and associations that the companies and the wider industry wanted consumers to associate with this whisky. This development has been studied for other commodities and brands, emphasising the role of taking these marks and turning them into an image in the consumer's mind; this is not a unique phenomenon for Scotch whisky.¹⁸⁸ However, what is unique is the volume of marks for Scotch whisky utilising overlapping symbolism. As visual advertisements became more frequent in the 1890s, the references to iconography of Scotland can trace its origins to these marks. Compiled in Appendix Table 1 are the names and included images of registered marks submitted between 1880 – 1889 to the UK Patent Office following the 1875 Trade Marks Registration Act.¹⁸⁹ The images in the digital trademark registry have been examined from 1876 - 1989, they have been found to have utility in the study of branding and trademark

¹⁸⁷ Richards, *The Commodity Culture*, 59-61.

¹⁸⁸ Schwarzkopf, 166.

¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that this information is compiled from a digital searchable database held by the UK GOV IPO, it is not known what discrepancies there are for the physical records that contribute to the digital record. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/trade-marks/>, Accessed on 1 December 2022.

history. However, for Scotch whisky brands, they principally reflect a need for the industry to protect the labels on bottles as a guarantee of the whisky inside. The early trademarks reflect the origins of using Victorian cultural images associated with Scotland, which transitioned to early usage in emerging mass advertising.



Fig. 3.2 – Registered Trademarks from the U.K. IPO Registry, left UK00000022296 20 April 1880 J. G. Thomson, right UK00000021759 31 March 1880 the Strathspey Highland Malt Whiskey.

Trademarks embody symbolic connotations to aid consumers in decision-making, with the choice of image being a deliberate action by the company. A sample of these are found in Fig. 3-1 and Fig. 3-2, for the 1880 mark for The Strathspey Highland Malt Whisky, the 1880 mark for The Deerstalkers Blend of Old Highland Whisky, the 1887 mark for Glen Leven Highland Whisky, and the 1888 mark for J & J Grant of Glen Grant Distillers. The trademark imagery and associations from the 1880s can be broken down into four themes. These historical and popular cultural associations were the subject of popular creative output such as paintings and prints, literary associations, history, and significant place names. Victorian paintings and prints depicting Highland landscapes, especially those described in the works of Sir Walter Scott, declining Highland culture, including scenes of country dances and illicit distilling, as well as the sporting activities of the wealthy, were hugely popular and for many people that could not afford sporting holidays in the Highlands, this would be their only vision of Scotland.

These associations reflect the Scotch whisky industry at the end of the nineteenth century, emphasising the links to distilling in the Highlands and communicating directly the distinction of the ‘Scotch’ in Scotch whisky. The Strathspey Highland Malt Whisky called on the association to the popular dance and song and to the region along the river Spey, which emerged as a booming whisky-making region in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹⁰ The Deerstalkers Blend of Old Highland Whisky utilised the illustration of a Highland ghillie, an attendant for outdoor sporting activity in the Highlands, almost identical to the popular illustrations by R. R. McIan.¹⁹¹ The illustration in the mark for J & J Grant of Glen Grant Distillers invoked similar works of art. It depicts two seated Highlanders proudly guarding barrels of pure malt whisky. The mark also associates the Spey River region and the Glenlivet district, which are famous outside of Scotland for distilling activity.¹⁹² Trade marks invoked the usage of familiar visual works of art, but they also employed literary links representing connections to Sir Walter Scott, such as the 1880 mark for The Abbotsford or the Bailie Nicol Jarvie, named for the Glasgow magistrate in Scott's 1817 book, *Rob Roy*. Robert Burns was also accounted for using the 1884 trademark for

¹⁹⁰ William Lamb, “Grafting Culture: On the Development and Diffusion of the Strathspey in Scottish Music,” in *Scottish Studies* 37, 1 Feb 2017, p94-104. Daiches, *Scotch Whisky*, 63-65. MacDonald, *Whisky*, 105-115.

¹⁹¹ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. “ghillie,” accessed November 13, 2023. James Logan, *Highland life in days gone by: the famous prints of R. R. McIan*, Glasgow: David Bryce and Son New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1900. James Logan and R. R. McIan, *Picturesque gatherings of the Scottish Highlanders at home, on the heath, the river, and the loch*, London: Ackermann, 1848.

¹⁹² “Scotch Whisky.” *Illustrated London News*, 30 Aug. 1890, pp. 276+. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003. This is for a full-page of illustrations at the Glenlivet Distillery and accompanies a profile on the region.

Celebrated Auld Langsyne. The use of literary and visual references in the Scotch whisky industry trademarks not only celebrated Scottish heritage but also contributed to the popular culture outside of Scotland, creating a lasting impact on the global perception of Scotch whisky.



Fig. 3.3 – Registered Trademarks from the U.K. IPO Registry, left UK00000072719 15 February 1888 J. & J. Grant of Glen Grant Distillers, right UK00000071098 29 December 1887 John Haig & Co.

As the examples above reinforced geographic proximity to the Highlands through familiar associations outside Scotland, place names were also represented for the names of brands as seen for the 1884 mark for Loch Lomond whisky, the 1887 mark for Glen Leven, and the 1882 mark for Rothsay. While Glen Leven sounds like a place in Scotland, it has not been possible to ascertain if it is a real place. The Glen Leven Old Highland Whisky was registered to John Haig & Co., Ltd., a company that had relocated blending operations to Markinch after the formation of DCL in 1887; Markinch is between Loch Leven and a town called Leven in Fife.¹⁹³ Is it possible that in marketing their brand of whisky in a national market that now extended outside of their local area, the reality of the brand's namesake did not matter as much if it sounded authentic. This reflects the importance of the Scottish association to sell whisky and the value of using Scottish names.

The prevalence of trademarks filed in the 1880s using associations with Scotland's geography, history, and culture contributed to the compression of whisky to infer Scotch whisky. The choice to use these associations is understood as a wider practice in advertising and brand design to make an aesthetic choice for universal images that would be familiar to reach as many consumers as possible. The practice of simplifying images this way is known as kitsch.¹⁹⁴ Richards describes the consolidated imagery of kitsch as a visual language that all advertising in late-nineteenth-century commodity culture aspired to achieve.¹⁹⁵ This represents a clear strategy that companies selling Scotch whisky wanted to demonstrate the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky first. A question emerges from the scale of whisky brands and trademarks utilising these Scottish symbols as intellectual property: if much of the industry used these associations, how did a brand persuade a customer to choose their whisky over another? Following the work of Schwarzkopf to identify advertisements needed to build brand value beyond just using a trademark, the following section examines the transformation from brand symbol and trademark to dynamic advertisements and emerging brand identities.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ James Laver, *The House of Haig*, Markinch: John Haig & Co. Ltd., 1958, 42. Wilson, *Scotch: It's Formative Years*, 419.

¹⁹⁴ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 87.

Alison Hedley, "Advertisements, Hyper-Reading, and Fin de Siècle Consumer Culture in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic*," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 51:1 Spring 2018, 143-145.

¹⁹⁵ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 88.

¹⁹⁶ Schwarzkopf, 168.

3.1 The Choicest Product of Scotland

The first Scotch whisky advertisement appeared in the *ILN* for Greers' O. V. H. (Old Vatted Highland) on 25 April 1891.¹⁹⁷ The following year, an advertisement for the brand Old Uam-Var Scotch whisky was printed and sold by Innes & Grieve Ltd. of Edinburgh and London.¹⁹⁸ Both of these examples follow the precedent for the classified advertisement format. Then, by 1893, the first illustrated advertisement for Scotch whisky in the *ILN* was printed for John Robertson & Sons Dundee whisky, Fig3-3. The illustration is etched and sized for a quarter of the page and appears alongside other advertisements. The image used was in commemoration of the Royal Wedding of the Duke of York and the Princess May of Teck, later King George V and Queen Mary. John Robertson & Sons chose to create a link between their whisky and the celebration of the royal wedding; this was a technique that advertisers in Britain recognised benefited industries by the repetition of popular events.¹⁹⁹

The illustration is of a group of kilted men, in contemporary late nineteenth-century fashion, with their right legs on the table with whisky bottles with the John Robertson and Sons trademark; they hold up thistle-shaped glasses in a toast to the bride's health. The men are ambiguous as they could easily be a group of men at a Highland Estate or a group of Army officers.²⁰⁰ While this illustration has symbols that are associated with Scotland, the kilt and the thistle, the contemporary dress and acknowledgement of a current event represent the connection to the upper echelons of society that the whisky literature has emphasised as the significant segment for consuming Scotch whisky outside of Scotland. By representing a celebrated event that would be frequently discussed, John Robertson and Sons are using that popularity to associate with their brand and creating a scenario where their whisky is served at these celebrations. When read by readers in the Colonies, the association reinforced the imagined communities, here a British-wide celebration, contributing to the shared identities that Smits details in his work, but it also contrasts from the kitsch found in the following advertisements by John Robertson and Sons that appeared in the *ILN* in the same year.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Greers' O. V. H., 25 April 1891, *Illustrated London News*, vol 98, issue 2714, p552.

¹⁹⁸ The Famous Uam-Var, 03 Dec 1892, *Illustrated London News*, vol 101, Issue 2798 p728.

¹⁹⁹ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 87.

²⁰⁰ "J R D." Royal Wedding (Duke of York and Princess May of Teck) (Wedding Number). *Illustrated London News*, 10 July 1893, p. 36. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*.

²⁰¹ Thomas Smits, "Looking for The *Illustrated London News* in Australian Digital Newspapers," *Media History*, 23:1, 80-99, (2017).

AL WEDDING NUMBER, July 10, 1893.—36

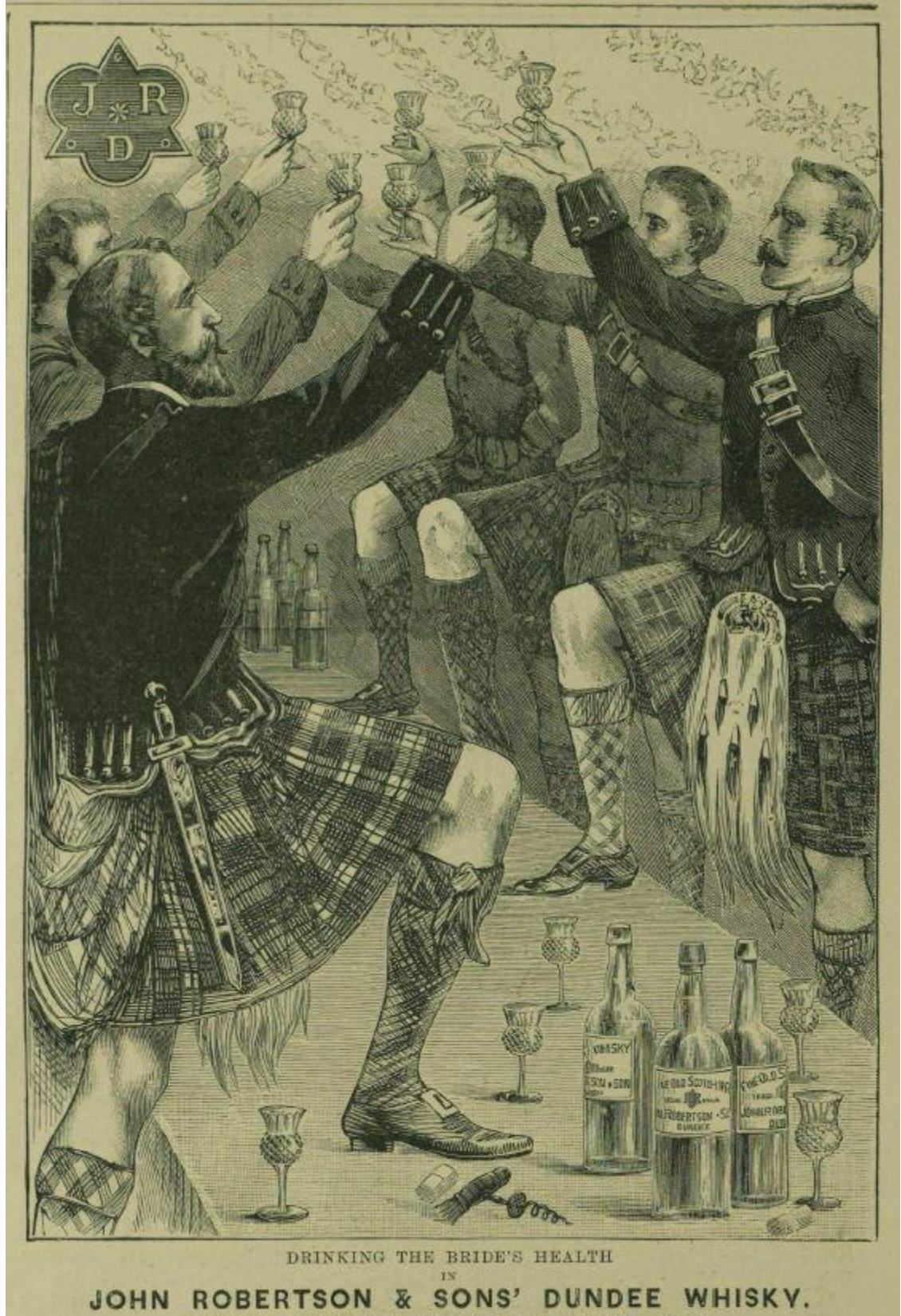


Fig. 3.4 – John Robertson and Son Dundee. “J.R.D.”. Royal Wedding (Duke of York and Princess May of Teck) (Wedding Number). Illustrated London News, 10 July 1893, p. 36. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

Fig. 3.5 – John Robertson and Son Dundee. “Fine Old Scotch Whisky”. Illustrated London News, 28 October 1893, p. 551. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

Three months after the first illustrated advertisement, John Robertson and Sons followed this with a second illustrated advertisement, Fig3-4, which appeared in October 1893. This advertisement draws from the kinds of tropes found in the 1880s trademarks. It is in the quarter-page format and, like the previous example, a bespoke etching. The advertisement contains an image of a kilted man; instead of the late nineteenth-century aristocratic gentleman, this kilted figure is almost a caricature, a figure out of time, leaning on a barrel of fine old scotch whisky, raising a toast, mountains behind him and if that was not enough, thistles trail in the background.²⁰² This figure embodies kitsch sentimentality, having been designed with globally recognised symbols of Scotland, kilt, thistle, whisky, and mountains, delineating a clear line to the produce advertised. The trademark for John Robertson and Sons is included as a small placard on the stone wall and appears as a mark on the whisky barrel. Similarly to the kilted Highlanders in the Glen Grant distillers' trademark, his posture conveys ownership of the barrel and the spirit inside. Yet, reading this with the text underneath the image, we can understand the kilted figure as a proud producer and an 'eminent expert'. His arm is outstretched, and he raises a toast to the implied fruits of his labour or 'the choicest product of Scotland'.

This illustration has made a small leap from the trademarks of the 1880s and the prevalent Victorian imagery to identify a Highlander. Still, simplifying the cultural references begins a canon that can be easily identified outwith Scotland. Underneath the illustration, the tagline, "the choicest product of Scotland," illustrates geography's significance in the spirit's production. But below that is the London address for John Robertson and Sons; while the barrel and trademark may be for Dundee whisky, by 1893, their whisky was in London and ready to be exported. John Robertson and Sons were established in London by the 1890s along with many other Scotch whisky brands; while the whisky is sourced in Scotland, the business operations have moved, representing an existing successful business and trade in England and beyond. This example reflects the readership of the *Illustrated London News*, with its circulation within and beyond the British Empire. It supports the themes of appealing to the upper and middle classes, affirms association with Scotland, and appeals to a readership familiar with Scottish literature and art. This strategy is continued in the following examples.

²⁰² "John Robertson and Son Fine Old Scotch Whisky." Late Charles François Gounod (Supplement), *Illustrated London News*, 28 Oct. 1893, p. 551. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive.

3.2 The Whisky of his Forefathers – John Dewar & Sons

Building on the global sales mission, Tommy Dewar has been highly praised across the literature and in the contemporary press for his contribution to the advertisements and success of Dewar's whisky going into the early twentieth century.²⁰³ Similar to his contemporaries, such as James Buchanan & Co. and John Walker & Sons, his efforts to establish a presence in global markets through the use of agencies and subsidiary branches, established through sales expeditions and participation in international exhibitions contributed to the visibility and awareness of the company's whiskies.²⁰⁴ An article in the *Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1908, titled "The House of Dewar", illustrates the rise of Dewar's global whisky business, culminating in the expansion to the new premises of Dewar House in Haymarket, London.²⁰⁵ While the author highlights the significance of Dewar's advertising and its global success, it also highlights the changes that made it possible in the wider industry. The article's author details that 1886 brandy was widely popular (despite the phylloxera blight) and that if someone ordered a whisky, they would be offered a choice between Irish and Scotch. Continuing, Seven years afterwards the change in the public taste became noticeable and nowadays the man who goes into a bar for whisky, means by whisky, Scotch whisky.²⁰⁶

The positioning of Scotch whisky ahead of other whiskies and spirits had a homogenous effect on the trade. However, this was happening simultaneously with the emergence of recognisable Scotch whisky brands, creating a duality in the perception of the entire industry. The emphasis in the literature and the examples above on the actions of Dewars and Buchanan perpetuates the entrepreneur "Great Man" genius element of the industry's success. While not diminishing their achievements, the homogeneity that Weir points to is essential for establishing continuity in themes used across the industry and for the ways that different firms utilised their own brand identities with these associations. This

²⁰³ "The House of Dewar." *The Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1909, p 761. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.*, Weir, R. B, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland*, Adams, Allen, *The Whisky Barons*.

²⁰⁴ Dewar's sales expeditions while not directly discussed are the purpose for the travel chronicled by Dewar in his 1894 travel memoir, *A Ramble Around the Globe*. Additionally, an image of one of Dewar's exhibition displays can be found in: "Interior of the Exhibition." *Antwerp International Exposition 1894 (Supplement)*. *Illustrated London News*, 1 Sept. 1894, pp. 4+. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*. John Walker & Sons is also well documented for their sales missions and establishment of agencies and subsidiaries for Colonial and International trade. Weir, R. B, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland*, briefly discusses the international activity of the whisky barons in his thesis. Morgan, Nicholas, *A Long Stride: The Story of the World's No. 1 Scotch Whisky*, London: Canongate Books, 2020, gives a fuller account of the activity of John Walker & Sons in establishing their global trade.

²⁰⁵ "The House of Dewar." *The Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1909, p 761. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

reinforces the acknowledged usage of iconography to associate whisky with Scotland. Still, thus far, the literature has neglected the significance of the gradual emergence of brand identity adjacent to or separate from specific Scottish associations. The visual associations utilised in this advertisement by Dewar's connect to Scotland and Scottish history, but it is a late-Victorian and Edwardian version of upper-class society in Scotland. This is significant because it moves beyond using Scottish iconography for simple associations, like heather and thistles, making whisky Scotch but reflects the targeted consumer of Scotch whisky by Dewar's.

The illustration of the advertisement in Fig3-5 is given a title, like a work of art, *The Whisky of his Forefathers*. The example comes from the first appearance of this advertisement campaign in *The Illustrated London News*. Jacqui Seargeant, the archivist for Dewar's and Bacardi, writes that this was Dewar's longest-running advertising campaign initially introduced in 1895 and continued until the 1930s.²⁰⁷ As the title indicates, a contemporary landed gentleman sits in his stately home. He is posed as if he is in his own portrait, seated next to the table with objects that demonstrate his status, such as the unrolled document that may prove his claim to title and land, which includes a bottle of Dewar's whisky. This tableau is under the shadow of his ancestral portraits, who have sprung to life and scramble to reach their descendant's whisky. The whisky of his forefathers is an imagined romantic past that illustrates the social capital and brand equity Dewar's was cultivating for their brand. A blend is not quite the whisky the men in the portraits would have available to them. Still, it demonstrates an effort to compress the associations of blends that appealed to a broader consumer for its taste with the heritage and romance of earlier distillers. The association is powerful and garnered significant recognition for Dewar's whisky and Tommy Dewar's ambitions.

²⁰⁷ Seargeant, "Dewar's the Whisky of His Forefather's," 46.

DEWAR'S WHISKY

THE WHISKY OF HIS FOREFATHERS.

SOLD EVERYWHERE.

Old Liqueur - - 54s. per doz.
The Finest Whisky, of Great Age.

Special Liqueur, 64s. per doz.
The Finest Whisky in the World. Much of it bonded 1854.

JOHN DEWAR AND SONS, LTD., DISTILLERS.
PERTH, N.B.; and 48, LIME STREET, LONDON.

Fig. 3.6 – John Dewar & Sons Ltd. "Dewar's Whisky". Illustrated London News, 30 January 1897, p. 163. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

The association of the advertisement with the format of a painting blends the boundaries of commercial and fine art. ‘The Whisky of his Forefathers’ takes inspiration from the usage of paintings in advertising during the 1880s by A. & F. Pears. The boundaries of commercial and fine art were distinct, but by purchasing a painting from Sir John Everett Millais, a famous contemporary painter, Pears owned the copyright to use exclusively in their promotional advertisements for their soap.²⁰⁸ The campaign for Pears became an instantly recognisable advertising symbol that Dewar’s is replicating. The precedent set by Pears was a significant development for the power of advertisement to catch the viewer’s attention and become a popular object outside of the product being sold. Borrowing from the world of posters, illustrations began to creep into advertising, first showing the product’s box or package and later demonstrating its qualities and uses. The well-known Pears bubbles poster was an innovation not just for using an academy artist to paint it, but also for the clever way it joined illustration and product (soap) with the title, showing that the illustration did not have to connect directly with the product’s main selling point.²⁰⁹

In contrast to the distinction of Pears soap combining images for visual appeal but not as a direct statement about the advertised product, Dewar’s is utilising the perception of fine art and the history of paintings to link with the heritage and craft of distilling Scotch whisky. Using the image of an aristocratic landowner, this advertisement constructed a scenario recognisable to the wealthy social class who holidayed in Scotland. By inserting their brand of whisky, it created an association for the readers of the magazine and consumers joining Dewar’s whisky with the sophistication and taste reserved for the wealthy. It also made a simple language and pictorial connection, using the lineage of the ancestor portraits to connect to the age and prestige of the whisky.

This campaign by Dewar’s represents a substantial jump in the construction of advertising imagery in four years from the 1893 caricature of the highlander in Fig1-4, which mirrors the explosion of this format for advertising. An 1899 article in *The Times-Picayune*, an American newspaper printed in New Orleans, Louisiana, describes the current trend for original artwork designed for advertising posters. The correspondent describes the humour of Dewar’s *Whisky of his Forefathers* advert and attributes its success to the artist Stewart Brown. In a quote from the artist, the correspondent states that it took some convincing to

²⁰⁸ Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, 36-37.

²⁰⁹ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 97.

get the design accepted, but now, in its success, “there is hardly any whisky firm that does not want a design like Dewar’s ancestral poster.”²¹⁰ This is important because the credit for this advertisement has been given to Tommy Dewar as the clever entrepreneur who was invested and interested in advertising as an emerging industry. If the credit for the design is to an advertising agency, does this diminish the role of Dewar in its success? It is impossible to test the validity of this article without access to primary sources from either the agency or Dewar’s; it perhaps does not matter except to highlight that the narrative of advertising history is more complex than the successes.

²¹⁰ The Daily Picayune – New Orleans, “Art Freaks Abroad, The Circus Girl and the Club Show Posters, A Pair of Hands and a Wonderful Woman in White,” 11 June 1899, www.newspapers.com/image/28230029.

3.3 Uamh Mhòr to Uam Var for the English

The advertisement in Fig3-7 is a full-page composition with a central illustration of four men in military uniform unboxing a case of Uam Var whisky, the brand's name displayed on the crate, and the bottle's label visible. Surrounding the central illustration, the advertisement uses text to communicate almost every theme introduced in this chapter. While only a few will be highlighted, it represents a transitional period in the advertisements, blending a central illustration with the older format of repetition seen in the patterned border with the image of the trademarked brand bottle. This advertisement differs from the previous John Robertson & Sons advertisement Fig3-5, in that it also represents a contrast from the kitsch, overtly Scottish representation of a Highlander to an image with layers of meaning culminating in an image of British culture, albeit one that is still intended to be sentimental. This section focuses on the relationship of the advertisement in simultaneously appealing to an imagined Scotland for a British and Imperial consumer and how the illustration reinforces these links while appealing to universal consumer needs.

The information about the firm Innes and Grieve Ltd. is fragmented and, from some sources, contradictory, but this advertisement informs the reader that they were established in 1794 and, by this date in 1893, had both Edinburgh and London offices. The whisky's brand name, "Uam Var", is an anglicised version of the Gaelic Uamh Mhòr, a summit between Callander and Doune in the present-day Stirling Council area. While Murray states in *The Art of Whisky* that the name Uam Var translates as 'distilled in a cave', it is more likely a reference to the "Great Cave" used in the 18th century for smuggling whisky or other illicit activity.²¹¹ Late nineteenth-century consumers would recognise the brand name from reading the work of both Sir Walter Scott, in the 1810 *The Lady of the Lake*, and Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 *Kidnapped*.²¹² Innes and Grieve's use of the anglicised form of Uamh Mhòr is consistent with how the authors wrote it. By using this name for their brand, the firm is appealing to the familiarity of something from popular culture, and this is consistent with the Victorian popularity of Scotland in literature, art, and for the wealthy as a sporting and holiday destination. By including a description of the places where you can have Uam Var, Innes and Grieve, are reflecting the different consumers of Scotch whisky for the readers of the *Illustrated London News* who would go on

²¹¹ Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, 75.

²¹² Sir Walter Scott, *The Lady of the Lake: a poem*, Edinburgh: James Ballantyne & Co., 1810.

Robert Louis Stevenson, *Kidnapped: being memoirs of the adventures of David Balfour in the year 1751*, London: Cassell & Company, Ltd., 1886.

deerstalking or fishing holidays in the Highlands or the consumers who cared what the monarchs purportedly drank. It was also for those looking for a link to the Scotch whisky of the past with a sort of endorsement for use in the shieling (shelter for herding animals) connecting to the stories from literature and the images that were popular of Highland life that would contrast to the reality of a soldier in a military camp or to someone drinking Uam Var in a distant colony. Through these different types of consumers and places to drink whisky, this advertisement markets Uam Var for consumers beyond Scotland who have a variety of motivations for drinking Scotch whisky.

The design of this advertisement for Uam Var fits within what the advertising literature illustrates as a change to “The Product-Oriented Approach (1890-1925).”²¹³ This method developed by advertising agencies was intended to persuade the consumer that the product advertised fulfilled a need, and the desired qualities were explained by text with a coordinating image that reinforced the appeal to the consumer. As discussed above, the text around the borders of this advertisement proclaims its attractiveness to a variety of potential consumers, but it also addresses the whisky’s quality and its utility as a medicinal substance. The chosen illustration is laden with multiple meanings and is meant to associate the value of Uam Var with the reader and potential consumer by appealing to their connection to these meanings. A surface reading of the image identifies a correlation with the age of the men; here, though, the word ‘old’ to describe Uam Var reflects the desirability for the ageing of Scotch whisky seen as representative of quality. It also connects to the brand's name, alluding to the literary connections and placing the whisky brand in an imagined history.

²¹³ Leiss et al. et al. et al. et al., *Social Communication in Advertising*, 115.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, Dec. 9, 1899.—847

THE FAMOUS OLD UAM VAR SCOTCH WHISKY

IS THE ARISTOCRATIC BEVERAGE ALL OVER THE WORLD

IF YOU APPRECIATE QUALITY, TRY THIS FINE OLD SPIRIT.

HIGHEST INTERNATIONAL AWARDS.

BUY NO OTHER

IS RECOMMENDED BY THE MEDICAL FACULTY FOR INVALIDS.



THE UNIVERSAL Drink IN CAMP OR MOOR OR LOCH

IS USED IN THE PALACE AND THE SHIELING



THE WHISKY FOR THE MESS TABLE INSIST UPON GETTING IT

IN CASES OF PHYSICAL EXHAUSTION It is invaluable as a Restorative.



ADVANTAGES TO EXPORTERS.

BOTTLES (special shape), Pack in much less space than ordinary bottles and hold the same contents. The Special Uam Var bottles save about 20 per cent. freight by ship measurement, and are the strongest bottles on the market.

Why has the Old Uam Var Whisky been used in preference to others among Military and other Expedition? Because:— (1st) The Superior Quality of the Whisky. (2nd) The extra strong bottles save breakage. (3rd) Packed in strong



cases about 20 per cent. space is saved, and the packages are suitable for loading on camel, mule, or pony back. (4th) The best and most substantial in the smallest bulk. (5th) Handy for transport, camp, knapsack, or pocket.

WHAT A FRIEND SAYS:

"If faint and down-hearted or weary we'ld be, If care wear' your heart like a serpent about eel, Should enemies trouble, or friends fail to please, Or the Faced-Indigestion—abolish your care! You'll find not e'er these can your happiness mar, When opposed by a bottle of Old Uam Var."



MIXED WITH MINERAL, AERATED OR ORDINARY WATER It forms a pleasant and Refreshing Beverage.

It Promotes or Checks FERMENTS IN THE STOMACH



IT STIMULATES THE DIGESTIVE ORGANS

THE OLD UAM VAR WHISKY MAY BE DEFENDED UPON FOR MATURITY PURITY and Fine Quality



INNES & GRIEVE LTD EDINBURGH & LONDON ESTABLISHED 1794

Fig. 3.7 –Innes and Grieve Ltd. "Uam Var Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 9 December 1899, p. 847. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

The age of the whisky is referenced here as a marker of quality and purity. This was important for whisky advertisers to communicate to their customers because of a history of adulterated spirits and wines. Edward Burns discusses a period of adulterated Scotch whisky in the 1870s in his book *It's a Bad Thing Whisky Especially: Bad Whisky*, and how this influenced the development of brand names to assure the public of the quality because it became understood that younger whiskies contained alcohol associated with increasing intoxication and illness.²¹⁴ This was also an issue for other wines and spirits in Britain and has been written about by James Simpson for the Sherry industry, 1840-90 and for the wine and spirits trade by Duguid, 1800-1880.²¹⁵ This strategy employed the usage of multiple layers of connections for the consumer to associate with the brand, communicating what the company thought was essential to aid the purchasing decision.

More importantly, knowing that the image represented retired soldiers known as Chelsea pensioners unlocks layers of meaning that were recognisable to many of the readers of the *Illustrated London News*. This association with the painting of the Chelsea Pensioners painted by the artist David Wilkie was widely popular. The painting of the pensioners depicted the arrival of news about the victory at Waterloo to their retirement hospital in London and reflects a connection of the whisky that extends beyond an association with an imagined Highland past, but a past that is reflected in the age and experience of the pensioners, the usage of retired, or injured soldiers, and a significant unifying historical moment for Britain. While the Uam Var advertisement utilised the association of a famous painting with the nostalgic public idea of the Chelsea Pensioners, this example associates Scotch whisky with a medicinal and soothing quality. This also includes copy text around the perimeter of the image with benefits ranging from use as a restorative for exhaustion or as a benefit to digestion, and under the large letters of the brand name, the text states that it has been recommended for invalids, which in this case the advertisements aimed to endorse its use with the Chelsea Pensioners.

The medicinal element reflects two areas of focus in the advertising literature: the increasing presence of patent medicines in advertising in conjunction with a growing cultural obsession with health and wellness achieved through consumption and growing consideration for the temperance movement. The Uam Var advertisement addressed concerns regarding temperance and helped to justify consumption, while the text claims it

²¹⁴ Edward Burns, *It's a bad thing whisky especially: bad whisky*, Glasgow: Balvag books, 1995, 155-163.

²¹⁵ Duguid, *Developing the brand*. James Simpson, "Too Little Regulation? The British Market for Sherry, 1840-90," in *Business History*, Vol. 47 2005 Issue 3, 367-382.

goes well with the popular mineral waters to make highballs, which are reflective of current social consumption, by proclaiming the health benefits, whether dubious or not, helps to reinforce a kind of social permission, it's alright to have Uam Var because it aids in the ailments that the pensioners in the illustration likely have, but the reader of the illustration could also benefit. Richards illustrates that advertising was dominated by unregulated patent medicine advertisements that addressed a panic around the body and health.²¹⁶ In this way, by claiming medicinal benefits, the advertisement justified why the consumer should purchase it beyond the appeal of its social status. Church also connects the advertising of patent medicines and the fear of adulteration with the increase of the temperance movement.²¹⁷ More consumers sought quality and wholesome products; the examples illustrated for Uam Var demonstrate methods utilised by the wider Scotch whisky industry to abate concerns and encourage consumption. This advertisement remained in use and would help to build brand equity for the above associations. It also appeared in *The Graphic* in 1900 in colour. The full-page format most resembled the format of the advertising poster and allowed the continuation of those promotions in printed media.

²¹⁶ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 168-204.

²¹⁷ Church, "Advertising consumer goods," 632.

3.4 An advertising arms race

The history of Scotch whisky in the 1890s, as told in texts like Moss and Hume's *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, focuses on expansion and growth, but it also emphasises the 1890s – 1918 as a period of severe hardship brought on by bad management and elaborate expenditures that led to an economic crash in the industry. The advertising examples so far in this chapter have shown that the Scotch whisky industry of the 1890s was dominated by blenders expanding to global markets, with numerous competitors that needed to keep their name visible to consumers, leading to a promotional arms race. Church argues that advertisements are a competitive tool against rivals.²¹⁸ The advertisement in this section demonstrates that with the increase in Scotch whisky firms promoting their brands, advertisements display the battles between them. When looking at the advertisements in printed periodicals, part of the broader advertising context is missing. Promotion during this period extended to include ephemeral displays of promotion with posters, trade cards, pub mirrors and fixtures, and promotional events. The effort to make a memorable impression in the minds of consumers was a competition.

The example of Dewar's finding advertising success with Fig3-5, combined with the advertising expense detailed in the introduction, highlights precedence in the industry for this elaborate promotion. As part of the literature's criticism of advertisements, Weir's sentiments correlating the expense of lavish advertising with success is echoed in the 1898 "Business Notes" in *The Economist* on the advertising activity of Pattison's Limited of Leith. Both Weir and *The Economist* correspondent emphasise the "gigantic advertisements" found across the industry by the early twentieth century and recognise this activity as an unsustainable expenditure for the trade. Dewar's gets praised for its advertisements in the literature because its firm endured, but Pattisons' has become a scapegoat for the failure of its activity, which was increasingly common with the rest of the industry because it contributed to its demise. Advertising alone was not a solution to success in the industry but was part of complex industry activity; this emphasises the need for the literature to move beyond success equal to entrepreneurs and great men because success during this period took more than a few good ideas or thrifty risk-taking.

²¹⁸ Church, "Advertising consumer goods," 623.

PATTISON'S
Whisky
Going Great
GUNS

THE BOOMING OF THE CANNON

Is nothing to the "booming" of Pattison's Whisky. Steady, unflinching attention to the object aimed at hits the mark and wins the battle. Pattisons have no fear of hitting the public taste for a pure, sound, fully matured, delicately flavoured whisky, and they have succeeded. Pattison's Whisky is the Scotch spirit in its perfection—wholesome, stimulating, and cream-like. Pattison's Whisky has fought its way to the front, and will remain there.

SOLE PROPRIETORS: PATTISONS, LTD., HIGHLAND DISTILLERS, BALLINDALLOCH, LEITH, & LONDON.
HEAD OFFICES: CONSTITUTION-STREET, LEITH.

Fig. 3.8 – "Advertisements & Notices." Daily News, 12 May 1898. British Library Newspapers. Accessed 1 May 2023.

Pattisons' Limited encountered trouble in December 1898 when the bank refused to pay cheques that exceeded their available balance.²¹⁹ The advertising example for this section, only seven months earlier, does not indicate the trouble brewing but illustrates the firm's confidence in its risk-taking. The copy text for Fig3-7 reads,

The Booming of the Cannon is nothing to the “booming” of Pattisons' Whisky. Steady, unfaltering attention to the object aimed at hits the mark and wins the battle. Pattisons' have aimed at hitting the public taste for a pure, sound, fully matured, delicately flavoured whisky, and they have succeeded. Pattisons' Whisky is the Scotch spirit in its perfection – wholesome, stimulating, and cream-like. Pattisons' Whisky has fought its way to the front, and will remain there.²²⁰

The text is placed underneath an image of a British Naval Officer sitting upon large canons, holding a glass in the gesture of a toast. The image echoes the celebratory superiority of the British Navy and equates the business of Pattisons' with the prowess of the naval cannons. The phrase “going great guns” is a naval expression that refers to the speed and accuracy with which something has moved. In the past, this meant a strong storm, but here, it refers to the firm's success in achieving recognition for its spirits' quality and position within the industry. Whether exaggerated or not. The repetition of the company's name and the easily interpreted illustration reinforced by copy text follow the advertising literature's assessment of the strategy to make signs for advertisements simple and universally understood.

Moss and Hume reinforce this difficulty for Pattisons' with quotes like William Ross, who uses the bankruptcy of Pattisons' as an example of poor business activity with industry-wide consequences that contributed to a lack of growth for fifty years.²²¹ Wilson also quotes Ross on his opinions on the industry and Pattison's contribution to the turmoil in the industry, blaming their extravagant spending and “reckless disregard of the most elementary rules of sound business”.²²² As the director of DCL, he had a biased account motivated to perpetuate this narrative, blaming the activity of Pattisons' for DCL's activity during his tenure of aggressive rationalisation of brands and distilleries.²²³ The state of the whisky trade leading up to and after the crash had been observed in the press by

²¹⁹ Jim Brown and Louis Reys, *The Rise and Fall of Pattisons Whisky of Leith*, REPSpect AB, Sweden, 2020, 29.

²²⁰ "Advertisements & Notices." Daily News, 12 May 1898. British Library Newspapers, Accessed 01 May 2023.

²²¹ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 127.

²²² Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 473-474.

²²³ MacKenzie & Perchard, “Behind the ‘tartan curtain’.”

publications such as the *Times* and *The Economist*.²²⁴ These articles were meant to inform readers interested in the whisky industry or broader business concerns and support concerns for dangerous practices through speculation on whisky inventory, over-production, and lavish advertising. The Pattisons' crisis highlights the struggles of the whisky trade to get enough stock, balancing this against capital investments and the ability to consistently get their whisky to market. All blenders and distillers faced this issue, but they gathered too much stock and spent too much to keep up with other visible brands when they were not moving enough inventory. The demise of Pattisons' along with several different firms (that do not receive as much attention as Pattisons'), signals a period of decline and hesitancy by the industry. Or at least that is how the industry has portrayed this period; despite the failures of Pattisons', whisky blenders continued to advertise extensively with the frequent visibility of certain brands, contributing to a separate language for that brand around the brand's emerging personality.

²²⁴ "The Trouble in the Whisky Trade", *The Economist*, 10 December 1898. (From a Scottish Correspondent.) "The Scotch Whisky Crisis". *Times*, 13 January 1899, p. 10.

3.5 Buchanan's Polo player

This advertisement for James Buchanan & Co. appeared in the 16 May 1903 edition of the *Illustrated London News*, Fig3-9. This advertisement, in black and white, includes the firm's name and the central illustration of a polo match with the central rider about to strike the ball while a presumably black and white horse charges in our direction. Flanked to each side of the illustration are two images of bottles representing two of Buchanan's proprietary blends. At first glance, the advertisement contains the hallmarks of other Scotch whisky advertisements of the day, central hierarchy of the brand name, image of the bottles so that the consumer knew how an authentic bottle should be labelled, and a reference to the Royal Warrants granted to their blends. While the bottles themselves hint at the age of the whisky, Buchanan Blend, which is made up of "Best Selected Old Scotch Whisky," does not mention the firm's age. The narrative of Buchanan's association with the House of Commons blend and the employment of "Black & White" detailed by Hands capitalised on the associations Buchanan's perceived the public would make or have made with reference to their blends.²²⁵ While the advertisement for Fig3-9 employs these associations, the inclusion of the illustration represents a deliberate investment in the commissioning of the image and, likewise, a commitment to its use as part of a marketing campaign.

The illustration for Fig3-9 appears in the John Hughes, *A History of Scotch Whisky Advertising* and Jim Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, in full colour but neither author has much to say about it.²²⁶ This image is significant for establishing the lineage of the Black and White advertisements, a brand association that was achieved through the early 20th century, eventually evolving into the brand personality of two dogs of Scottish breeds, one black and one white. Hands discusses this in her chapter, stating that the black-and-white theme began as a representation of imperialism and was continually developed by Buchanan's to represent their brand.²²⁷ In Hughes's book on the history of Scotch whisky advertising, this image is included within an advertisement dated 1 May 1912, appearing in an edition of *The Bystander*.²²⁸ There is no commentary from Hughes on its significance, and all Murray has to say about it is that when the original art poster was registered in 1900 with the Public Record Office, Buchanan's had started a serious horse racing hobby.²²⁹ The fact that this

²²⁵ Hands, "Making Scotch Respectable," 69-92.

²²⁶ John Hughes, *Still Going Strong: A History of Whisky Advertising*. Stroud: History, 2009, 43. Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, 64.

²²⁷ Hands, "Making Scotch Respectable," 78.

²²⁸ Hughes, *Still Going Strong*, 43.

²²⁹ Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, 64.

was registered with the PRO is significant for recognising that this was considered an investment, and an effort was made to protect it for future use. This demonstrates that the investment in the illustration was utilised across promotional activity and periodicals from which Buchanan's extended its value by keeping it in circulation.

The artist, Alfred Chantrey Corbould, was a recognised illustrator who contributed to illustrated publications such as *Punch* and is known for his sporting equestrian illustrations.²³⁰ While the literature has established that firms such as Buchanan's were positioning their labels to be associated with the upper classes, the association with the House of Commons and the use of the by-name "Black and White" are not overtly connected to that level of society. The image of the polo match is not directed to a consumer who wants to be a polo player or believes they will be transported to a polo match by drinking Buchanan's whisky. Fig3-9 is an image of Britishness and wealth with origins to the British military in India.²³¹ This illustration, a polo player on a black and white horse, reflects the consumer that Buchanan's wanted to be associated with their blends. While the origins of polo are ancient, the game that is referenced in this image would have seemed modern as it developed in the late 19th century; it represented globalisation as polo clubs sprouted up around the world, but also in the association with the cavalry of the British military that had deep connections to the leisure of the country gentleman. Associations with the military are a significant theme that has received attention in previous examples, representing a substantial consumer to which Scotch whisky was directed. Regarding this advertisement and the association with the game of polo, it is not a game that the enlisted could play due to the expense of keeping horses. It is a statement of Buchanan's success by 1900; his black and white horse belonged there with the officers.

²³⁰ Alfred Chantrey Corbould, Late-Victorian Portraits Catalogue, The National Portrait Gallery, London, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/personExtended/mp01027/alfred-chantrey-corbould?tab=biography>

²³¹ History of Polo, The Polo Museum and Hall of Fame, <https://www.polo-museum.com/sport-polo/history-polo>

JAMES BUCHANAN & CO.
 Pure Malt Scotch Whisky Distillers.

BUCHANAN BLEND
 SCOTCH WHISKY

JAMES BUCHANAN & CO.
 DISTILLERS

H. M. THE KING
 and
 HUSBAND OF THE QUEEN

THE POPULAR SCOTCH IS "BLACK & WHITE"

JAMES BUCHANAN & CO.
 DISTILLERS

H. M. THE KING
 and
 HUSBAND OF THE QUEEN

Fig. 3.9 – James Buchanan & Co. "Black & White". Illustrated London News, 16 May 1903, p. 762. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

In the literature, emphasis has been placed on the history of Buchanan's and the House of Commons blend and how they used that association to gain brand awareness and advertising. The story of the black and white label reflected consumer behaviour. Adding this by-name to the label reflected the consumer's activity and response to their product to refer to this blend by that name. The significance of using pure malt scotch whisky to identify their blend represents the controversy in contemporary arguments between the growth of the blenders with grain distillers and the quality associated with malt distilling. Even though this blend very likely had significant compositions of grain whisky by emphasising pure malt whisky, it creates the impression of quality and prestige. Andrews discusses in *The Whisky Barons* how Buchanan constructed his blends intending to appeal to the London consumer.²³² This, of course, increases its value and is reinforced using imagery associated with the upper classes.

The polo player and the role of the spectator watching the match is another layer to represent and communicate the wealth and social standing of the intended consumer Buchanan's has directed this advertisement towards. This is a representation of leisure and connects the literature previously cited by Church and Richards on the visible changing consumption displays in Victorian society with further advertising literature by Leiss et al., stating:

The late-nineteenth-century elites consumed not to impress the Queen but to impress and distinguish themselves from others below them. Because the vast majority of people worked exceedingly hard to survive, one of the richest ways to illustrate superiority was indulging in the antithesis of work: leisure. The man of leisure does not mark his affluence by simply consuming more... his consumption undergoes a specialisation as regards the quality of the goods consumed. He consumes freely and of the best, in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, etc.²³³

In this way, the depictions in Scotch whisky advertisements for activities, from the polo player in this example to the connections to Highland sporting, all represented the link between Scotch whisky and the leisure of the upper class. Moving from the confines of strict class systems, advertising images for the American and Australian markets are discussed in the next section.

²³² Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, 7-39.

²³³ Leiss et al. et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 36.

3.6 From the Heath Covered Hills of Scotia – Dewar’s in Australia and the United States

The investment Buchanan made, discussed in the last section, to commission an illustration utilised across their promotion activity was also seen by Dewar’s in Section 3.2 with the “Whisky of his Forefathers”. This continued through the examples in this section, demonstrating a complex, sophisticated approach to promotion in the early twentieth century in home and export markets. The advertising examples in this chapter thus far have all appeared in periodical publications printed for a British audience. From the introduction chapter, it was established that the *ILN* was targeted at readers within Britain, but it is known that there was an extensive global readership that extended beyond the British Empire and included the United States. Although the examples from the *ILN* are useful for establishing a control of consistent Scotch whisky advertisements in periodicals, the advertisements in Fig3-10 and Fig3-11 expand the activity of one firm in periodicals specifically for the United States and Australia. Both examples in this section are for John Dewar & Sons Ltd., known familiarly by the early twentieth century as Dewar’s. Fig3-10 is an advertisement in the *Buffalo Evening News* in Buffalo, New York, on 16 August 1901. Fig3-11 is an advertisement in the Australian paper *The Bulletin*, which appeared on 24 December 1908.

The advertisement for Fig3-10 promoted the sale of Dewar’s Old Highland Scotch Whisky and a special event featuring the brand’s whisky. Following the spectacle created by erecting exhibition displays, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Dewar’s employed the same tactic as they built a model of a Scottish house. This was not just any house but was meant to represent the setting for the Sir Walter Scott novel *The Fair Maid of Perth*. The novel has been regarded as published at the height of Scott’s career in 1828 and, therefore, would be widely known among readers of his work and popular books.²³⁴ The advertisement explains that visitors to the display could receive a souvenir book of Scott’s work and discuss Dewar’s whisky with the attendants inside the house. The copy text refers to “The Whisky of his Forefathers”, the widely distributed and regarded advertisement Fig3-5, and through the invocation of the *Fair Maid of Perth*, reinforces the brand’s connection to Perth in Scotland. This advertisement demonstrates continued activity by the firm to conduct maintenance to the brand equity established in the 1890s through repetition. The advertisement also reveals more about the promotional activity

²³⁴ “The Fair Maid of Perth,” Edinburgh University Library, walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/fairmaid.html, last updated 19 December 2011.

conducted by Dewar's and its strategies in export markets. In the first instance, the site of the display house is notable. It was constructed in the hotel gardens of the Park Hotel in Buffalo, New York, and it is mentioned in its proximity to the entrance to the Pan-American. This is significant because the Pan-American Exposition took place between 1 May and 2 November 1901. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that exhibitions had a significant role as a strategy by Scotch whisky brands to present their product to consumers. The Pan-American Exposition was not like other global exhibitions and was, in fact, limited to participation by exhibitors within the Western Hemisphere.²³⁵ This means that Dewar's undertook a strategy to take advantage of the influx of visitors to Buffalo, and despite not being able to participate within the grounds of the official exposition, they were able to situate themselves in a nearby garden hotel. For those unable to attend the display in Buffalo, instructions are included within the advertisement to apply by post for the souvenir copy of the book, which no doubt included reminders of Dewar's whisky.

The advertisement reveals information about the distribution of Dewar's whisky in America. At the bottom of the page is the name Frederick Glassup with a New York City address and the identification as the Sole U.S. Agent. This means that Glassup handled all the activities to negotiate the distribution of Dewar's whisky in America. The Scotch whisky firm and agent relationship has not widely been evidenced in the past with the literature focusing on the role of the entrepreneur's sales missions. Due to this lack of information, the role of agents in conducting promotional activities has been limited. In this case, based on the information about Frederick Glassup from his 1948 obituary in the New York Times, it is explained that his arrival in America in 1895 was directed by Dewar's as he worked as a representative of the firm until 1919.²³⁶ This shows a calculated approach to the American market to manage distribution and promotion with a trusted representative and presumably one who received direct instruction in developing brand strategies.

²³⁵ *The Pan-American Official Catalogue and Guide to the Pan-American Exposition with maps of exposition and illustrations*, Buffalo, NY: Charles Ahrhart, 1901, 5.

²³⁶ "Fredrick Glassup's Obituary," NYTimes (1923-) February 19, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, pg. 23.

THE LAND OF THE HEATHER
 has specially imported and erected in the beautiful
 Summer Garden of the Park View Hotel, a model of the



HOUSE OF THE FAIR MAID OF PERTH

Park Hotel Delaware Ave. entrance Pan-American. In the old-fashioned parlor you can revive the memories of those stirring times. Obtain a Souvenir Book by Scott, 500 pp. (or send 25c to N. Y. address, same will be sent postpaid) and talk with the attendants about

Dewar's Old Highland Scotch Whisky

The whisky of our forefathers, which helped to produce their mighty sinews and subtle brains. Dewar will brace you up and steady your nerves for the rush and tear in this work-a-day world. It will nourish and satisfy you.

FREDERICK GLASSUP, SOLE U. S. AGENT,
 126 Bleecker St., New York, N.Y.

Fig. 3.10 – John Dewar & Sons Ltd. “The Land of the Heather”. The Buffalo Evening News, 16 August 1901. Buffalo, New York, United States.

DECEMBER 24, 1908. *The Bulletin.* 25

**DEWAR'S
'IMPERIAL'
WHISKY**

THE FINEST
Old Siqueur Whisky

IMPERIAL INSTANT
8 West End Club
John Dewar & Sons Ltd
DISTILLERS FROM SCOTLAND & LONDON

FROM THE HEATH-COVERED HILLS OF SCOTIA I COME

Fig. 3.11 – John Dewar & Sons Ltd. “Dewar’s ‘Imperial’ Whisky”. *The Bulletin*, 24 December 1908, p. 25. Vol. 29 No. 1506. The National Library of Australia Trove Digital Archive, John Haynes, and J. F. Archibald, 1880-1984.

The advertisement in Fig3-10 appealed to any consumer with an interest in nostalgia or romantic associations with Scotland through the display of the house, the association with the whisky, and the connection made with Sir Walter Scott. The example for Fig3-11 appeals with similar associations to the usage of thistles, heather, and an illustration of Scotland's landscape, but it makes a greater connection to the Scottish diaspora in Australia and to consumers who were familiar with old Scottish songs like those utilised by military regiments. The bottle name for the whisky advertised also reveals the complexity of the development of brands for Scotch whisky, with the American market promoting "Dewar's Old Highland Scotch Whisky" and in Australia, this advertisement promoting "Dewar's 'Imperial' Whisky" this shows a conscious action to target associations for the primary consumers in these markets. The word 'Imperial' did not have the same positive connotation in America as it would have had in Australia at the time of advertising. Further to this, at the bottom of the advertisement is the phrase "From the heath-covered hills of Scotia I come", which is a phrase that J&J Grant Glen Grant Distillers previously used and seen in the 1888 trademark in Fig3-2.²³⁷

This phrase is a lyric from a song called "In the Garb of Old Gaul," which is derived from the late eighteenth century and is about Celtic descendants fighting against the French.²³⁸ The song is more widely known as a slow march used by several Scottish regiments, most famously the 42nd Regiment or Black Watch. The origins of the song and the regiment both arose during the eighteenth century, with the Black Watch becoming famous for their involvement in the American Revolution (1775-83) and by the Victorian period, they fought in Crimea (1854-56) and most recently to the advertising publication the Boer War (1899-1902).²³⁹ The Black Watch was also the county regiment for Perthshire, linking its home origins with those of Dewar's of Perth. In this way, Dewar's reinforces links to familiar information that would be publicised in the news and knowledge of those associated with Scottish regiments, the wider British Army, Perthshire and the Highlands. Both advertisements represent a broader strategy employed by Dewar's to associate their brand with visual and cultural symbols of Scotland that could appeal to a variety of consumers' knowledge of and association with Scotland.

²³⁷ This raises a question about the validity for trademarks by the Scotch whisky industry utilising cultural associations and highlights questions about the emulation of phrases and images in advertising images which are unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.

²³⁸ T. M. Mudie, "In the Garb of Old Gaul," in *The Songs of Scotland adapted to their appropriate melodies*, Edinburgh: Wood & Co., 1856, 112-113.

²³⁹ "The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders)," National Army Museum, <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/black-watch-royal-highlanders>, Accessed 22 November 2023.

3.7 Usher's Whisky

An advertisement for Usher's whisky, Fig3-12, illustrates the points that the Scotch whisky marketing literature has made about the effort to associate brands with quality. This advertisement appeared in the Illustrated London News on 18 September 1909. It included a statement from the firm regarding their assertion that Scotch whisky should be made from quality spirits that are pure, and they associate this claim with their blend by including an anonymous but "well-known" Edinburgh analytical laboratory statement regarding the composition of their blend. This example from Andrew Usher & Co. illustrates several ways to communicate the brand name with quality. The first prominent example is that the brand name is in the largest font printed on a flourish that resembles a parchment scroll. This reference to history continues with heraldic shields, proclaiming the brand's reputation for nearly a century in the home market and over half a century in the colonial and international markets. This invocation of history and age is consistent with tropes used widely by the Scotch whisky industry, as evidenced by Morgan in his article on the significance of business archives and the patterns of history as a theme in whisky marketing.²⁴⁰ Using an illustration not attached to a trademark has also been utilised to reinforce this theme.

²⁴⁰ Nicholas Morgan, "Born 1990, Still Going Strong: Setting up the United Distillers' Archive," in *Business Archives Principles and Practice*, London: Business Archives Council, No. 63, May 1992.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, SEPT. 18, 1909. 405

Usher's Whisky



Nearly a century's Reputation in Great Britain

Over half a century's Reputation in the Colonies and Abroad

The full charm and delicacy of the finest Scotch Whisky is only to be found in Whisky that is of absolute purity. The purity of Usher's Whisky has been certified by leading Physicians and Analysts. Here is the result of an exacting test by a well-known Analytical and Consulting Chemist :

"Analytical Laboratory, Edinburgh.
"I have made a careful chemical analysis of
"Andrew Usher & Co's Old Vatted Glenlivet " Whisky"
"(a blend of Glenlivet and other Whiskies) sampled by
"me from stock in sealed cases ready for delivery from
"Warehouse, and find such to be of excellent quality,
"being thoroughly matured and free from objectionable
"products. It is a very pure Spirit, and either with
"ordinary or aerated water forms a highly palatable
"and wholesome beverage.
"Stevenson Macadam, F.I.C., F.C.S."
Analytical and Consulting Chemist.

These are the qualities which have spread the fame of Usher's Whisky throughout the World.

ANDREW USHER & CO. DISTILLERS, EDINBURGH.
London & Export Agents: Frank Bailey & Co., 59, Mark Lane, E.C.

PURITY

Fig. 3.12 – Andrew Usher & Co. "Usher's Whisky". Illustrated London News, 18 September 1909, p. 405. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

Filling a substantial position within the advertisement is the illustration of a woman in a style influenced by the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and Alphonse Mucha, she is barefoot, with swirling fabric draped on her body as a Grecian statue come to life, she clutches an armful of harvested barley to her chest.²⁴¹ These elements reinforce the connection to the past through a personification of purity, and the word echoed at the bottom corner of the advert as a reminder of this link before turning the page. Associated with ideas of an idealised rural life, where things like whisky-making were believed to be simpler and purer, through this advertisement and illustration, Andrew Usher & Co. wants the consumer to link the age of the firm with the heritage of the industry and with ideas of purity in the grain used for distilling. Notably, with so many elements to invoke the past, this illustration does not use the specific themes of Scottish iconography. Instead, this illustration is influenced by the art nouveau style seen in contemporary advertisements.²⁴² Murray includes a similar advertisement from 23 July 1908 registered with the British Public Record Office, for Buchanan's "Black & White" contains similarly apparelled women crowning a bottle of "Black & White" whisky with a garland of grain.²⁴³ The design similarity can tell us what consumers Usher and Buchanan wanted. They wanted to appeal to people within society who would be familiar with this visual language within consumer culture. This connects to the literature from Hands as to the industry's approach to making Scotch whisky "respectable" for the English market, and this example is particularly directed to those familiar with continental advertisements for French brands.²⁴⁴

The message that Fig3-12 communicates with the viewer is a designed connection between quality and the brand name, as the literature deems critical to the marketing of Scotch whisky. This satisfies the literature insofar as entrepreneurs used advertisements to associate their name with quality, but the relevance is greater than that. It illustrated the trade activity in reinforcing brand associations and addressing perceived behaviour or concerns by the consumer. More than that, if we consider that this association as an effective tool for marketing is not fully formed at conception but develops over time and responds, as Duguid points to pressures and interests, we must consider what these were to

²⁴¹ The Pre-Raphaelites such as Edward Burnes-Jones and Frederick Leighton frequently painted women with Grecian-like drapery, and the painting by Frederick Leighton titled *Flaming June* c. 1895 was first owned by The Graphic illustrated magazine, which gives an indication of the familiarity with this style of art in wider illustrated periodicals during this time.

²⁴² Examples of alcohol beverage advertisements that may have influenced the design of Fig. 1 includes the work of Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939) c. 1899 for Moët and Chandon, Cognac Bisquit, and Trappiste.

²⁴³ Giovanni Barbaro, for Buchanan's "Black & White", 23 July 1908, PRO Reference: COPY 1/3 15i f 352, appears in Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, 59.

²⁴⁴ Hands, "Making Scotch Respectable,"

cause the advertisement to be constructed in this way.

In 1909, when Fig3-12 was published, it is possible to understand the motivation for this messaging based on the tensions in the industry that had been simmering as the popularity and dominance of blended whiskies grew. The blenders had to overcome and position their advertising and brands to support the idea that blending was a legitimate practice and that their names guaranteed quality. While it is not possible in this study to go into depth about the complexities of what led to the 1909 “What is Whisky? case”, it is significant that while this debate occurred, the public witnessed it, and there was the potential for ramifications to the industry.²⁴⁵ Ultimately, it gave legitimacy to the definition of whisky distilled by either pot still or column still and as long as it was made in Scotland, it could be referred to as Scotch whisky, which was a positive outcome for the whisky blenders. This visible influence on the power of Scotch whisky advertisements to contribute to brand awareness and equity is discussed further in the next section, acknowledging the significance of advertising for the English market and how advertisements signal change in the industry.

²⁴⁵ Andrews, *Whisky Barons*, 87. Burns, *Bad Whisky*, 40-42. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 136-138. Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 1-61. Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, 136-152.

3.8 Scottish, English, and British – Buchanan and Dewar

The two advertising examples in this section from Buchanan and Dewar continue to illustrate themes established in this chapter for the development of Scotch whisky illustrated advertisements. Chiefly, the investment in dynamic pictorial advertising that could be utilised in illustrated magazines, such as posters, trade cards, and collectable prints, and to make these appealing to the English market. This thesis echoes the work of Hands, which demonstrated the anglicisation of the English market and, by extension, the Empire by creating cultural value for Scotch whisky and cultivating brand value to maintain consumer interest. As Hands has said, this motivated the movement away from the intoxicant function of spirits to promote more contemporary social values.²⁴⁶ The purpose of including these examples for Fig3-13 and Fig3-14 is to offer two complimentary but contrasting approaches by the then London-based blenders to emphasise cultural associations, but more importantly, they are situated in a pivotal moment in the industry and signpost changes in the industry. Both advertisements appeared in 1913 editions of the *ILN* and were a part of marketing campaigns that created a series of illustrated prints that the consumer could collect. The illustrations reflected popular culture that both companies were counting on for the association with their brands.

The small victory of the blenders in 1909 with the final judgement in the “What is Whisky? Case,” that accepted the blending of neutral grain spirits from column stills with spirits made from pot stills in Scotland as Scotch whisky was short-lived by the Government’s 1909-10 budget.²⁴⁷ While it is beyond this thesis's scope to fully discuss the reception of this budget among the whisky industry or the relationship between the rate of duty on whisky and the Temperance movement, it was a significant point that directed activity in the industry.²⁴⁸ In Craig’s industry record, he notes that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, raised the duty paid on Scotch whisky per gallon from 3s. 9d. to 14s. 9d, with a source predicting the end of the industry as a result.²⁴⁹ To understand the significance of this increase, the purchasing power and currency conversion have been examined in 1910 14s. 9d. was equivalent to two days' wages for skilled tradesmen and was equivalent in 2017 to paying £57.65 per gallon of whisky.²⁵⁰ The impact of this budget

²⁴⁶ Hands, “Making Scotch Respectable,” 81.

²⁴⁷ UK Parliament, “New directions, new taxes,” <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/taxation/overview/newtaxes/>, Accessed 23 November 2023.

²⁴⁸ Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, 88-91. Moss and Hume, *Making Scotch Whisky*, 138. Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 117-140.

²⁴⁹ Craig, *Scotch whisky industry record*, 193.

²⁵⁰ The National Archive’s currency converter 1270-2017 was utilised in determining the equivalence, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>.

had two major consequences for the industry, which involved the cooperation of firms through amalgamation and the prioritisation of exports. The process of amalgamation and the impact of the outbreak of WWI have been examined in the literature; the following paragraph identifies why Buchanan and Dewar's were suited to move towards amalgamation and how the advertisements illustrate this before the following section addresses advertisements during the war.

Following the 1909 budget, Craig reports that the firms Buchanan, Walker, and Dewar's were negotiating a merger of their companies, but it was not settled at that time.²⁵¹ Then, on the eve of WWI, Buchanan and Dewar made agreements for a merger that was announced in March 1915; a holding company was created with a capital of £5 million; both points of negotiation were marked by Craig, who received this information by the privately circulated DCL Gazette.²⁵² This hints at the continued amalgamations that occurred in the industry and will be addressed briefly in the next chapter, but at this point, the motivations for amalgamation meant the possibility of joining capital, reducing costs, and decreasing competition. The advertisements for Fig3-13 and Fig3-14 demonstrate how Buchanan and Dewar were operating in a complementary fashion while still competitors. They utilised similar tactics in advertising strategies but, by the time of their amalgamation, had been able to create distinctive brand identities.


²⁵¹ Craig, *Scotch whisky industry record*, 193.

²⁵² Craig, *Scotch whisky industry record*, 202.

BUCHANAN'S WHISKIES

"BLACK & WHITE" and "RED SEAL"

ALWAYS THE HIGHEST QUALITY.



Diogenes Series: No. 7. The CHEERYBLE BROTHERS —"Nicholas Nickleby"

"A beautiful spirit, brother Charles."
"None better, brother Ned."

Fig. 3.13 – James Buchanan & Co. "Buchanan's Whiskies 'Black & White' and 'Red Seal'". Illustrated London News, 26 April 1913, p. 575. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.



Fig. 3.14 – John Dewar & Sons Ltd. "John Dewar & Sons, Ltd". Illustrated London News, 19 April 1913, p. 529. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

Fig3-13 and Fig3-14 demonstrate the epoch of the efforts of Scotch whisky firms to establish themselves as a drink outside of Scotland and to achieve a place within the wider society of Britain and the Empire. They complement each other because they utilise the same strategy to associate their spirit and label with popular culture, inserting their whisky into those associations and through collectable prints directly into the interior space of a Scotch consumer, but they use cultural symbols that can be understood as national for England through Dickens, and Scotland with Rob Roy, but both compressed into British culture. By 1913, both Buchanan and Dewar had established offices in London, with Buchanan influencing the association with their London office location with Charles Dickens and how Dewar's associated their advertisements with Perth. Buchanan purchased the Black Swan Distillery in Holborn and made this his headquarters; historically, it was an old coaching inn and featured in Dickens' 1841 *Barnaby Rudge*.²⁵³ The illustration series for Buchanan's was commissioned by the illustrator Frank Reynolds (1876-1953), who was known for his illustrations of Dickens' novels and was a contributor for illustrations to the *ILN* and *Punch*.²⁵⁴ Similarly, Fig3-14 is part of a series of Famous Scots, in this case, Rob Roy by the Glasgow-trained artist Joseph Simpson, R.B.A. (1879-1939).²⁵⁵ Using these illustrations, both companies associate their whisky with widely known cultural references that were popular across the Empire; they illustrate their distinctiveness as national symbols but are also unified by their acceptance as wider British culture. This type of popular culture is emblematic of this period in history, and the literature for advertising marks it as a distinction that changes over time.²⁵⁶ As Scotch whisky advertisements continue to develop in this thesis and are marketed with easy-to-understand popular culture, the power Dickens and Rob Roy had to influence positive cultural associations for these whisky brands will diminish. For now, the most substantial conclusion is that by 1913, Scotch whisky was a fixture in London and had expanded the symbols of Scotland in its promotional tool kit. The next section discusses the continuation of this development with the WWI advertisements for John Walker & Sons using their 'Striding Man' brand personality.

²⁵³ Andrews, *Whisky Barons*, 34-35.

²⁵⁴ "Frank Reynolds," The British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG43483>, Accessed 23 November 2023.

²⁵⁵ "Joseph W. Simpson," ArtUk, <https://artuk.org/discover/artists/simpson-joseph-w-18791939>, Accessed 23 November 2023.

²⁵⁶ T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*, New York: Basic Books, 1994, 283.

3.9 The Striding Man Goes to War – Johnnie Walker

This chapter has, in sum, chronicled the development of Scotch whisky advertisements for brands of Scotch whisky appealing to consumers outside Scotland. Scotch whisky companies utilised pictorial advertisements to communicate with consumers on their named brand bottle labels that their spirit was of high quality and was part of an elevated social culture. Through this effort, some brands were able to utilise frequent advertising to build equity with consumers and develop specific brand associations. This especially culminated in the examples from the last section for Buchanan and Dewar. In recognising this achievement to create popular brand associations for Scotch whisky, this thesis has not mentioned the ‘Striding Man’ and the significance of John Walker & Sons in the history of Scotch whisky advertising. This figure's neglect is partly due to the prevalence of literature already focused on the impact of their advertising not only in the Scotch whisky industry but the wider history of advertising.²⁵⁷ Another reason for this is that similar to the other Whisky Barons (Buchanan and Dewar) who advertised extensively during this periodisation; it would be easy to devote a significant amount of focus to just John Walker & Sons and neglect the role of development and change in the advertising of other contemporary firms. The examples in this section for Fig3-15 and Fig3-16, which appeared in the ILN in 1915, represent the creation of a brand personality for Walker’s as well as demonstrating how advertising changed with the outbreak of WWI.

As demonstrated by the examples for Buchanan’s Scotch whisky labels, as Scotch whisky was widely accepted as a drink within a broader British culture, some brands developed identities that emerged without obvious association with Scotland. Another example is the firm of John Walker & Sons, whose success in the late nineteenth century was built on the association of the firm’s name. The literature details Walker's efforts to establish their trade in much the same way as Dewar and Buchanan, but they showed hesitancy in advertising in the same way. However, by 1908, efforts were made to create a distinct figure representing the brand in national advertising campaigns.²⁵⁸ The figure of the ‘Striding Man’ was produced by collaboration, though Morgan details that the chain of responsibility is unclear; however, it was a sophisticated effort to create an icon for the

²⁵⁷ See: Morgan, *A Long Stride* Hughes, *A History of Scotch whisky advertising*, Moss & Hume, *The Making of Scotch whisky*.

²⁵⁸ This effort to develop the brand John Walker & Sons into clear association with the popularisation of the brand’s whisky with the shorthand ‘Johnnie Walker’ and a distinct figure that could represent the brand identity in national advertising campaigns is detailed by Morgan in his chapter “The Birth of Johnnie Walker”. Morgan, *A Long Stride*, 123-139.

brand.²⁵⁹ The advertising reinforced the connection of the figure to the brand, eschewing the traditional Highland dress; this figure in 1820s dress, conveniently the same year as the firm's beginnings, connected with ideas of the past and those of the English gentry. However, he still fits in the Scottish landscape, deployed into curling and other sporting activity scenes.

The outbreak of WWI caused an unprecedented dilemma for advertisers of commodities and luxury goods. There were concerns about the privatisation of the advertising industry and whether it was appropriate during wartime for goods to be promoted and detract from news of the war effort. The examples in Fig3-15 and Fig3-16 demonstrate how advertisers coped with the challenges of wartime advertising. Brands and advertising agencies were concerned that the equity built over the last decades would be lost when the war ended. Johnnie Walker solved this problem because they maintained the visibility of the brand's personality, but they also enlisted the "Striding Man" in a patriotic mission. Richards demonstrates that the development of commodity culture trained consumers to read the pictorial language of brands, which made it possible for wartime propaganda to emerge through advertisements.²⁶⁰ Utilising the developments of psychological appeal in advertisements, the designers could use these pictorial advertisements in newspapers and magazines to call for recruitment and appeal to readers to support the war effort.²⁶¹ Fig3-15 deploys the "Striding Man" to meet a soldier from New Zealand; in this way, the brand is acknowledging both the New Zealander's service to join the British forces in the war, but it also hints through their greeting the long-standing export presence of Johnnie Walker in New Zealand. In this way, the advertisement is patriotic and subtly celebrates the success and reach of the brand.

²⁵⁹ Morgan, *A Long Stride*, 132.

²⁶⁰ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 253.

²⁶¹ Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, 45.

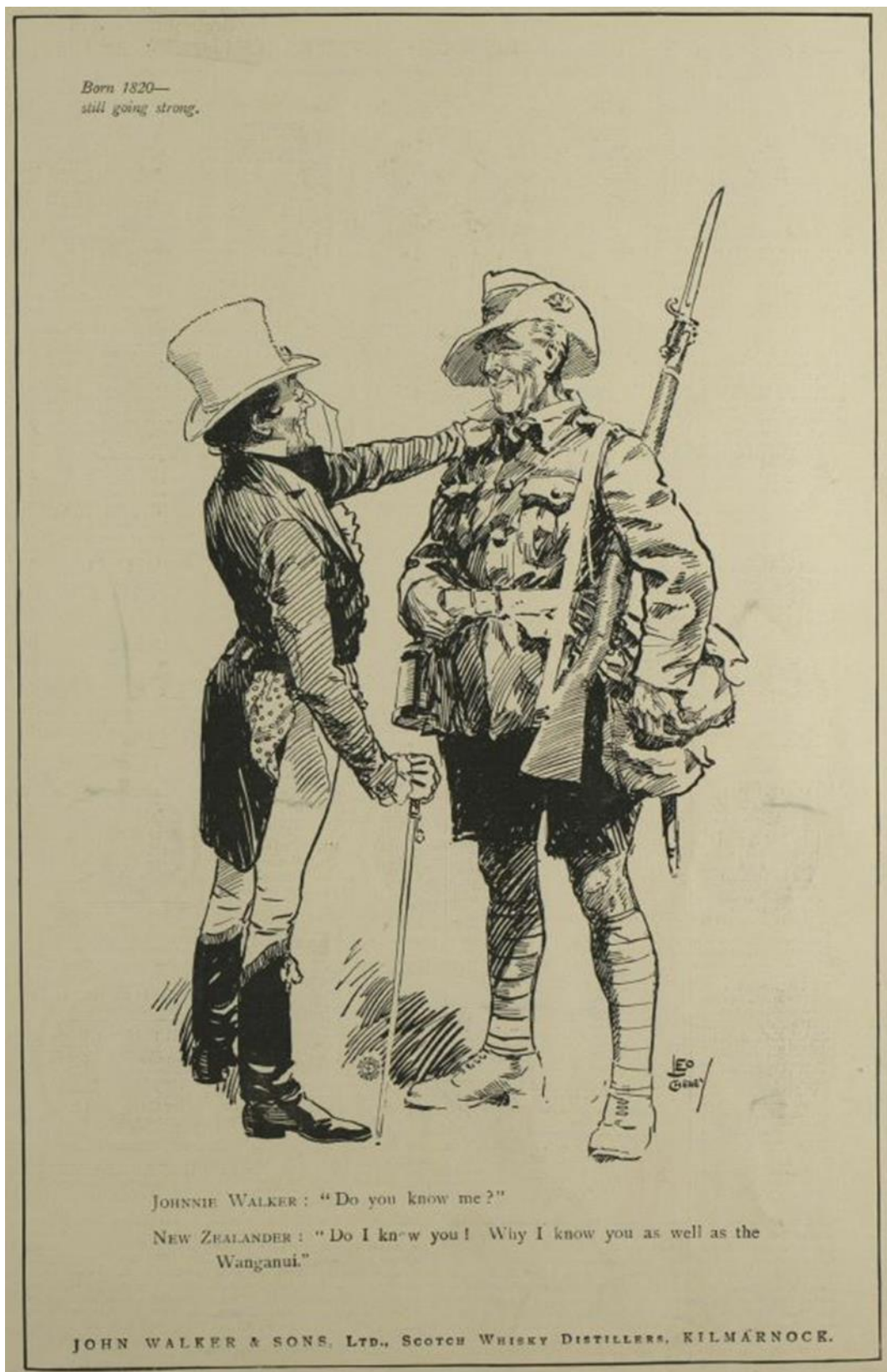


Fig. 3.15 – John Walker & Sons, Ltd. "Meeting the New Zealander". Illustrated London News, 23 October 1915, p. 537. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

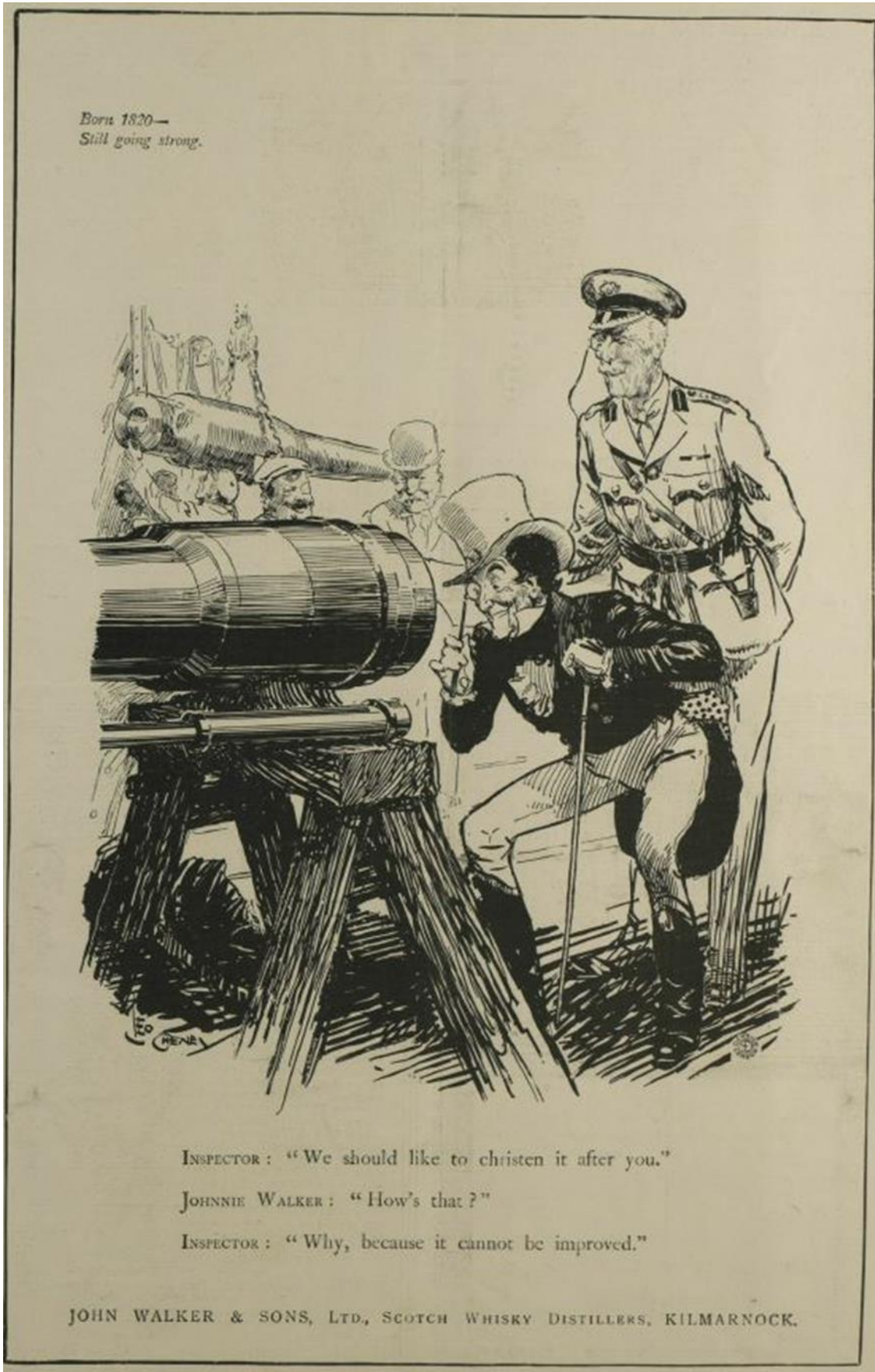


Fig. 3.16 – John Walker & Sons, Ltd. “Inspecting the Armaments”. Illustrated London News, 18 September 1915, p. 379. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The advertisement for Fig3-16 continues to employ the “Striding Man” in patriotic duty; here, he is seen inspecting armaments. The copy text conversation between the officer giving the tour of weapons and the “Striding Man” makes light of the inspection to make an association of the quality of the whisky with the quality of the munitions. While this can be understood as an association between the excellence of the spirits and the desire to maintain the visibility of the brand’s equity in the minds of consumers, it can also be interpreted with a deeper meaning that reflected the contemporary debates around the distilling industry during the war and the impact of alcohol on the war effort.

The efforts to build armaments for the war effort were criticised, with fault placed on the worker's apparent drunkenness, which hindered their productivity. Coupling this blame with the need to preserve grain for foodstuffs, the Government sought to intervene in the distilling industry to support the war effort through prohibition, the cessation of distilling, and considered nationalisation. The Scotch whisky literature details the developments of Government control of the industry with the efforts of James Stevenson, Managing Director of John Walker & Sons and W. H. Ross, Managing Director of DCL, to prevent nationalisation and to influence the government’s decisions regarding distilling activity.²⁶² Stevenson and Ross exerted influence that justified the continuation of distilling as critical to the war effort, specifically for the by-products of distilling that had several purposes, from bread making in the case of yeast to the utility of alcohol in munitions manufacturing. Ultimately, control came from the Central Liquor Control Board and the Ministry of Munitions, which stipulated the minimum age of spirit for consumption to prevent detrimental intoxication, the licensing of distilleries to operate, and price-fixing. As the war continued, this saw further restrictions. From June 1916, all grain distilleries ceased whisky production and could only make industrial spirits; in June 1917, all pot-still distilling was banned, and from 1918, exports were prohibited so that remaining whisky stocks could be preserved.²⁶³ Though the advertising examples leading into the war demonstrate a familiar conviviality for the brand, the outlook at the war's end seemed bleak. Yet, the industry continued, as did advertising.

²⁶² Andrews, *Whisky Barons*, 92-93. Lockhart, *Scotch*, 138-141. Wilson, *Scotch Its Formative Years*, 168-242.

²⁶³ Craig, *Scotch whisky industry record*, 202-208. Moss and Hume, *Making Scotch Whisky*, 144-145.

3.10 Chapter 3: Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that the emergence of visual Scotch whisky advertisements in newspapers and magazines coincided with the success of Scotch whisky as a beverage outside of Scotland. The limited literature has emphasised the role of entrepreneurs, the quality of the spirit, and the significance of changed perceptions for the imbibement of Scotch whisky. However, it has not examined the role of advertisements in this development. The examples analysed in this chapter confirm the factors emphasised by the literature through their illustrations and copy text, but they also contribute to the literature by illustrating further factors in Scotch whisky's success. This thesis argues that across the twenty-eight years of this chapter, the fundamental initiative for advertisers was to sell the quality of the spirit and define whisky as Scotch whisky. Initially, this relied on the Victorian perceptions of Scotland by using Scottish symbols and associations. As the presence of Scotch whisky in Britain and the Colonies grew, it evolved to represent Scotch whisky's place among the produce and society of the British Empire. Beyond demonstrating an image of Scotch whisky during this period, the advertisements give further insight into the pressures on the industry. This shows the tensions between competing stakeholders in the industry, the problems the industry fought to protect against, the development of Scotch whisky brands, and the impact on the industry because of WWI.

The arrival of illustrated Scotch whisky advertisements established the intentional usage of symbols associated with Scotland to quickly communicate the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky, designed to demonstrate it as a distinct beverage. This was achieved in the first instance with the decision by companies to designate their Scotch whiskies with names linked to Scotland and Scottish culture, incorporate them into the illustration of registered trademarks, and finally bring them to life in promotion. This was manifested in plural ways with plural meanings, such as the iconography of kilted highlanders linking to noteworthy sites of distillation, which in turn linked the spirit in the glass with the quality produced in those regions, as well as the popular culture of Victorian Scotland through Scottish sport and literature and art. Scotch whisky was already transforming when illustrated advertisements appeared in magazines and newspapers, which may account for their neglect in the literature. This is significant because when advertisements emerged in the 1890s, they proclaimed the presence of Scotch whisky in London and beyond with illustrations and text that demonstrated Scotch whisky was no longer solely for consumption in Scotland but represented its place within British society.

This was visible in the examples from Fig3-7 for Uam Var, from the image of British veterans to the tagline (and title of this chapter) proclaiming Uam-Var and Scotch whisky as “the universal drink” and extends to Fig3-9 the image of the polo player for James Buchanan & Co., to Fig3-13 the association by Buchanan’s with Charles Dickens, and finally in Fig3-15 and Fig3-16 for John Walker & Sons’ patriotic British military advertisements. While Scotch whisky advertisements demonstrated this imperial context, they did not completely shed the usage of or need for the iconography of Scotland, with the advertisements for John Dewar & Sons demonstrating this complexity. Fig3-5, Fig3-9, Fig3-10, and Fig3-13 demonstrate how Dewar’s reinforced the popular culture of Scotland with their brand in both the Home and the Export markets. In this way, Scotch whisky had a dual meaning as a national beverage for Scotland and Britain, but it was also increasingly being defined by a brand identity that intrinsically linked the product to its geographical home.

This cultivation of brand identity is one of the ways that advertisements illustrate the pressures on the industry and how companies responded. Increasing competition and repetition of a canon of Scottish signs led companies to expand the imagery utilised to call attention to their brand name. The advertisement in Fig3-8 for Buchanan’s Black & White whisky demonstrates this by using the black and white horse with the polo player. This created a visual link to repeat the colour of the horse and the label of whisky, but it also reinforced the connection with the segment of society who played and spectated at polo matches, embedding Scotch whisky into the occasion. Examined later in Chapter Five, Buchanan’s Black & White whisky developed a brand personality in Fig3-9 that emerged from this early exploration of the usage of animals and colour to associate with their brand. Fig3-14 and Fig3-15 further illustrate the development of brand identity through a symbol. By 1918, this was achieved with the recognition of the ‘Striding Man’ figure as the identity of the brand of Johnnie Walker Scotch whisky. By 1918, the frequency and popularity of Scotch whisky blended brands emphasised their brand names over the ‘Scotch’ in Scotch whisky, compressing their brands to stand for Scotch whisky in the minds of consumers.

Advertisements during this period demonstrate the changing meaning of Scotch whisky and represent how the industry chose illustrations to define what they wanted consumers to understand about the spirit and reflected what the industry thought about themselves. This represents a conscious action in utilising signs to communicate and extends beyond defining Scotch whisky and Scotch whisky consumers, but by using advertisements as a kind of text, it has made visible pressures on the industry and the actions the whisky

companies took in response. The advertisement in Fig3-11 demonstrates the links between advertising a brand of whisky and commenting on contemporary events and tension within the industry. Fears of adulteration in food and drinks, the confusion among consumers about what Scotch whisky was, be it pot distilled or blended, and the motivations of the industry to protect their interests led stakeholders in the industry to use advertisements to call attention to their perspectives and persuade them to their side. The advertisements for Johnnie Walker with the ‘Striding Man’ meeting and inspecting the military in Fig3-14 and Fig3-15 also represented how the industry demonstrated tensions in the industry with these illustrations taking a comical approach to the unprecedented pressure on the industry while keeping their brand visible to consumers.

While the advertisements in this chapter have revealed aspects of the Scotch whisky trade’s activity in response to retail and production challenges, the examples have overwhelmingly skewed to present the industry as successful and stoic. It does not show the tension behind the scenes with the whisky boom of the 1890s, the crash discussed in section 3.4, the industry’s efforts to rationalise, and the impact these events had exacerbated by WWI. The pressure on the Scotch whisky industry contributed to a dramatic change in the organisation and structure of the Scotch whisky industry and has been discussed in the literature, emphasising the difficulty this period was for the industry’s survival.²⁶⁴ In some ways, these tensions are reflected in the changes to advertising explored in the next chapter, but before moving on, a brief discussion follows how the companies of John Robertson & Sons and Innes and Grieve fared during the war. Where advertisements examined for this chapter portrayed a steady decorum in response to the outbreak of war, articles and reports on the industry indicate why these brands retracted from advertising in the periodicals consulted.

The firm of John Robertson & Sons Dundee had, by the early 1890s, established an extensive network of distribution of their Scotch whisky internationally. The success and scale of the firm’s activity are detailed in two sources, the 1893 article “Dundee and Whisky Distilling”, which appeared in the *Ludgate Illustrated Magazine*, and an entry from a souvenir industry insert inside *The Morning Post*, both appear in the facsimile edition of Alfred Barnard’s 1891, *A Visit to Watson’s Dundee Whisky Store*.²⁶⁵ While at the

²⁶⁴ Daiches, *Scotch whisky*, 111-113. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 141-146. MacKenzie & Perchard, “Behind the ‘tartan curtain’,” 7-9. Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 231-242.

²⁶⁵ “Dundee and Whisky Distilling,” *The Ludgate Illustrated Magazine* Nov. 1893- Oct. 1895, vol 6 Nov. 1893, eds. Philip May and A. M. De Beck, London, 295-303. Aaron Barker, *A Visit to Watson’s Dundee Whisky*

beginning of the 1890s, JRD, as they were known by their trademark, were at the forefront of advertising with illustrations, as discussed in Fig3-3 and Fig3-4, but by the end of WWI, they were absorbed into the business of the Distiller Company Limited. Moss and Hume, and Wilson mention their purchase by DCL but as little more than a line with their Speyside Coleburn-Glenlivet distillery purchased within a more extensive programme of rationalisation.²⁶⁶ JRD, unfortunately, lost inventory and suffered property damage at their Dundee whisky bond in the 1906 Dundee fire that began at a neighbouring whisky store owned by James Watson & Co.²⁶⁷ It was reported in the *Aberdeen Press & Journal* that the loss of stock was between £50-60,000, which, when calculated to contemporary purchasing power, equals between £4-5 million.²⁶⁸ While this was a significant loss to the business, their international trade continued, but by 1915, pressures from Temperance movements in Canada, a decline in sales, and finally challenges with the outbreak of war saw closures begin for their Canadian branches, London office, and reconstruction of the company's capital.²⁶⁹ Hughes's writing on JRD in connection to the DCL archive suggests that John Walker & Sons Ltd purchased JRD with DCL in 1915; at the time of writing, a source to confirm this has not been found.²⁷⁰

Innes and Grieve Ltd felt the upheaval of WWI directly with the destruction of their warehouses in Leith during a 1916 zeppelin attack at Leith Docks in Edinburgh. This incident is detailed by the National Records of Scotland and an article in *The Scotsman* newspaper, which adds that the warehouses were not insured, and the firm suffered £44,000 in loss.²⁷¹ Where the Scotch whisky literature mentions John Robertson & Son within the rationalisation activity, there is no mention of Innes and Grieve Ltd. and what remained of the business after the war. However, Murray mentions in an entry describing one of their advertising posters that the Drambuie liqueur company absorbed the brand into their portfolio and took possession of the Innes and Grieve offices in Edinburgh.²⁷² The Uam Var name and trademark for Innes and Grieve, Ltd. Fig1-6, continued in this way

Stores with discussion about the 1906 Dundee Whisky Fire, other whisky fires and the operations of John Robertson and Son, Carmel, Indiana, USA: Aaron Barker Publishing, 2016, 81-88.

²⁶⁶ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch whisky*, 143. Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 184.

²⁶⁷ Barker, *A Visit to Watson's*, 55-64.

²⁶⁸ The National Archive's currency converter 1270-2017 was utilised in determining the equivalence, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>.

²⁶⁹ "John Robertson & Sons, Ltd., Dundee, the Annual Report," *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, 21 May 1915. "Dundee Whisky Company's Loss," *Dundee Courier*, 21 May 1915. "Dundee Whisky Company's Affairs," *Dundee Courier*, 29 May 1915. "Dundee Whisky Company Reorganises," *Dundee Courier*, 24 May 1916.

²⁷⁰ Hughes, *Still Going Strong*, 105.

²⁷¹ David McLean, "Lost Edinburgh: Zeppelin Air Raid of 1916." *The Scotsman*. 14 April 2014. "Zeppelin air raid on Edinburgh 1916," First World War Research, National Records of Scotland. url: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/first-world-war/zeppelin-air-raid-on-edinburgh-1916>

²⁷² Murray, *The Art of Whisky*, 75.

with bottles from the 1960s and 1970s appearing on auction sites but maintained Inness and Grieve, Ltd. on the label.²⁷³ While the Famous Uam Var Scotch whisky leaves the advertisements in this thesis, the continued existence of the brand through veiled ownership speaks to the larger phenomenon within the industry that places significant value in brands with history and equity that is separated from the original founding owners.

²⁷³ “Uam Var Famous Scotch Whisky bottled 1960s,” The Whisky Exchange, <https://www.thewhiskyexchange.com/p/43134/uam-var-famous-scotch-whisky-bot1960s>, Accessed 13 November 2023.

“Uam Var Famous Scotch Whisky 1970s,” Whisky Auctioneer, <https://whiskyauctioneer.com/lot/81060/uam-var-famous-scotch-whisky-1970s>, Accessed 13 November 2023.

Chapter 4: “The whisky for the stream, hunt, car, yacht – and for all occasions”, 1919-1939

This chapter begins a few weeks after the Armistice in 1919; advertisements in periodical publications continued to reflect wartime restrictions through the Liquor Control Board. As Chapter Three shows, advertising during that period presented an image of the Scotch whisky industry that promoted the consumption of the beverage outside Scotland and presented brands and the broader industry in a positive light. Despite the challenges of the 1890s whisky boom and bust, increased taxation, and the outbreak of war, it is clear from sources like Weir that 1890-1918 saw some whisky blenders achieve enormous profits, and they similarly spent extensively on advertising. Returning to Weir’s criticism from the introduction chapter that dismisses advertising because it does not contribute to measuring this success:

It is less easy to see why the content of one blender’s advertisements should have been more successful in generating sales than another’s for certain common features were evident: the identification with Scotland, the emphasis on the age of the blend, and the longevity of the firms.²⁷⁴

The aim of this thesis is not to quantify success in financial terms, but as Chapter Three demonstrated, advertisements for Scotch whisky did incorporate a canon of Scottish iconography and a system for demonstrating quality to consumers through emphasis on the age of the spirit or the integrity and history of the firms, together this activity can be understood as a deliberate strategy that demonstrates the aims and growth of the industry. Further to this, the design of advertisements was more sophisticated than simply the application of tartan and thistles. These modes of communication remain important throughout this thesis. Still, for Chapter Four, the advertisements included illustrate how the Scotch whisky industry continued to change, and the meaning of Scotch whisky evolved.

The interwar period emphasised unprecedented challenges, such as the loss of the American market through the 1920 National Prohibition, continued strain from the war and taxes, and the industry’s structure through continued consolidation and amalgamation.²⁷⁵ The hope for increased trade within Colonial markets was promoted by the Empire Exhibition in London. The correspondent writing on the exhibition for *Scientific American*

²⁷⁴ Weir, “The Distilling Industry in Scotland,” 562.

²⁷⁵ Lockhart, *Scotch*, 149-157. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch*, 133-165. Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 282-442.

notes that the largest section in the Palace of Industry was held by consumables representing national brands ready for export across the Empire and included working exhibits demonstrating the manufacturing of these goods. He notes that whisky dominated the exhibit of beverages and tobacco; this included a miniature reproduction of a distillery based on Glenkinchie distillery owned by DCL, which is on display at the distillery today.²⁷⁶ Scotch whisky was reaching America legally as a medicinal product or through the network of illicit trade from peripheral British dominions. Despite the challenges during this period, Wilson offers a possible explanation based on the quotation of a contemporary Edinburgh correspondent, that the frequency of promotion increases related to the difficulty in retailing and that it does not go to waste as it contributes to the worldwide prestige of Scotch whisky.²⁷⁷ The following section demonstrates how advertising illustrations had altered after the war and what Scotch whisky meant to consumers and the industry in the interwar period.

²⁷⁶ J. B. C. Kershaw, "The British Empire Exhibition- III, The Palace of Engineering and Industry, and the Wembley Amusement Park," *Scientific American*, October 1924, 254.

²⁷⁷ Wilson, *Scotch: The Formative Years*, 332.

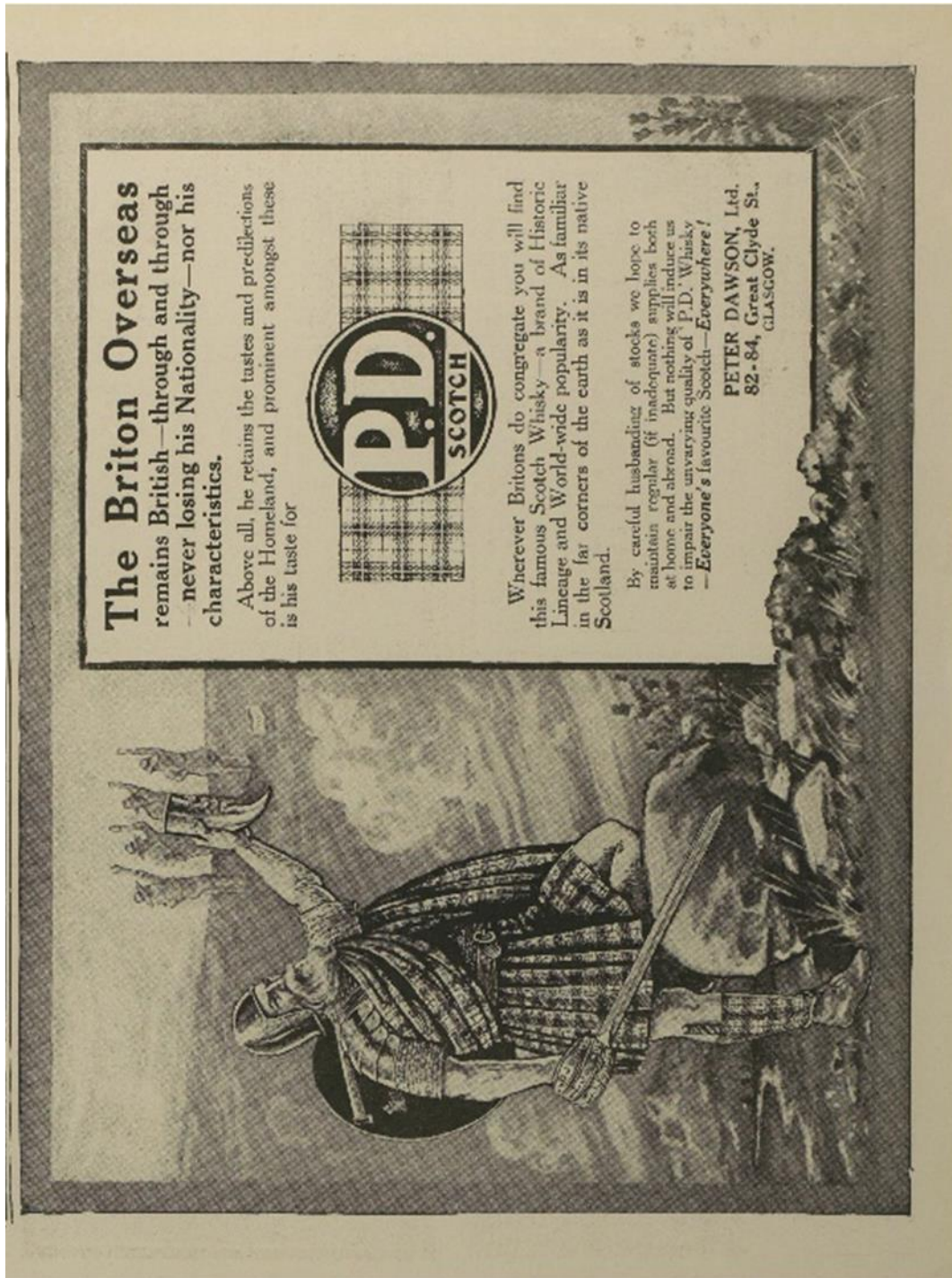
4.1 The Celtic Revival

The interwar period between 1919 and 1939 saw changes in cultural representations that responded to the trauma of WWI, as well as broader social and economic differences. Advertising for Scotch whisky reflected this change and tensions. The previous chapter ended with advertising across the Scotch whisky industry, contributing patriotic imagery that reinforced the reach of Scotch whisky across the Empire. Following the end of the conflict, the nationalistic ideology that contributed to the conflict was harnessed to attribute the victory of the war as a unified effort. It also emphasised ancient nationality, creating a lineage for the contemporary British Empire. Matthew Shaw details how popular literature during this period contributed to conflicting ideas about the ancient cultures of Britain, in some ways attempting to tie them together and in others inspiring a Scottish revival in literature and art.²⁷⁸ This nationalism is reflected in the imagery used by the Scotch whisky industry in advertisements. The previous chapter illustrated that while Scotland's iconography was utilised, companies also relied on broader British identity to communicate their products to consumers. Fig. 4-1 and Fig. 4-2 demonstrate how this representation developed in the inter-war period for a British identity.

The central illustrated figure in Fig. 4-1 and Fig. 4-2 represents a kilted warrior out of time raising his drink to give a toast. In Fig. 4-1, he is toasting to distant descendants in one of the Empire's colonies. The warrior figure differs from the previous chapter's Victorian ideas of a Scottish Highlander, foregoing the repeated Jacobite iconography to create an imagined historical amalgamation. Here, the figure wears a metal helmet that would not be out of place on mythic heroes such as Rob Roy and Robert the Bruce.²⁷⁹ Yet he holds a sixteenth-century one-handed sword with a basket hilt and associated targe shield on his back while holding a drinking horn that is reminiscent of a distant Celtic past, of Medieval drinking culture, and appeared as a part of the romanticism of seventeenth and eighteenth-century drinking. This constructed image plays to the ideas of a universal Celtic ancestor being developed in literature and visual art during this period, but it also reinforces the efforts of the Scotch whisky firms to project their whisky as an inherited lineage, something that has always existed and because of its quality is now recognised globally.

²⁷⁸ Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siecle Scottish Revival: Romance, Decadence, and Celtic Identity*. Edinburgh University Press, 2019.

²⁷⁹ A version of the advertisement for Figure 2 appears in *A History of Scotch Whisky Advertising* by John Hughes, the image of the P.D. Scotch whisky bottle has been replaced with an image of the Robert the Bruce Monument at Stirling Castle.



The Briton Overseas
remains British—through and through
— never losing his Nationality—nor his
characteristics.

Above all, he retains the tastes and predilections
of the Homeland, and prominent amongst these
is his taste for

P.D. SCOTCH

Wherever Britons do congregate you will find
this famous Scotch Whisky—a brand of Historic
Lineage and World-wide popularity. As familiar
in the far corners of the earth as it is in its native
Scotland.

By careful husbanding of stocks we hope to
maintain regular (if inadequate) supplies both
at home and abroad. But nothing will induce us
to impair the unvarying quality of P.D. Whisky
— *Everyone's favourite Scotch—Everywhere!*

PETER DAWSON, Ltd.
82-84, Great Clyde St.,
GLASGOW.

Fig. 4.1 – "P. D. Scotch". Illustrated London News, 4 September 1920, p. 379. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

PETER **DAWSON'S**

P.D.

SCOTCH WHISKY

THE BRAND OF HISTORIC LINEAGE

*The whisky for the
stream, hunt, car,
yacht —
and for all occasions.*

PETER DAWSON, Ltd., 82, Great Clyde St., GLASGOW,
London Office:
LION HOUSE, 29-30, Tower Hill, E.C.3

Fig. 4.2 – "P. D. Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 5 August 1922, p. 228. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The copy text utilised by Peter Dawson in Fig. 4-1 reinforces the visual context that has been read by saying, “The Briton overseas remains British – through and through – never losing his Nationality – nor his characteristics.” Further, the copy says, “Above all, he retains the tastes and predilections of the Homeland, and prominent amongst them is his taste for [logo for P.D. Scotch].”²⁸⁰ In this way, the advertisement is placing the contemporary Britons as inheritors of Scotch whisky as a national beverage, and they are aligning their brand with this concept.

The advertisement in Fig. 4-2 appeared in 1922 and reuses the illustration of the warrior but in a more simplified layout that includes an image of the bottle of P.D. Scotch whisky and a central tagline. This copy text reinforces the connotations laid out in the previous advertisement, explicitly communicating, “The brand of historic lineage,” but in a step further to demonstrate its universal appeal, it used the tagline, “The whisky for the stream, hunt, car, yacht – and for all occasions.”²⁸¹ This phrase is familiar as it is a modernised version of the tagline used by Innes and Grieve illustrated in the Uam Var advertisement from Chapter Three. It speaks to the same effort to appeal to a consumer who can indulge in leisure activities. This modernisation distances itself from appealing universally to traditional Scottish references of the past as the moor, loch, or shieling, replacing them with the sites of sporting activity, the stream and the hunt, as well as the modern leisure activity of the upper class as the car and yacht. The text is symbolic of the changes in the Scotch whisky industry; the first iteration used by Uam Var represented a transition of Scotch whisky from a regional produce in Scotland, taken up by the Victorians, and becoming a part of wider British society drinking consumption. Here, it represents change once again in the consumer of Scotch whisky; while still referencing the upper class, it reflects the modern drinker who is as likely to go on sporting holidays in Scotland as they are to be found in a car or on a yacht. The similarities between the phrases should not be overlooked and give an indication of the referencing that occurred between different advertisements. In this case, it was not part of the trademark filed by Innes and Grieve for Uam Var, and evidence has not been found of any objections to its inspiration.

Moss and Hume have emphasised the challenging environment for Scotch whisky exacerbated by the conflict of WWI, with the restrictions on distilling and access to grain and the increasing duty tax as a critical driver in the closure of firms and distilleries and

²⁸⁰ "P. D. Scotch." *Illustrated London News*, 4 Sept. 1920, p. 379. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003.

²⁸¹ "P. D. Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 5 Aug. 1922, p. 228. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003.

rationalisation of the industry.²⁸² The authors note that when a firm ceased trading, but they did not reflect in their text what that meant for its brands of whisky, their equity, and the industry's response, as demonstrated by advertisements. In this way, advertisements for these examples and the next offer a glimpse of the industry as firms promoted their brands and tried to remain in business. The following section addresses the change in advertising for the Bulloch Lade and Co. after the firm ceased trading; the impact of the contracting industry is discussed, and the continued use of Celtic revival imagery from an emphasis on Scotland instead of the British perspective in the examples from Peter Dawson.

²⁸² Moss and Hume, *Making of Scotch whisky*, 143-147.

4.2 Ossian and the mythological past

The warrior figure in this illustration, Fig. 4-3 for Bulloch Lade and Co. Ltd., is composed similarly, reflecting the pose from the P.D. Scotch whisky advertisements in Fig. 4-1 and Fig. 4-2. The warrior is perched amidst a rocky landscape next to a loch, but instead of raising his arm in a toast, this figure is raising his sword in a show of strength, as a cry for unity, as he is not rallying to distant colonial descendants but to his contemporary people. The scene's composition places the viewer among the craggy rocks listening to his speech, admitted into his inner circle. Combined with the accompanying copy, this advertisement alluded to an association between the whisky brand and mythical Scottish warrior leaders of old. Here, the figure is dressed in a costume most associated with the Highland and Island clans and wearing the bonnet that, through the 19th century, was used to denote the wearer as a Jacobite. The copy points to a distinction that the whisky blended to make B.L. Gold Label is “essentially Highland and Hebridean”, which, combined with the illustration, reinforces the ideas of a historical lineage, one that may be Celtic and Gaelic but is fundamentally Scottish. Both Neil Gunn and Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart emphasise the Celtic origins of Scotch whisky in their treatises on the Scotch whisky industry.²⁸³ Their response is to the activity that Moss and Hume detailed for this period, which was characterised by the increasing dominance of DCL in the industry through an active effort to rationalise the industry by controlling inventory and competition.²⁸⁴ While Moss and Hume have portrayed the activity of DCL as “succeeding in bad times” brought on by economic recessions, the war, and heavy taxation, contemporary critics of the industry’s rationalisation, like Gunn and Lockhart, demonstrate a relationship to the cultural significance of whisky as a produce of Scotland within a context of an evolving Scottish identity. Advertisements for this period toggle between these perspectives, highlighted in the examples discussed throughout this chapter.


²⁸³ Gunn, *Whisky and Scotland*, 29-51.

Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*, 15-27.

²⁸⁴ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 133-152.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS WEDDING NUMBER, APRIL 28, 1923.—731

Pictures from OSSIAN—2.



COMALA.

Her red cheek rests upon her arm, the mountain wind is in her hair. She turns her blue eyes toward the fields of his promise. Where art thou, O Fingal? The night is gathering around!

B.L.
GOLD LABEL
Scotch Whisky
15/- Per Bottle

BULLOCH, LADE & COMPANY
GLASGOW LONDON

Fig. 4.4 – "B.L. Gold Label Scotch Whisky". Wedding of the Duke of York and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon (Special Number). Illustrated London News, 28 April 1923, p. 731. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The examples in this section for Bulloch Lade appeared in the ILN in 1923 and 1924; while contrasting from the first examples of this chapter, they demonstrate further change in the industry. Moss and Hume wrote, "Bulloch, Lade and Co. withdrew from trade in 1920 after a costly but unsuccessful advertising campaign to promote its BL brand."²⁸⁵ This statement criticises advertising as a costly expense that ultimately did not secure their future. It is impossible to know if this is accurate without access to the source that led Moss and Hume to this conclusion or the business records and promotion outside of periodical advertising. Contemporary newspapers reported in January 1920 that a shareholders meeting was called "in view of the present and future difficulties in connection with the trade" with the recommendation by the directors to end the business.²⁸⁶ After this meeting, it was reported that the shareholders decided to liquidate the business voluntarily. This action meant they would receive a "substantial increase over the par value of their shares".²⁸⁷ With the voluntary liquidation action, it can be understood that the business was no longer profitable, and it was recognised as unlikely to improve.

The advertisements that appeared in the ILN before 1920 for Bulloch Lade's B.L. Scotch whisky also appear in Hughes' history of advertising, with a date of 1913 for a caricature drawing of a sporting fisherman pouring whisky from a flask as his caricatured Scottish Gillie watches. Unless the expense for advertising was in an increased frequency or advertising that is not preserved in the periodical record consulted, it may be possible that the advertisements for Fig. 4-3 and Fig. 4-4 were commissioned before trading ceased. This is significant because while Bulloch Lade and Company ceased to trade, their inventory, distilleries, and brand labels were acquired. While Hughes and other sources reference that Bulloch Lade and Co. were "taken over by a consortium of whisky firms led by DCL,"²⁸⁸ the newspapers report the activity differently during this period. The possession of Bulloch Lade by DCL was not reported until 1927, but shortly after the shareholder announcement in 1920, it was reported that J. P. O'Brien and Co. Ltd distillers and wine merchants purchased the business.²⁸⁹ It is not clear at this time if J. P. O'Brien and Co. Ltd were a subsidiary of DCL, an intermediary broker, or independent, but

²⁸⁵ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 150.

²⁸⁶ "Notice for shareholders meeting" 13 Jan 1920, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*.

²⁸⁷ "The Activity in Industrials." 17 Jan 1920, *Gloucester Citizen*.

²⁸⁸ Hughes, *Still Going Strong*, 95.

²⁸⁹ "Brewery and Distillery mergers" 02 Jan 1927, *Reynold's Newspaper*.

"Purchase of Big Glasgow Distilleries" 04 Feb 1920, *Nottingham Evening Post*. This article was widely published, also appearing in *Birmingham and Dundee*.

ownership shifts when, in 1922, it is reported through an advertisement in the Yorkshire Post that Bulloch Lade and Co. “announce the resumption of limited supplies of their famous ‘B.L. Gold Label’,” this advertisement appears with the inclusion of “Duncan Macleod as sole proprietor”.²⁹⁰ With this date of Duncan Macleod as proprietor, it adds to the mystery of the authorship of Fig. 4-3 and Fig. 4-4. Are the illustrations communicating the perspective of the Bulloch and Lade and Co. that existed before 1920, or are they reflections of the ownership of Duncan Macleod? This Duncan Macleod may be the same person as the director for Duncan Macleod & Company, an amalgamation of wine merchants, as reported by Scotchwhisky.com; with this in mind, the source of this is not confirmed, but as Duncan Macleod was from Skeabost on the Isle of Skye, the imagery representing a Highland and Island voice and with Fig. 4-4 the landscape of Ossian, may have appealed to his sensibilities.

Fig. 4-4 represents one of a series of illustrations published in the *ILN* between April and June of 1923, illustrating stories from *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson.²⁹¹ While the folklore of Ossian was widely read and regarded internationally, it represented an eighteenth-century beginning of Romantic literature in Scotland that attempted to preserve Gaelic oral poetry tradition and, in its reception, challenged the perception of Scottish identity. James Porter describes Macpherson as a liminal figure and a mediator; he was caught between the Gaelic past and an increasing Anglophone culture.²⁹² The popular stories of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson reflected an Anglo-Scottish culture, whereas the Ossian poems pointed towards a ‘wild and sublime quality of Gaelic culture’.²⁹³ As a part of the Celtic revival that overlapped literature and visual art, these illustrations for Bulloch Lade represented attention to contemporary artistic and cultural discourse. In the last chapter, Scotch whisky firms increasingly established London offices and agencies across the Empire, and critics of the position of blended whisky embraced the origins of Scotch whisky as a part of Scotland’s Celtic heritage. While this idea is not based on the reality of the development of distilling technology, the desire to have something that belonged to just Scotland is reflected in this description by Lockhart:

²⁹⁰ “Bulloch Lade and Company” 10 Nov 1922, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer.

²⁹¹ Cesarotti, Melchiorre, Macfarlan, Robert, M’Arthur, John, and Sinclair, John. *The Poems of Ossian, in the Original Gaelic, with a Literal Translation into Latin*. London: Edinburgh: Dublin: Printed by W. Bulmer and Cleveland Row; Sold by G. and W. Nicol, Booksellers to His Majesty, Pall-Mall; Creech, Bell and Bradfute, Constable and Archer, 1807.

²⁹² James Porter, “‘Bring me the head of James Macpherson’: the execution of Ossian and the Wellsprings of Folkloristic Discourse,” in *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 114, no 454 (Autumn 2001), 309.

²⁹³ Porter, “Bring me the head,” 405.

Throughout the ages, whisky has been an integral part of the Celtic civilisation and has its origins in the mists of the Highlands, from which it emerged without foreign aid. It was the natural drink of a people who, however poor they might be, had never known servitude, and to whom, in the absence of other luxuries, it was indeed the water of life which gave inspiration to their songs and strength to their bodies. It was a noble spirit, a symbol of independence, to be approached with reverence, and, in spite of the changes wrought by blending, the Celts have communicated something of this reverence to the whole Scottish nation.²⁹⁴

The progression of Scotch whisky advertisements that used symbols of Scotland and broader British culture in promoting and developing brands is not linear and reflects broader cultural and political tensions. While the whisky literature has avoided addressing the use of these symbols in advertisements and brand identity dismissed as a form of Tartanry or Kailyard kitsch, thus, not to be taken seriously, the visibility of these associations reflects how the different whisky firms navigated what they thought about their brands at various times, how changing ownership altered this, and ultimately deciding what forms will communicate clearly to the consumer. In a study of the use of history in the trademarks for brands in Spain, 1900-1980, the authors found that as national sentiments intensified within society, this was reflected in the frequency of historical associations used in commercial brands.²⁹⁵ While this study cannot offer an exhaustive analysis of historical associations in the whisky industry, the ability to navigate between representations of Scottish iconography and British and Imperial symbols was deftly managed in the hands of John Dewar and Sons and is examined in the next section.

²⁹⁴ Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*, 151-152.

²⁹⁵ Jose Antonio Miranda and Felipe Ruiz-Moreno, (2020), "Selling the past. The use of history as marketing strategy in Spain, 1900-1980," in *Business History*, 6.

4.3 Dewar's The Spirit of the Empire

The examples in Fig. 4.5 and Fig. 4.6 represent a duality of promotional marketing design employed by John Dewar and Sons that they cultivated from the 1890s. Fig. 4.5, the 1924 full-page advertisement, depicts a dominant personification of Britannia holding a shield decorated with the Union Jack and the Union Jack flag as it billows behind her, illuminated by beaming sun rays projecting a halo effect. This is a glorious Britannia, an allegory of a beacon where the sun does not set. In this image, there are no bottles of Scotch whisky or invocation of a Scottish symbol, with only a few lines of copy relegated to the feet of Britannia declaring Dewar's possession of 29,000,000 gallons of whisky stock, which is meant to demonstrate their ability to maintain quality and consistency in their blends.

Unlike the Bulloch Lade advertisement that states they provide "pre-war quality and taste", the consumer is meant to be impressed by the volume of whisky indicated and be assured that the Dewar's they know never varied. This advertisement is an extension of the WWI patriotic advertisements, but it also reflects promotion for the 1924 Wembley Empire Exhibition held in London. This was an expansive effort to recover from the war through cooperation and building trade relations; it was part trade show and part spectacle in a strategy to firm up the bonds of the Empire within an unequal arrangement.²⁹⁶ Dewar was not a stranger to exhibitions, both internationally and within the Empire; they were one way the firm capitalised on visibility through spectacle to gain access to these markets. In this way, the phrase "The Spirit of the Empire" tied to the growth of exports in Empire markets and played on the word 'spirit' for whisky. The invocation of Britannia here and the association of the upcoming Empire Exhibition contrast with the previous examples from Peter Dawson and Bulloch Lade, where those advertisements spoke to a changing cultural and historical perception aligned with the Celtic Revival; this advertisement from Dewar instead is an extension of the Victorian period and reflects a nostalgia for the long nineteenth century.

²⁹⁶ Anne Clendinning, "On The British Empire Exhibition, 1924-25," *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*. Ed. Dino Franco Felluga, Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, Jan. 19, 1924—115



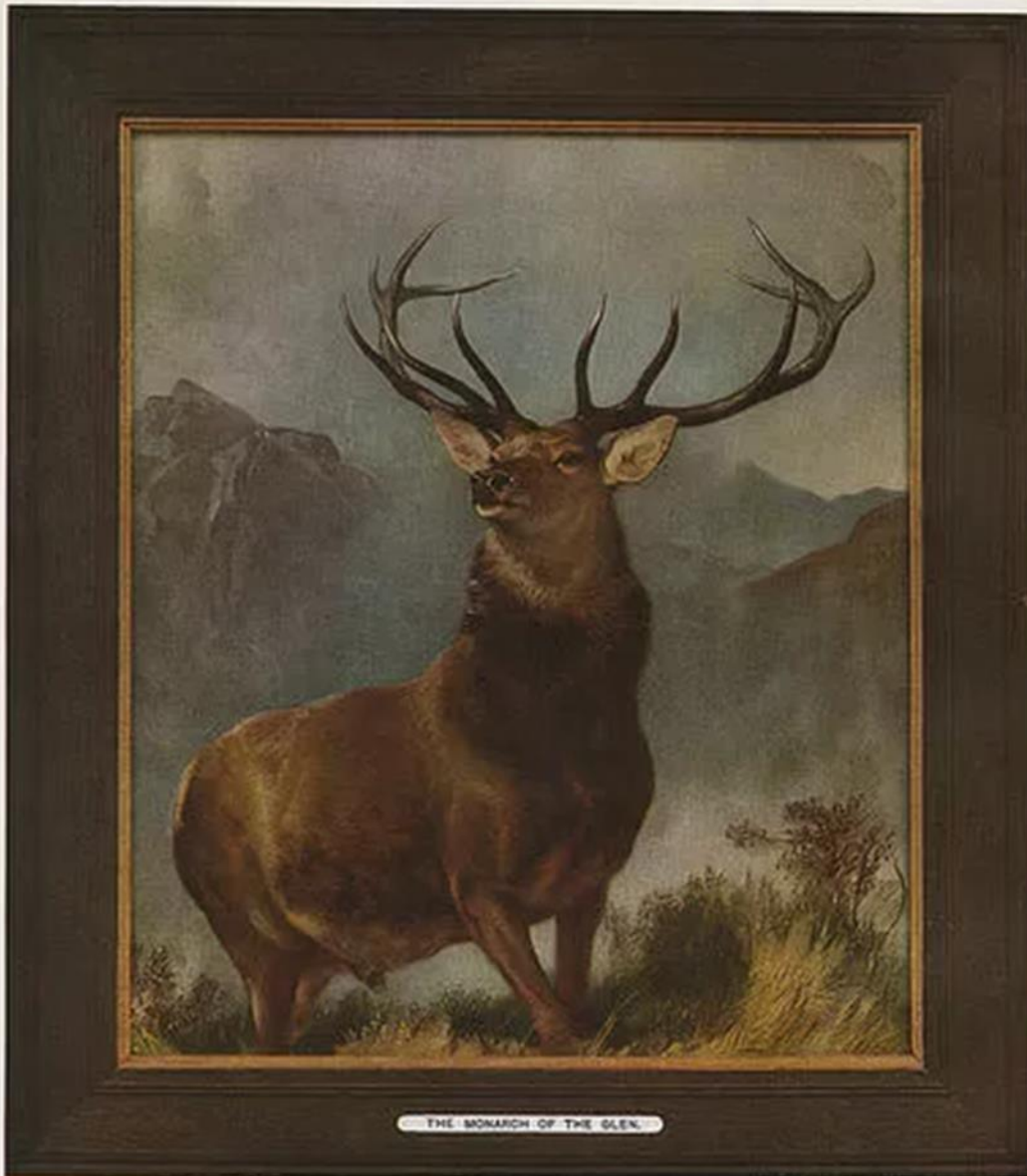
DEWAR'S
The Spirit of the Empire

THE BRAND THAT NEVER VARIES

AND WHY? Because John Dewar & Sons Ltd., and their Associated Companies, have over 29,000,000 gallons of the Finest Scotch Whiskies lying in Bond in Scotland, and this enables them to always maintain an even quality.

Fig. 4.5 – "Dewar's the Spirit of the Empire". Illustrated London News, 19 January 1924, p. 115. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, Sept. 10, 1927—124



Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.

DEWAR'S

THE SPIRIT OF THE HIGHLANDS

There's a spirit from the Highlands that means so much to man. Redolent with glorious well-being, brimful of cheering optimism and glowing with a kindly helpfulness that has endeared it to countless myriads. And its name is

DEWAR'S

Fig. 4.6 – “Dewar’s the Monarch of the Glen”. Illustrated London News, 10 September 1927, p. 124. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

This Victorian nostalgia is continued with the image of the 1851 Sir Edwin Landseer painting *The Monarch of the Glen*, which was widely popular when it was first exhibited and retained that popularity through widespread print production.²⁹⁷ The image in Fig. 4-6 is not just a visual representation of the painting but a reproduction of a promotional framed facsimile Dewar's distributed to pubs. This example used this image as a full-page advertisement in the ILN for printing trade cards. Fig. 4-6, published in 1927, represents the legacy of advertising that Tommy Dewar cultivated throughout his career. It is symbolic of the success Dewar achieved and, through its iconography, represents how Dewar's brand represented a multiplicity of identities, one that was Scottish and British, nostalgic and modern, found in Perth, London, and around the world.

The advertisements in Chapter Three, Fig. 3-7, "The Whisky of His Forefathers," and Fig. 3-13, the portrait of Rob Roy, are emblematic of the connection to Fine Art that Dewar cultivated in association with their brand. This strategy was well documented in the study of soap brands Pear's and Lever from the 1880s, with Pear's purchasing the copyright to John Everett Millais's painting *Bubbles* in 1885.²⁹⁸ For promotion across the Scotch whisky industry, manufacturers produced objects that could be utilised in the hands of public houses or by the public, using the brand imagery found in the printed advertisements. In this way, Dewar capitalised on the popularity of the visual art he incorporated into the advertisements through pottery decanters, pub decorations, and so on, in a way that soap manufacturers could not. By possessing the copyright for the *Monarch of the Glen*, Dewar fastened a symbol with embedded meaning to the brand instead of employing an artist to design an image to create those connotations. While Dewar successfully used art similarly to Pear and Lever, the commissioning of illustrations with symbols posed a greater risk because the public's reception was unknown. The image of the Monarch of the Glen catalyses a loaded meaning in the way that the industry has invoked meaning using tartan, bagpipes, and thistles. It also had a more profound dimension for Dewar than signalling to a consumer, for the ownership of the painting cemented Dewar's place within society, as art had long been a way for merchants and

²⁹⁷ "The Monarch of the Glen: The Creation of an Icon," National Galleries Scotland, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/features/monarch-glen-creation-icon>, Accessed 13 November 2023. Sir Edwin Landseer, "The Monarch of the Glen," National Galleries Scotland, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/159116>, Accessed 13 November 2023.

²⁹⁸ Diane Sachko Macleod, *Art in the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. Cambridge University Press, 1996, 341-344. and Percy V. Bradshaw, *Art in Advertising A Study of British and American Pictorial Publicity*, Press Art School, London, 1925.

industrialists after the Industrial Revolution, to raise their social collateral through the collecting of well-known pieces of art.²⁹⁹

The purchase at a Christie's auction of *The Monarch of the Glen* was reported in the press, as the ownership of a painting with its own celebrity was newsworthy, combined with the popularity of Dewar in society pages.³⁰⁰ In discussing the popularity and ostentation that distinguished Tom Dewar, Andrews describes the atmosphere of Dewar's headquarters at Dewar House in Haymarket, London, as an epicentre for the firm and those they entertained.³⁰¹ Part of the description that Andrews makes refers to another significant painting owned by Dewars, this time by Sir Henry Raeburn, who Dewar anointed as a Scottish hero with his portrait included in the same series as Rob Roy, Fig. 3-13. The 1810 painting by Raeburn, *The McNab*, was also widely recognised by the public, with Andrews referring to it as "the grandest delineation ever achieved of a wilful, warm Scot."³⁰² While the significance of Dewar owning and showcasing two emblematic symbols of Scotland and her people cannot fully be discussed here, it demonstrates a choice made for the value and continued usage of art to sell whisky. He appreciated the paintings as a connoisseur but also understood the economic value of the copyright and the investment made in their ownership. While in the 21st century, the *Monarch of the Glen* is imbued with complicated meanings for the people of Scotland, due to the frequency of use as a promotional image, it ultimately is a testament to Highland iconography and culture traversing the world for commerce.

²⁹⁹ Macleod, *Art in the Victorian Middle Class*.

³⁰⁰ "News in a Nutshell," 13 May 1916, Essex Newsman. "Famous Pictures at Christie's," 12 May 1916, Liverpool Daily Post.

³⁰¹ Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, 74.

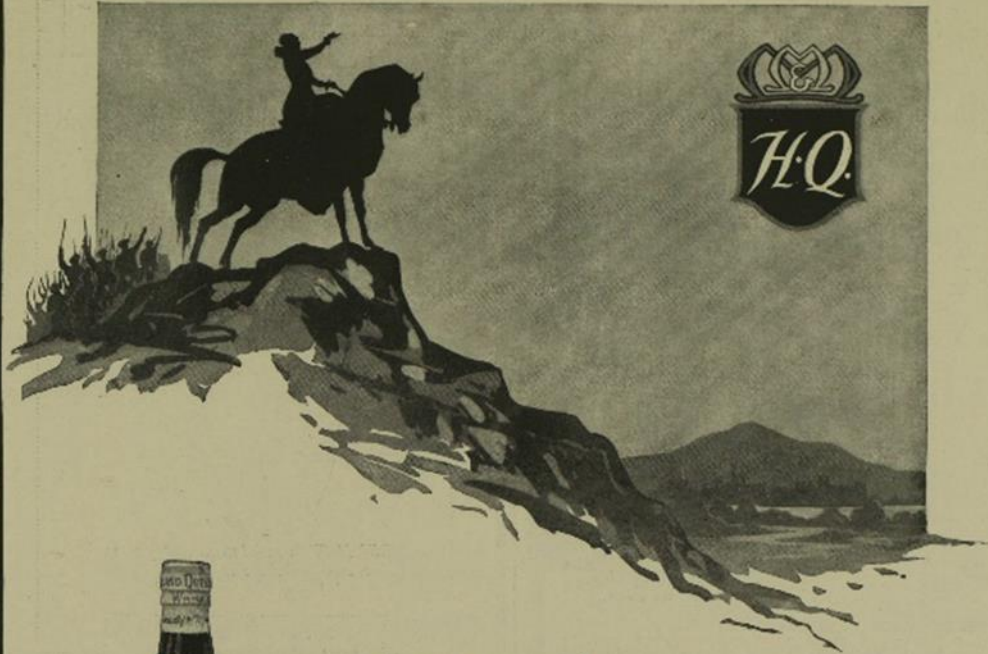
³⁰² *Ibid.*

4.4 Independent Highland Queen

MacDonald and Muir of Leith developed the Highland Queen brand in the 1890s. The name refers to Mary Queen of Scots, who returned to Scotland from France in 1561, landing at the Port of Leith. Fig. 4-7 is a full-page advertisement with a silhouette of Mary on horseback on a pinnacle pointing above a presumably Highland landscape. The raised arm gesture is like the examples from Fig. 4-1 and Fig. 4-2, but in this example, instead of raising an arm in toast or to impassion followers, here the Queen is giving direction and leading the way. While it may not have been the intention of MacDonald and Muir when choosing Mary Stuart as the emblem of their brand, her legacy represented the end of an independent Scotland and the tension between a Protestant and Catholic Scotland.³⁰³ However, the Victorian commemoration of historical Scottish figures and events altered similar discourses for the benefit of contemporary culture; Coleman details this in his study of how Scottish history was remembered in the nineteenth century. He concludes that the memory of Mary Queen of Scots commemorated by the Victorians was celebrated as heritage instead of nationality.³⁰⁴ This was a way to avoid conflict within Scotland and its place within the Union.

³⁰³ James Coleman, "Scottish Nationality in the Nineteenth Century," in *Remembering the past in 19th century Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, 2014, 154 – 173.

³⁰⁴ Coleman, "Scottish Nationality," 172.



"H.Q." 12/6 per bottle.

Our Kingdom.

Our Distilleries, Glen Moray - Glenlivet and Glenmorangie, are famous, both. Together, with our interests in others, they assure the requirements of our blends. We are Independent—ruled by no Combine.

HIGHLAND QUEEN

"H.Q." for short.

Accumulating fine Scotch Whiskies, grown mellow with the years, we find ourselves to-day—in a period of scarcity—possessors of one of the largest stocks in the hands of any one firm.

These facts account, in part at least, for the Consistency, Maturity and Quality of "HIGHLAND QUEEN."

Only seven brands of Scotch Whisky have been selected for sale at the British Empire Exhibition. "H.Q." is one of them.

MACDONALD & MUIR, LEITH, SCOTLAND.
LONDON OFFICE: 25, HAYMARKET, S.W.1



For those who prefer a very fine LIQUEUR WHISKY—
"GLEN MORAY '93"
15/- per bottle.

Fig. 4.7 – "H. Q.". Illustrated London News, 12 April 1924, p. 625. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The copy text in this advertisement relies on the tension of Mary's past, which is associated with the tension of the contemporary Scotch whisky industry. With a short sentence, "We are independent – ruled by no Combine," MacDonald and Muir cemented their position within the industry against the forces of the DCL and the cooperation of the blending firms. The literature on the whisky industry has detailed why the industry was moving by choice or force into amalgamation, one of these reasons being access to adequate whisky stocks.³⁰⁵ The copy in Fig. 4-7 speaks to this point by assuring the consumers of their ability to meet demand, "... we find ourselves to-day – in a period of scarcity – possessors of one of the largest stocks in the hands of one firm." At the beginning of the copy text, they included the distilleries they owned, Glen Moray-Glenlivet distillery in Elgin and Glenmorangie north of Inverness, and they mentioned their access to other distilleries through interest in them. This transparency was lauded by Aeneas MacDonald in his treatise on Scotch whisky, suggesting to the burgeoning connoisseur to appreciate what he deemed authentic Scotch whisky and avoiding the popularly advertised brands, saying:

(remember, they are intended for the great public and therefore have usually been emasculated by over-doses of grain spirit). He is now in an unmapped terrain with only his mother with, his nose, and his palate to guide him. The first will take him either to a wine and spirit merchant of unimpeachable repute or to one of the lesser known brands such as Macdonald and Muir's Highland Queen, which supply some definite information as to origin, age, etc. on their labels. If he should go to a good merchant his exploration will in all probability have begun well.³⁰⁶

MacDonald's emphasis on the supply of information about the whisky used by MacDonald and Muir's Highland Queen is significant because, at this point in the industry, there was no legislated requirement or cooperation among the industry for the definition of trade terms. He felt that this omission opened the trade to deception, leading to the decline of the quality and perception of Scotch whisky.³⁰⁷ The lack of specificity of distilleries obscured the activity of the DCL and the amalgamating firms. To the public, they saw the brands which had gained recognition and equity for decades. By not detailing what goes into those brands, they did not have to disclose what distilleries closed because of rationalisation. It ensured they always had enough whisky to make their blends if they shuffled the inventory. While the industry and history of Scotch whisky are primarily dominated by the narratives of DCL and the Whisky Barons, examples such as this one for Highland Queen

³⁰⁵ Lockhart, *Scotch*, 137. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 143-145.

³⁰⁶ MacDonald, *Scotch*, 133.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 130.

demonstrate the complexities and variety of responses to forces within the industry illustrated through advertisements.

4.5 Compliments of Johnnie Walker Whisky

A theme among the advertisements this thesis has not explored is the representation of sporting activities to sell Scotch whisky, excluding the example for Fig. 3-8 of the polo player representing James Buchanan and Sons Ltd. While images of sporting activity have appeared frequently in the archive referenced for this study, during this periodisation, the images are of sports associated with upper-class leisure activity, and this analysis has prioritised demonstrating change across the advertisements instead of analysing every trope. Here, Fig. 4-8 represented an association with sporting activity, in this case golf, and a promotional strategy specifically targeting active golf players. By this time, the figure of the Striding Man and his association with John Walker and Sons as Johnnie Walker had successfully become a recognisable symbol for the brand within popular culture.³⁰⁸ The illustrations of the Striding Man have often been depicted in Scottish sporting contexts, from curling to fishing. Here, it is not just a romantic or nostalgic scene of sporting activity. In this composition, the viewpoint the reader is positioned is the perspective of someone golfing along with the Striding Man, not a bottle or glass of whisky in sight. The advertising literature refers to this as “standing for” here instead of the figure of the Striding Man “standing behind” the whisky as a guarantee of quality. He has become so tightly interwoven into the product’s identity that he is the symbol instead of a point of consumption.³⁰⁹ Further to this association is the lifestyle format; associations with the sites of consumption have been mentioned previously in the ads of Uam Var and P.D. Scotch, but in Fig. 4-8, the image matches the activity. In consuming Johnnie Walker, the advertisement does not suggest satisfaction or utility but places it as a customary part of the place of activity.³¹⁰ This represented sophistication in advertising during this period and is a significant justification for the brand's strength in selling Scotch whisky

³⁰⁸ Morgan, *A Long Stride*, 202-204.

³⁰⁹ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 141.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

**Concerning him
that boletb in One**

Be it known that ~~WHEREAS~~ it is an established custom of the 'Nigral and Business' domne, to wit, that any player who shall perform the rare feat of 'holing out in one' shall prefer to all within the precincts of the Club House liquid refreshment worthy no great an occasion.

And whereas this suitable feat is oftentimes celebrated in that most truly choice of acceptable liquors, being right famous, four-square, and of excellent Scotchish lineage, to wit,

Johnnie Walker Whisky
Since 1820 — still getting Strong!

We the undersigned (hereinafter called the Company), do hereby agree to present to each and every golfer who shall perform the miracle aforesaid, one bottle of the said Johnnie Walker Whisky.

Providing only that satisfactory evidence of the feat its due performance be sent unto the Company and attested by the player, and by his Opponent, and by the Secretary of the Club, these three, in writing.

Whereupon the aforesaid bottle of Johnnie Walker Whisky shall be bestowed to the fortunate player at whatsoever address he shall designate.

John Walker & Sons Ltd.
Distillers

JUST as soon as you have the good fortune to hole out in ONE, a bottle of Johnnie Walker Whisky will be sent to you with the compliments of the distillers. You have only to notify the performance of the feat, as requested in the quaint document here reproduced.

WE will send a framed copy of this card to any Golf Club secretary in the United Kingdom on request. In other parts of the world applications should be addressed to the Local Distributing Agents. The card measures 19 ins. x 24 ins., and is in full colours, closely resembling an old print.

JOHN WALKER & SONS, LTD., SCOTCH WHISKY DISTILLERS, KILMARNOCK SCOTLAND.

Fig. 4.8 – "John Walker & Sons, Ltd.". Summer Number. Illustrated London News, 19 June 1926, p.1105. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The absence of the whisky in the Johnnie Walker advertisements was concerning for some members of the board, who emphasised the desire that the integrity of their blend should be at the forefront of promotion. Morgan briefly details the changes and tension in advertising that Johnnie Walker went through in the years after the amalgamation with DCL and the changes in board membership.³¹¹ After years of success building recognition and equity for the brand around the figure of the Striding Man, effort was made to revitalise the advertising.³¹² The promotion in Fig. 4-8 was risky in the interwar period, as many bottles of whisky were given away, but the effect was meant to create goodwill. While Morgan discusses the venture as a relationship that was inevitable because members of the firm were avid golfers,³¹³ between the imagery of the promotion, where the product image is not necessary because the association of the iconography is so powerful, and the growing presence of Johnnie Walker at the golf course it builds the possibility of a habit-forming or a new association that when the consumer plays golf part of the culture and ritual is to have Johnnie Walker. The ILN addresses the scheme's popularity in 1927 and 1928, with 1457 bottles awarded in 1928.³¹⁴ This advertisement and promotion represented an effort to encourage growth and brand loyalty without acknowledging the difficulties the industry faced. The amalgamation of DCL with the Whisky Barons addressed the tensions around whisky stocks, competition, and the increasing taxation by the government. The inventory efforts have been pointed to in the case of Highland Queen, but in the next section, the way the industry appealed to consumers to either react or understand in response to taxation is illustrated.

³¹¹ Morgan, *A Long Stride*, 197-199.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 197.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 204.

³¹⁴ "The Annual Indian Cavalry Dinner Took Place Recently at the Hotel Victoria, London, S. W. 1." *Illustrated London News*, 18 June 1927, p. 1142. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*. "Holing-out in One is More Common in Golf Than Might Be Supposed, as Has Been Discovered by Two Well-known Firms That Make a Presentation to Anyone Duly Attested as Having Achieved the Feat." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Mar. 1928, p. 406. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*.

4.6 Killing a Home Industry: the War Tax on Whisky

To this point in this study of Scotch whisky advertising history, when reflecting on the status of the industry or popular cultural touchstones with the consumer, the advertisements have been designed to show the strength of the brand, the firm, and the wider industry. Fig. 4-9, while not an advertisement, takes up ad space as a notice to get the public's attention but, more importantly, make a statement to the government. Fig. 4-10 is an advertisement for Haig whisky, but like Fig. 4-9, it speaks directly to the issues within the trade brought on by the taxation from the government. These two, taken together, reveal the seriousness of the situation that the firms felt it necessary to appeal to the public, and they also represent the composition of the industry due to the amalgamation activity of DCL. The taxation of the industry to decrease the war debt contributes to an already challenging economic climate and global business environment, but while the Scotch whisky industry found it a burden, the government saw success, whether through the knockoff effect of temperance or through the revenue gained and this will be a significant feature of the industry addressed in the next chapter.

Neil Gunn, writing in 1935 on the continued severe tax of the whisky industry, considered it an injustice and tantamount to deliberate discrimination against the Scottish product and one that would lead to the complete decline of the industry.³¹⁵ Reflecting on the industry during this period, Lockhart suggests that it was due to the impact of the First World War, its cumulative effects were to sap the strength of the independent malt distillers, to foster amalgamation, to bring the control of the trade into fewer hands, and to increase the duty on the product and the taxation of the distillery industry.³¹⁶ Gunn's perspective on taxation is more inflammatory, laying it at the feet of the government in London during a time when the movement for Home Rule was gaining traction. This highlights the industry's tension around the stakeholders' identity and how a Scottish product fits into the British economy. Lockhart's assessment is more matter of fact that industry change was an inevitable step in a process that was exacerbated by the war.

³¹⁵ Gunn, *Whisky and Scotland*, 185-186.

³¹⁶ Lockhart, *Scotch*, 127.

KILLING A HOME INDUSTRY

WE think we are giving the Chancellor of the Exchequer friendly advice when we invite him to reduce substantially the Whisky Duty in his next Budget.

Scotland has produced the most popular stimulant in the World and it is being killed in the home of its origin.

Scotland—and Scotsmen—take a proper share in the good government of the Empire and also in the development of its industries. The fact that Scotch Whisky has always been Scotland's principal stimulant has not damaged the moral or physical fibre of the Scots people. The World is steadily following Scotland's example by using the stimulant of the Scot.

But for the fact that Overseas markets continue to demand Scotch Whisky, the War Tax of 8/5¹/₂d. per bottle (against 1/8³/₄d. pre-war) would have killed the distilling and very seriously damaged the Farming and other Allied Industries.

**THE GOVERNMENT THAT REDUCES
THE WHISKY TAX
WILL BE A POPULAR GOVERNMENT**

*We recommend the Chancellor
to secure this popularity now.*

ISSUED BY THE DISTILLERS COMPANY, LTD.

Fig. 4.9 – “Killing a Home Industry”. Financial Times, 8 February 1928, p. 11. Financial Times Historical Archive.

The context for Fig. 4-9 and Fig. 4-10 represented this change. DCL here acted as a lobbying power, and the tensions in the industry that were increased by taxation were used to justify rationalisation. Fig. 4-9 appeared in Hughes' advertising history, where he acknowledged that the marketing of Haig whisky as 'The Empire Whisky' was a short-lived effort ahead of a General Election where it would be sought to lower the tax burden against the industry.³¹⁷ The phrase 'The Empire Whisky' recalls the use of Dewar to associate their brand with the British Empire. This could be seen as a strategy to counter Gunn's argument and remind the government of their union.

Fig. 4-9 and Fig. 4-10 were published after the merger of the 'Big Three' (Buchanan-Dewar and Walkers) with DCL in 1925; Haig & Haig Ltd had previously been made a subsidiary of John Haig Ltd, having merged with DCL in 1919. Hughes notes that Haig and Haig had been developed to market whisky in the US and suggests that DCL wanted control of the Haig and Haig brand because it conflicted with their brand of John Haig's Liqueur whisky acquired for bootlegging.³¹⁸ Instead of developing a new brand, they could utilise the brand equity for Haig and Haig that existed in the US before Prohibition. The activity of the whisky industry during US Prohibition exists in the literature mainly as anecdotes mentioned without sources. It is not a narrative easily resolved, but the next section examines a probable connection displayed in an advertisement for Gloag's Grouse blend whisky.

³¹⁷ Hughes, *Still Going Strong*, 64.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-64.

4.7 1933 No Party is Complete without Whisky

As mentioned in Section 4.5, depictions of Victorian sporting associated with Scotland continued to be utilised in the twentieth century. This advertisement for Gloag's "Grouse" brand whisky accentuates the connection between the grouse in their brand name and the sport hunting of grouse, with the season opening on the 12th of August. The illustration accompanying the copy text is consistent with what the advertising literature refers to as the "golden days" of advertising.³¹⁹ Despite the 1929 Stock market crash and global depression, the people depicted in this image retained the hallmarks of 1920s advertising that elevated images of affluent activities that associated Scotch whisky with leisure and sophistication. Similarly to Fig. 4-8, the Johnnie Walker 'hole-in-one' campaign, the image of the whisky being sold is not present, but the setting of the illustration implies its inclusion. Fig. 4-11 achieved this without using a familiar symbol of the brand but utilises the association of grouse hunting, cultivating the image of the grouse, also not pictured, for future promotion and brand equity. While the image in the advertisement calls attention to the practice of driven grouse hunting that occurs principally in England, Scotland, and Wales, the text at the bottom of the advertisement lists the international places where agencies represent the brand. While it is not unexpected to see agencies represented by Commonwealth nations, the frequency of agents mentioned that served the islands of the Caribbean region in 1933 before the end of American Prohibition is unlikely a coincidence.

As demonstrated in the last section, the British government found the taxation of the Scotch whisky industry as a boon to address the war debt, which the industry felt was negatively impacting its ability to continue in a challenging business environment. The tax benefited from raising payments and decreasing the home market consumption, effectively operating a Prohibition without legislating it, extending from the wartime distilling restrictions. Moss and Hume note that the US was the most important pre-war market for Scotch whisky,³²⁰ but were successful in legislating a nationwide Prohibition.

³¹⁹ Clarence Pearson Hornung and Fridolf Johnson, *200 years of American Graphic Arts: a retrospective survey of the printing arts and advertising since the colonial period*, New York: G. Braziller, 1976, 149-151.

³²⁰ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 148.

2 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS July 29, 1933

THE GLORIOUS "TWELFTH"



*No party is Complete
without*

GLOAG'S "GROUSE" BRAND WHISKY

One of the very best of
SCOTCH WHISKIES

IT CAN BE OBTAINED ABROAD:—

SOUTHERN RHODESIA	The "Grouse" Agency, Salisbury.
KENYA	Jardin, Phipson & Co., Ltd., Nairobi and Mombasa.
TANGIER	Rhys H. Evans.
MALTA	Pace & Aquilina.
GIBRALTAR	M. Baglietto.
TRINIDAD	Thos. Boyd & Co., Port of Spain.
BARBADOS	S. P. Musson, Son & Co., Ltd., Bridgetown.
BERMUDA	J. E. Lightbourn & Co., Hamilton.
GRENADA	W. Julien & Co., St. Georges.
JAMAICA	H. M. Kalphat, Kingston.
CHINA	Alex. Mackie & Co., Tientsin.
JAPAN	London-Ya, Gochome, Osaka.
	etc., etc.

For Agency Terms where not represented apply direct to Matthew Gloag & Son, Perth, Scotland.

In case of difficulty in obtaining supplies,
write
MATTHEW GLOAG & SON,
PERTH, Scotland, EST. 1800,
who will be pleased to
supply carriage paid in Great Britain at
£7 10s.
per dozen bottles.
Trial six bottles for
£3 15s.

Fig. 4.11 – "Gloag's 'Grouse' Brand Whisky". Illustrated London News, 29 July 1933, p.2. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

From January 1920, a national prohibition was extended from the previous wartime prohibition, which implemented a ban in perpetuity for the sale and importation of intoxicating alcohol. Moss and Hume and the literature on US Prohibition state that this was “less than effective” with the West Indies (Caribbean Islands) and Canada as a base for illicit trade.³²¹ This location of the illicit trade in the Caribbean is why it stands out that Gloag is advertising their agencies there. In his memoir on the Scotch whisky trade, Lockhart states that the “Big Five”, or Whisky Barons, considered the market closed, making “no attempt to break the law,”³²² then, he points to the vast smuggling trade that occurred. Julie Brown refers to this as ‘controlled bootlegging,’³²³ which the industry recognised the importance of maintaining the brand equity they developed and acted to lessen the damage done through illicit activity. Andrews details the need for branded quality Scotch whisky through the example of Berry Brothers and Rudd in their experience in Nassau during Prohibition and the introduction of their brand, Cutty Sark, in 1923.³²⁴ As authors have suggested, the availability of Gloag’s “Grouse Brand” in Trinidad, Barbados, Bermuda, Grenada, and Jamaica had a direct link to the popularity of their Famous Grouse brand in the United States after the repeal of Prohibition. The ‘Great Experiment’ of National Prohibition lasted for thirteen years, and when the repeal was anticipated, the Scotch whisky industry was ready to return to the US market.³²⁵ The following three sections illustrate the return of Scotch whisky to America and how advertising changed in response.

³²¹ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 147-148.

See also: Daniel Okrent, *Last Call The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, Scribner: New York, 2010. and Mark Lawrence Schrad, *Smashing the Liquor Machine A Global History of Prohibition*, Oxford University Press: New York, 2021.

³²² Lockhart, *Scotch whisky*, 145.

³²³ Bower, “Scotch Whisky: History, Heritage and the Stock Cycle,” 6.

³²⁴ Andrews, *Whisky Barons*, 95-144.

³²⁵ "Seager Evans & Co." *Financial Times*, 7 Oct. 1933, p. 7. *Financial Times Historical Archive*. “Distilling in New Jersey,” *Daily News* (London), 7 Oct. 1933.

4.8 The grandeur, the freedom, the fragrance of the mountains

The advertisement in Fig. 4-12 indicates the kind of advertising imagery used for a brand that did not have established equity from the nineteenth century, and it reflects the more substantial invocation of the physical landscape of Scotland in the quality of the whisky being sold. In 1921, the Aberlour-Glenlivet distillery was sold to W. H. Holt and Sons brewery in Manchester. This is significant, as despite an economic depression and much of the industry being wound up with amalgamation, a brewery and one outside Scotland purchased the distillery. Without access to further details of the business, it is not possible to ascertain the motivations for the move into the whisky market, but it was an opportunity to take advantage of a contracting industry in the hopes that it would recover. Without the brand building that occurred in the late nineteenth century through advertisements, Holt's Mountain Cream did not have an established icon or association to use. In Fig. 4-12, the illustration and copy text evoked the landscape to represent the whisky's quality. It appealed to the consumer through sentimentality, impassioning, that through the whisky, the drinker is reminded of the "grandeur, the freedom, the fragrance of the mountains from which it derives its name." In the way that Highland Queen provided the names of their distilleries as a method of transparency in the whisky-making process, here Holts emphasised the production, "years of maturing in freshly emptied sherry casks: malted barley, yeast, and the clear, cool spring waters of the Scottish Highlands." The suggested Highland landscape association is not just visual with the illustration but through the language, especially with "freedom", which appealed to romantic visions of Scotland and reinforces the geographic requirements that support the making of Scotch whisky. The appeal to the landscape as essential to the quality of the whisky is poetically described by MacDonald, who wrote of Speyside romantically,

... it would be no true or, at least, no very discerning lover of whisky who could enter this almost sacred zone without awe. it would be a most unimaginative man who could pass along its roads and look on its woods and fields, its pleasant hills and beautiful sea-shores without seeking for analogies in the scenery around him with the various perfections in his favourite whiskies. ... It is one of the most fortunate areas in all Britain, in its climate, in its scene, in the fertility of its soil and the grandeur of its pine woods, in the physical dignity and mental poise of its people. ... Such is the inner sanctuary, the fountainhead, the Ark of the Covenant of whisky.³²⁶

³²⁶ MacDonald, *Scotch*, 105-106.

*The Cream of
the Mountains!*

a fitting phrase for Holt's Mountain Cream Scotch Whisky. Manufactured under ideal conditions in the heart of the Glenlivet district, every sip of this mellow golden liquid recalls the grandeur: the freedom: the fragrance of the mountains from which it derives its name. Years of maturing in freshly emptied sherry casks: malted barley, yeast, and the clear, cool spring waters of the Scottish Highlands give Holt's Mountain Cream Whisky a flavour all its own: a flavour you'll like!

Holt's
Mountain Cream
*'tis still the
best distilled* **Scotch Whisky**

W. H. HOLT & SONS LIMITED
Aberlour-Glenlivet Distillery
ABERLOUR, SCOTLAND

A

Fig. 4.12 – "Holt's Mountain Cream Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 23 November 1935, p. 915. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

Many of the advertisements in this thesis, when an association to Scotland has thus far been demonstrated, have overwhelmingly been related to historical or cultural associations. Landscape appeared briefly in examples from Chapter Three, visible out the window of the early John Robertson and Son advertisement in Fig. 3-5, in the Dewar's advertisements for overseas markets in Fig. 3-10 and Fig. 3-11, as well as through the name of Uam Var, Fig. 3-6. Advertisements in Chapter Four used the landscape as a background in Fig. 4-1 for PD Scotch, Fig. 4-3 for Bulloch Lade, and Fig. 4-7 for Highland Queen. The usage of the Monarch of the Glen painting by Landseer in Fig. 4-6 approached the significance of the landscape, but ultimately, the power is in the iconography of the stag and the associations of the painting as an object. This contrasts with the change here in Fig. 4-12, where the landscape of the Highlands is the central theme of the advertisement, and like the use of the Striding Man, it acts as a symbol for Scotch whisky. This is a critical shift in the landscape that will reflect how consumers of Scotch whisky formed ideas about Scotland in the future and becomes significant in justifying the efforts for the geographic protection of Scotch whisky. As the American market for alcohol resumed legitimately, the favourable association of "Scotch" in Scotch whisky became a significant theme for the industry to reinforce positively, with the next sections turning to advertising in American periodicals.

4.9 The “return” of Scotch whisky in America

To this point, every advertising example in this chapter has been drawn from the *ILN*, excluding Fig. 4-9, which appeared in the *Financial Times*. The end of US Prohibition saw the eager return to legal business activity by the Scotch whisky industry. Therefore, the examples for Fig. 4-13 and Fig. 4-14 are sourced from the American publication *Life Magazine*. The periodical originated as a late nineteenth-century magazine, but in 1936, it was relaunched as a pictorial magazine.³²⁷ It is significant that within the first year of its relaunch in a market full of national brands, Scotch whisky advertisements are present.

Lockhart suggested that with the end of the repeal of Prohibition, there was a public movement away from illicit spirits and bootlegging to trusted brands; because of the reputation of Scotch whisky before the war, it was relatively easy to recapture the market.³²⁸ *Life Magazine* was largely pictorial in format, compressing the text so that it did not detract from the image; while the advertisements in *Life* have not been exhaustively studied, it is possible that this composition style bled over into the designs of the advertisements within. This is a different format to *ILN*, even though advertising space had increased, significant space was dedicated to textual narrative. With this difference in mind, the way that *Life* could be read with a glance through the pages at images logically meant that advertisements needed to be understood immediately.

As mentioned in Section 4.5, there were differences of opinion regarding the advertising of Johnnie Walker. The figure of the Striding Man had become an integral part of the brand, but in the 1930s, the board struggled to agree on reinvigorating the brand image in advertisements. Morgan briefly mentions that the company changed their advertising agency to be represented by S. H. Benson, who held well-known national and international brands Guinness, Lipton’s, and Colman’s mustard.³²⁹ A study of advertising agency roles in advertising Scotch whisky does not exist, but it should be acknowledged that the History of Advertising Trust considers S. H. Benson a leading British agency in the 1920s and 30s.³³⁰ It is therefore significant that the Johnnie Walker brand was a part of their portfolio, as it demonstrates the level of sophistication taken in designing the campaigns.


³²⁷ Erika Doss, *Looking at Life Magazine*, Washington Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.

³²⁸ Lockhart, *Scotch whisky*, 147.

³²⁹ Morgan, *A Long Stride*, 199.

³³⁰ “S. H. Benson History,” History of Advertising Trust, <https://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/agencies/21/S-H-Benson/>, Accessed 13 November 2023.


1820 *knew it* 1937 *knows it*



It's sensible to stick with

JOHNNIE WALKER

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY



40-50 proof

There's a reason why men everywhere enjoy a short Johnnie Walker and soda before dinner. There's a reason why after dinner, it's of course Johnnie Walker. Since 1820, the genial gentleman in the red coat has stood for good taste and pleasure. So keep yours Johnnie Walker. There's no better whisky than Scotch and no better Scotch than Johnnie Walker.

RED LABEL, 5 YEARS OLD BLACK LABEL, 12 YEARS OLD

CANADA DRY GINGER ALE, INC., NEW YORK, N. Y.; SOLE DISTRIBUTOR

Copyrighted material

Fig. 4.13 – “Johnnie Walker”. Life Magazine, 8 November 1937, p. 128. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

Even in Scotland...



*Ambassador
of good will
No. 87
ambrosia*

Canadian Club
Canadian Whisky
Hiram Walker & Co. Ltd.
London

"Here's a Scotch way you haven't heard," writes C. K. Larson of New York. "Visiting Uncle Dawson of Conway last summer, I was taken off to a very deep room to shoot grouse, so I was more than ready for a still one when we got back to the ancestral hall. With proper reverence I raised my glass, expecting to sip a rare Scotch whisky. It was rare whisky, all right, but familiar in the

frank of Liberty! 'I see ye ken Canadian Club,' said Uncle Dawson, smiling my surprise. 'Ye cannot reveal never do we let it get about, but here's the most loyal Scot enjoys a drop of Canadian Club now and then!'"

"Canadian Club" (100% proof) is the only whisky of its kind. Hiram Walker also makes fine Scotch, pure - whatever you like. It's a whisky that's been made for over 100 years. It's a whisky that's been made for over 100 years. It's a whisky that's been made for over 100 years.

Hiram Walker's **"CANADIAN CLUB"**

Fig. 4.14 – “Hiram Walker’s ‘Canadian Club’”. Life Magazine, 22 November 1937, p. 133. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

While outside the remit of this work, further research into the agency activity for different Scotch whisky firms, especially those within the amalgamation of DCL, could add another dimension of meaning to the history of Scotch whisky advertising. It is also significant for considering the meaning behind the advertisements made. While this thesis frequently examines the decisions to use cultural Scottish symbols in the advertising of Scotch whisky, including the role of the agency as author and designer highlights the goal of the advertisements to sell a product, and it is not about authenticity in representing Scottish culture. Examining Fig. 4-13, while the emblematic figure of the Striding Man is present in the centre, he is far removed from any thought of Scotland, but he is familiar in the modern places alongside the figure on the right, the 1937 man, perhaps enjoyed after a day at the office. When it comes to understanding the advertisement in the context of 1937 the advertisement is well placed in what the literature describes the purpose of advertisements during this period. Advertisements of the 1930s purposefully masked the economic difficulties, encouraging consumers to buy their way out. The absence of the Depression in advertisements was the strategy,³³¹ Dyer reflects on this by saying that the design strategy was to encourage consumption as the way out of any trouble or misfortune, real or invented.³³²

The advertisement in Fig. 4-13 represents a specific period in contemporary advertising in the context of wider economic forces, but it is also represented in the way that it uses iconography. In the study of the use of iconography by advertisements in this phase of advertising history, the imagery is rooted in metaphor and inference reflecting the social values of the time, here masculinity, as well as the differentiation in status,³³³ the 1937 Johnnie Walker drinker has a sensible work suit setting him against the reality of unemployment. The Striding Man as the central figure, along with his contemporary 1820 man, reinforces the brand memory and the equity gained before US Prohibition, representing an effort to reclaim customers and influence a new generation. This appearance in *Life Magazine* is far removed from its Scottish origins, which is both reflected in the next example Fig. 4-14, as well as this quote from Aeneas MacDonald on the state of the industry in the 1930s and calls out the image of the Striding Man:

Whisky emerges from the shadows of the hermetic arts into the harsh limelight of the age of trusts and cartels and mass-production. The blue smoke rising warily above the heather

³³¹ Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 236-237.

³³² Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, 45-50.

³³³ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 166-168.

dissolves and in its place there rises the gigantic image of one whose monocle, scarlet coat, top boots and curly-brimmed tall hat seem strangely remote from the glens and the clachans.³³⁴ Unlike the ambiguous modern setting of Fig. 4-13, the location of Fig. 4-14 is heavily implied with the assembly of kilted men, a bagpiper, giving a toast in front of a large baronial roaring fire. By all appearances, this advertisement should be for Scotch whisky, and that is exactly the point Hiram Walker is trying to make. The popularity of Scotch whisky is utilised to associate the Canadian Club brand, implying that people who could have Scotch in Scotland appreciate and choose Canadian Club.

What stands out the most about this advertisement is that when it was published in 1937, Hiram Walker had made significant investments in Scotch whisky distilleries and a majority holding in the blending firm James and George Stodart Ltd.³³⁵ In addition to this, Moss and Hume while discussing the expansion of US exports in the mid-1930s, mention the increase of distilling production, including the investment by North American firms in ownership of Scotch whisky distilleries and blending brands.³³⁶ Hiram Walker made the purchase of the firm George Ballantine & Son's, adding this to their interests, then formed a new Scotland-based company, Hiram Walker (Scotland) Ltd., likely to consolidate their Scottish-based interests and to take advantage of the benefits of operating a UK business instead of exporting through subsidiaries. The purchase of Ballantine's by Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts occurred two years after the repeal of the American prohibition and was part of a larger trend within the drink industry that saw the return to legal distribution from previously illicit activity.

That activity had been incredibly lucrative and made it possible for entrepreneurs like Harry C. Hatch to diversify with legitimate brands when repeal occurred. This is demonstrated in a *New York Times* article from 19 March 1929 which details that Harry C. Hatch, the chairman of the recently merged companies Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts, was in Havana and returning to Canada, avoiding any US ports. He was named in an indictment in Buffalo, New York, that was part of a larger crackdown on a smuggling ring reported to have brought into the US \$26 million worth of alcohol within the previous year, as long as he avoided landing in the US he could not be extradited.³³⁷ Hatch's career

³³⁴ MacDonald, *Scotch*, 48.

³³⁵ As reported in: Aberdeen Press Journal, 3 Dec 1936, The Scotsman 3 Dec 1936, Aberdeen Press and Journal 21 Jan 1937, and Dundee Courier 21 Jan 1937.

Craig, *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record*, 244-245. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 156.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

³³⁷ Special Cable to the New York Times, "Hatch avoids ports here: Canadian Distiller, indicted at Buffalo, will go straight home," *New York Times (1923-)*, Mar 19, 1929, Accessed 03 December 2023.

in the liquor industry began in 1911 when he purchased a liquor store before selling it and working with other distillery interests in Canada. He amassed the means and purchased both Hiram Walker and Gooderham & Worts, both nineteenth-century established distilleries in Canada, for \$15 million in 1926. On his death in 1946, he left behind a company with many subsidiaries representing drinks interests in the US, Canada, Scotland, and Argentina.³³⁸ Ultimately, this resulted in greater inventory control and the ability to supply their North American interests with Scotch and grain whisky. The advertisement for Hiram Walker's Canadian Club may seem counterintuitive when they were spending vast sums of money to secure their access to Scotch whisky, but it represents the way multinational investment presented its activity in the Scotch whisky industry to Scotland and the world and how this was incorporated to their existing business. The implications of Hiram Walker's activity in the Scotch whisky industry will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

³³⁸ "Harry Hatch dies; Canadian turfman: head of Hiram Walker liquor firm owned top stable-- won King's Plate 5 times headed vast liquor empire," *New York Times (1923-)*, May 09, 1946, Accessed 03 December 2023.

4.10 The Genuine Old Scotch

As this thesis has demonstrated, the use of symbols to associate Scotch whisky with Scotland has been utilised from the beginning of visual advertisements with fluctuating intensity. As the familiarity with those symbols decreased over time and the advertising was cast to more people, the messages used needed to be simplified to reach the greatest understanding. The examples of Fig. 4-15 and Fig. 4-16 represented a turning point in the iconography. Both men in the advertisements are a blueprint for a stereotypical Highland Ghillie found in caricatures, paintings, and advertisements. However, they differ because of the change in popular culture sources for their depiction. This reflects a shift from the Victorian source of knowledge and perception of Scotland through literature and visual art to the new media of film and the popularity of music hall and vaudeville stage productions. This was not an isolated phenomenon with advertising of the late 1930s characterised by a kitsch aesthetic.³³⁹ It is also significant because, in the case of Dewar's, who utilised the popularity of a contemporary figure and the representation of Scottishness they portrayed was an opportunity, it is one that has continued to receive criticism and contributes to the debate about what is authentic Scottish culture and how should it be represented. Criticism of these representations has appeared in the Scotch whisky literature and contributes to the dismissal of studying advertising in the business history of Scotch whisky. While this thesis is not a cultural study of these symbols and their reception, the use of these images does have implications for advertisements that followed this period. A brief analysis of the two examples in Fig. 4-15 and Fig. 4-16 will be given before discussing the criticism and implications images like these received.

³³⁹ Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 336.

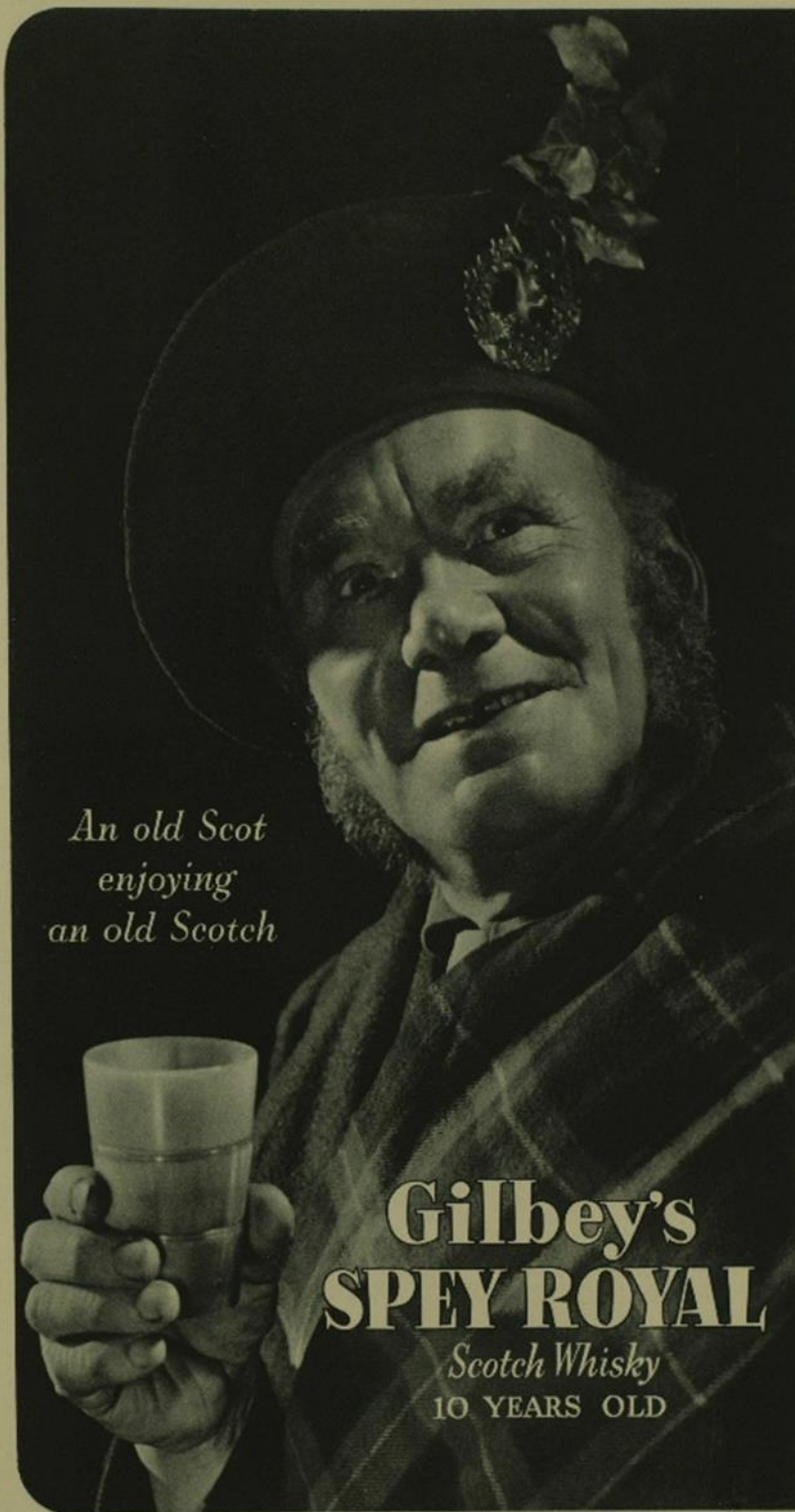
4 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS DECEMBER 17, 1938

Genuine Scotch!

*"For Christmas - my Dewar's
"White Label"*


Fig. 4.15 – "White Label' Finest Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 17 December 1938, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

MARCH 5, 1938 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 403



*An old Scot
enjoying
an old Scotch*

**Gilbey's
SPEY ROYAL**
Scotch Whisky
10 YEARS OLD



*It's GOOD—
it's GILBEY'S*

STORIES OF THE CLANS No. 1

According to tradition the first Gordon to achieve notoriety was that Bertrand de Gourdon who is said to have shot Richard the Lion Heart before Chalus in 1199. The old red tartan was, like some others, a territorial one proper to parts of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire, and was worn in the 18th century by Gordons, Brodies and Forbesees alike, especially those with Jacobite leanings.

When in 1794 the Gordon Highlanders were raised for the Crown from the Clan by the Marquess of Huntley it was necessary to provide them with a tartan that did not imply either a preferential loyalty to the Chief or sympathy for the exiled Stewarts, the Black Watch tartan was selected, but differenced with a yellow stripe. Except for full dress this has now come to be accepted as the clan tartan.

In the same way the present Forbes tartan was evolved in 1822 by Miss Forbes of Pitsligo by adding a white cross line to the Black Watch tartan. Thus the two principal families that once wore the red Huntley now wear a tartan only differenced by a yellow and a white line. The unique clan badge is a sprig of ivy.

The Gordons it may be noted were the first to adopt the Glengarry bonnet after its invention about 1795 for the use of the Glengarry Fencibles. Our Gordon however wears the Balmoral bonnet, now generally worn in Scotland. It is a modernised version of the old Kilmarnock "blue bonnet" made famous by so many Scots songs. Like the Royal Balmoral tartan it was apparently evolved by the Prince Consort about 1860.

Fig. 4.16 – "Gilbey's Spey Royal Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 5 March 1938, p. 403. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The Dewar's whisky advert, Fig. 4-15, relied heavily on the popularity of Sir Harry Lauder, the comedic performer, as well as a striking resemblance to John Laurie's crofter character in Alfred Hitchcock's 1935 film *The 39 Steps*. It is as if the illustrator has compressed these two references to make an icon that would be instantly recognisable. The man in Fig. 4-15 is composed in a pose of "direct address" this feature was familiar to music hall audiences.³⁴⁰ Through this association, the image almost comes to life as if to pass the viewer the Dewar's White Label bottle. This visual association with Harry Lauder is not a coincidence; it was widely publicised in the press the friendship that Tommy Dewar had with Lauder, who, during the early 20th century, was one of the highest-paid entertainers with an incredible celebrity. In a way, the association courted by Dewar acts as an endorsement. In Andrews' *Whisky Barons*, he regales the reader with tales of Dewar's friendship with Tom Lipton and Harry Lauder, referring to it as "Harry Lauder and Dewar's whisky are the greatest cementers of Anglo- American friendship."³⁴¹ While he does not demonstrate the business that occurred between or was inspired by Dewar and Lauder, in describing them as having transatlantic influence, it indicates how successful the association was for Dewars. The comedic performance that Lauder was known for contributed to the compression of Scottish culture as an element of what has been referred to as Tartanry, which is the stereotypical kitsch representation of traditional culture.³⁴² This has been widely discussed in the literature on stage, screen representations, and Scottish popular culture.³⁴³ Lockhart decries this:

Whisky and oatmeal! Together with the kilt, the bagpipes and haggis they have been for over a century the butt of comedians and the stock-in-trade of saccharine sentimentalists. Nevertheless, they are the essence of the whole matter, the pattern of the past and the signpost for the future. For if Scotland is to survive as something more than the northern county of England, she must continue to have a culture and life of her own.³⁴⁴

Fig. 4-16, similarly to Fig. 4-15, contributed to this Tartanry, while tartan has appeared in

³⁴⁰ John Ritchie, "Sir Harry Lauder and the Scots Diaspora: Cementing Identity through Stage and Screen," in *Visual Culture in Britain*, 20:3, 2019, 283.

³⁴¹ Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*, 73.

³⁴² David Stenhouse, "Not Made in Scotland: Images of the nation from Furth of the Forth," in *Scottish Cinema Now*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, edited by Jonathan Murray, Fidelma Farley, Rod Stoneman, 2009.

³⁴³ John Ritchie, "Sir Harry Lauder," 278-295.

David Goldie, "Hugh MacDiarmid, Harry Lauder and Scottish Popular Culture," in *International Journal of Scottish Literature*. Issue One, Autumn 2006.

Ian Brown, "In Exile from ourselves?." In *Etudes Ecossoises* [in English], 10 | 2005, 123-141.

³⁴⁴ Lockhart, *Scotch whisky*, 175.

Scotch whisky advertisements previous to this, the costume of the men depicted with the associated phrase “An old Scot enjoying and old Scotch” contributes to the compression of what is believed to be a Scottish person in the 1930s. Included with the copy is an engaging narrative about clan history, the accuracy of which has not been discerned for this discussion. As the whisky writing of authors such as MacDonald, Gunn, and Lockhart have shown, the criticism of the Scotch whisky industry and its relationship to Scotland were a point of contention, with advertisements such as these contributing to a representation that was about sales, not authenticity. The way that associations to Scotland are cultivated for the global market is not to satisfy the authenticity of Scotland or Scottish people but to communicate in the simplest way to most people the connection between these symbols and whisky. Creating positive associations contributes to the decisions made by consumers when there is significant choice among whiskies available. This attitude has consequences and has been widely explored in the context of representations of Scottish culture and people in popular media, but not how the Scotch whisky industry has contributed to it.

4.11 Chapter 4: Conclusions

The advertisements in this chapter demonstrate how the industry utilised symbols and popular associations with Scotland to put the ‘Scotch’ in Scotch whisky. The motivations for using these symbols reveal the growing emphasis on sophisticated advertising directed to consumer demographics and the maturity of brands with quality associated with the recognition of a brand name. The examples in this chapter provide a more complex usage of Scottish associations that has moved beyond the Victorian perceptions of Scotland and references to popular literature and art. The influence of the long nineteenth century is not completely removed from the advertisements, but they have shifted away from references to drinking Scotch in Scotland and military camps across the Empire but instead embraced a more universal occasion and market of Scotch drinkers in the diaspora, as discussed for Fig. 4-1, Fig. 4-2, and Fig. 4-5. The examples for Fig. 4-15 and Fig. 4-16 demonstrate the new popular culture references to Scottish characters from stage and screen; while their origins are older, their characters are re-packaged for a contemporary audience.

The title for this chapter, with its similarities to the title of Chapter Three, indicates this change to more universal references. No longer the drink in camp, on the moor, or for the palace and the shieling, the text has embraced the modern drinker of the twenties and thirties who could be found sporting in the stream or on the hunt but also in the car or on a yacht., or as in Fig. 4-8 the modern golfer. While images such as Britannia in Fig. 4-5 continue to represent the Britishness of the Scotch whisky industry, advertisements for Fig. 4-3, Fig. 4-4, and Fig. 4-7 for companies outside of the DCL cartel demonstrated the tension between the blending firms and those who remained independent and with a deeper layer reflecting the images used to refer to Scottish Nationalism, as Fig. 4-4 does with the Ossian mythology. Here, the meaning of Scotch whisky is a tension between independent blended brands and the ‘Big Five’ blended brands, at the lamentation of the contemporary authors from Gunn, Lockhart, and MacDonald. Despite their critics, the goodwill developed by the blending brands and the associations they cultivated among the consumers for quality and for that being found in Scotch whisky was essential for the success of the industry internationally and speaks to the importance of those markets.

Despite the economic conditions of the Global Depression, the demand for Scotch whisky remained. The industry was not shy about emphasising this, with Fig. 4-9 crediting the overseas markets as the reason the taxes in the home market had not completely ended the sale of Scotch whisky. This demonstrates how the industry relied on the sale of Scotch

whisky in export markets. For example, Fig. 4-11, for the Glog's "Grouse" (now known as Famous Grouse), explains the motivation to detail an abundance of the available inventory in areas adjacent to the United States during their National Prohibition. The power of the brand name and the associations with Scotland to represent Scotch whisky as a quality beverage during a time when consumers were not protected from scrupulous imitations helped to maintain equity for Scotch whisky and the blended brands when repeal occurred. The advertisement for Johnnie Walker Fig. 4-13 also demonstrated this with the illustration of the Striding Man reinforcing that their lineage from 1820 to 1937 meant quality and deserved brand loyalty. To demonstrate the quality and significance of the production of Scotch whisky in Scotland, Fig. 4-12 called on the association with the landscape of Scotland and the inherent natural qualities of the water and place in making the spirit. This strategy will become essential to justifying the unique qualities of Scotch whisky as competition from competing interests intensifies. The position of Scotch whisky as a world beverage at the end of the 1930s is evident in Fig. 4-14 for Hiram Walker's Canadian Club, attempting to use the power of the Scottish association to position their Canadian whisky in competition with Scotch. In summary, Chapter Four represents a shift forward in how the association with Scotland was utilised to sell Scotch to a modern consumer and that the distribution and popularity garnered in the previous decades in foreign markets sustained the industry through difficulties retailing in the home market. The contrast between retailing and marketing efforts in the Home market and the export markets becomes more significant and is demonstrated in the next chapter.

Part Three: A Spirit at Home Abroad

Chapter 5: “Whisky Galore, Americans Big Help in Bringing a Boom to Scotch Whisky,” 1940-1959

The title for this chapter comes from the 05 September 1956 headline of the New York Times article that highlighted the significance of the American market to the unprecedented export of Scotch whisky. The phrase ‘Whisky Galore’ is connected to readers as a popular culture reference for the 1947 novel by Compton MacKenzie and the 1949 film of the same name.³⁴⁵ Its usage in the headline illustrates the proliferation of Scotch whisky available in the US and its connection, as in the book and film, to the impact of rationing and export during World War II. The article illustrates the transformation of the industry in the post-war period, reflecting a different experience of wartime whisky marketing than experienced during World War I and summarised in section 1.09 of this thesis. While inspired by actual events, the story of *Whisky Galore*, saw a Scottish island “rescuing” crates of Scotch whisky bound for America for their own consumption, the reality for the rest of the home market was far grimmer. The article states:

The Scotch whisky business is booming. Every drop made is sold: Seventy- five percent overseas for foreign exchange and 25 per cent for the still-rationed home market...

Whisky, automobiles and textiles are Britain’s greatest dollar earners. Last year Scotch whisky sales to the United States totalled 8,000,000 gallons, worth \$64,000,000. This was 7 per cent of all the whisky drunk in the United States and about 40 per cent of Britain’s output.³⁴⁶

The figures given in the article demonstrate the significant change that occurred in the marketing of Scotch whisky; rationing in the home market made it possible to provide the remaining inventory impacted by wartime distilling restrictions of Scotch whisky to the export market. With 40 percent of the Scotch whisky output going to the US and only representing 7 percent of the whisky consumption in that market, this represented a significant market for Britain, overtaking the export to other global markets and demonstrating a considerable market for further expansion. The extensive growth in demand in the American market during this period reflects the title of this chapter and is a

³⁴⁵ Compton MacKenzie, *Whisky Galore*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1947. Alexander MacKendrick, director, *Whisky Galore!*, 82 minutes, 16 June 1949 (UK).

³⁴⁶ “Whisky Galore, Americans Big Help in Bringing a Boom to Scotch whisky,” 05 September 1956, New York Times.

pivotal point that directed the advertising activity of the Scotch whisky industry during this period examined from 1940 – 1959.

The literature on the Scotch whisky industry during World War II and the post-war period is limited, but all emphasise the impact of the Government on distilling capacity and access to grain supplies, the direction of whisky inventory to export markets, and the shift this caused in the marketing and long-term availability of whisky in the home market.³⁴⁷ While the literature focuses on the declining inventory of aged Scotch whisky and the lack of distilling to replenish this for exports needed to earn dollars for supplies and later war debt, the changes in marketing, especially promotion, have not been demonstrated. Even though there was not enough inventory for demand during the war years to reach the growth seen by 1956, when the New York Times article was written, promotion was once again a necessary activity. This chapter addresses the changes that occurred in periodical advertising both in the home market and the US market, beginning just after the outbreak of World War II and continuing until the end of the 1950s when pressures on whisky stocks had decreased and distilling production expanded.

Before the war, the global depression that continued through the 1930s impacted the output of Scotch whisky production. Ross Wilson, a wine and spirits writer active in the 1970s-80s, used statistical data to understand the production and export activity of the industry.³⁴⁸ In Wilson's chapter titled "Scotch and WWII," he notes through the available figures that the distilling season of 1932-33 only saw 15 distilleries in operation, with none at a full-time capacity. With anticipation of the war, in contrast, to the beginning of the decade, the 1938-39 season saw 92 distilleries at work.³⁴⁹ This meant that the inventory of aged stocks had not been added to at the rate of the industry's distilling capacity over the decade, and despite an increase before Britain entered the war, a lack of ageing stocks when grain rationing came into force led to the demand outstripping the supply. Early in the conflict, it was recognised that ensuring Scotch whisky exports continued to the US would provide the dollars needed for the war effort. Glen's economic study of the industry illustrates that unlike the fears of nationalisation and prohibition by the government that occurred during WWI, the Ministry of Food instead operated a licencing programme from 1 March 1940

³⁴⁷ Daiches, *Scotch*, 115-116. Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914," 51-67. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 162-164. Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, 72-115.

³⁴⁸ University of Glasgow Archive, Ref. GB248 DC189, Wilson's papers and unpublished books have been deposited in the archive. Wilson, *Scotch: Its History and Romance*, 72-115.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

that granted access to grain for distilling under strict supervision to meet distilling and export quotas.³⁵⁰ This control by the government meant that the percentage of whisky stocks for export went from 53% to 75%, ultimately changing how the industry was marketed to favour exports.³⁵¹ Glen is the only part of the literature among Moss and Hume, Wilson, and Daiches, that mention the impact this had on advertisements.³⁵² While Glen's work briefly mentions this influence, the context for the changes in advertisements in the home market as well as in the U.S. market, examined in this chapter, gives insight into the relationship to wider advertising history and illustrates the challenges faced by the Scotch whisky industry. A study of more comprehensive British advertising during the war and in the following post-war period acknowledges that within the study of advertising, the literature has neglected advertisements during wartime and austerity, focusing more substantially on periods of prosperity.³⁵³ For that reason, this chapter analyses the periodical advertising that appeared in the Home Market in publications such as *The Illustrated London News* and *The Economist*, as well as those in the U.S. market through the publication of *Life Magazine*. By referencing these advertisements, this chapter contributes to the wider understanding of how the decline in the home market impacted the visibility of Scotch whisky brands in Britain, but it also recognises the contribution of promotion to the explanation of how Scotch whisky increased its popularity in the U.S. market.

³⁵⁰ Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914," 51-67.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 168.

³⁵³ Philippa Haughton, "Justifying British Advertising in War and Austerity, 1939-51," in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2017, 390-413. doi: 10.1093/tcbh/hwx031.

5.1 UK ads at the outbreak of WWII

When Britain entered the war in September 1939, this directly impacted the advertising industry, with a substantial retraction of commercial advertising during the war. Haughton discusses that the appearance of advertisements, especially of commodities that were considered luxury or those that became rationed, received criticism from the press and consumers for stimulating demand during the war. Despite this objection, the advertising industry argued that continuing promotion was essential for maintaining the brand equity developed in anticipation of regular trading in the post-war economy.³⁵⁴ This caused a conflict for brands, including those in the Scotch whisky industry, to decide between saving the expense of advertising as other costs rose or continuing promotion to preserve future market share. Haughton explains that the outbreak of war impacted the immediate frequency of commercial advertisements, with many companies pulling promotion for the duration of the war, but for some brands, continuing to advertise became a part of a broader strategy by the advertising industry to contrast the wartime announcements in periodicals and preserve brand recognition.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Haughton, "Justifying British Advertising in War and Austerity, 1939-51," 392-395.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 392-395.

FEBRUARY 10, 1940 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 3

Famous QUEENS by famous Masters

QUEEN NOFRETETE
By an artist of the Amarna Period
(After Rosset)



HIGHLAND QUEEN
GRAND 10 LIQUEUR SCOTCH WHISKY
by *Macdonald & Muir*

To those who look upon her likeness to-day,
she represents a tradition of regal nobility
handed down from an age long past. So
with Highland Queen "Grand Liqueur,"
the skill and patience of past generations has
handed down to us the subtle blend of flavours
that distinguishes this royal Whisky.

MACDONALD & MUIR, LTD., LEITH, EDINBURGH; also LONDON and GLASGOW.



Fig. 5.1 – "Highland Queen". Illustrated London News, 10 February 1940, p. 3. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

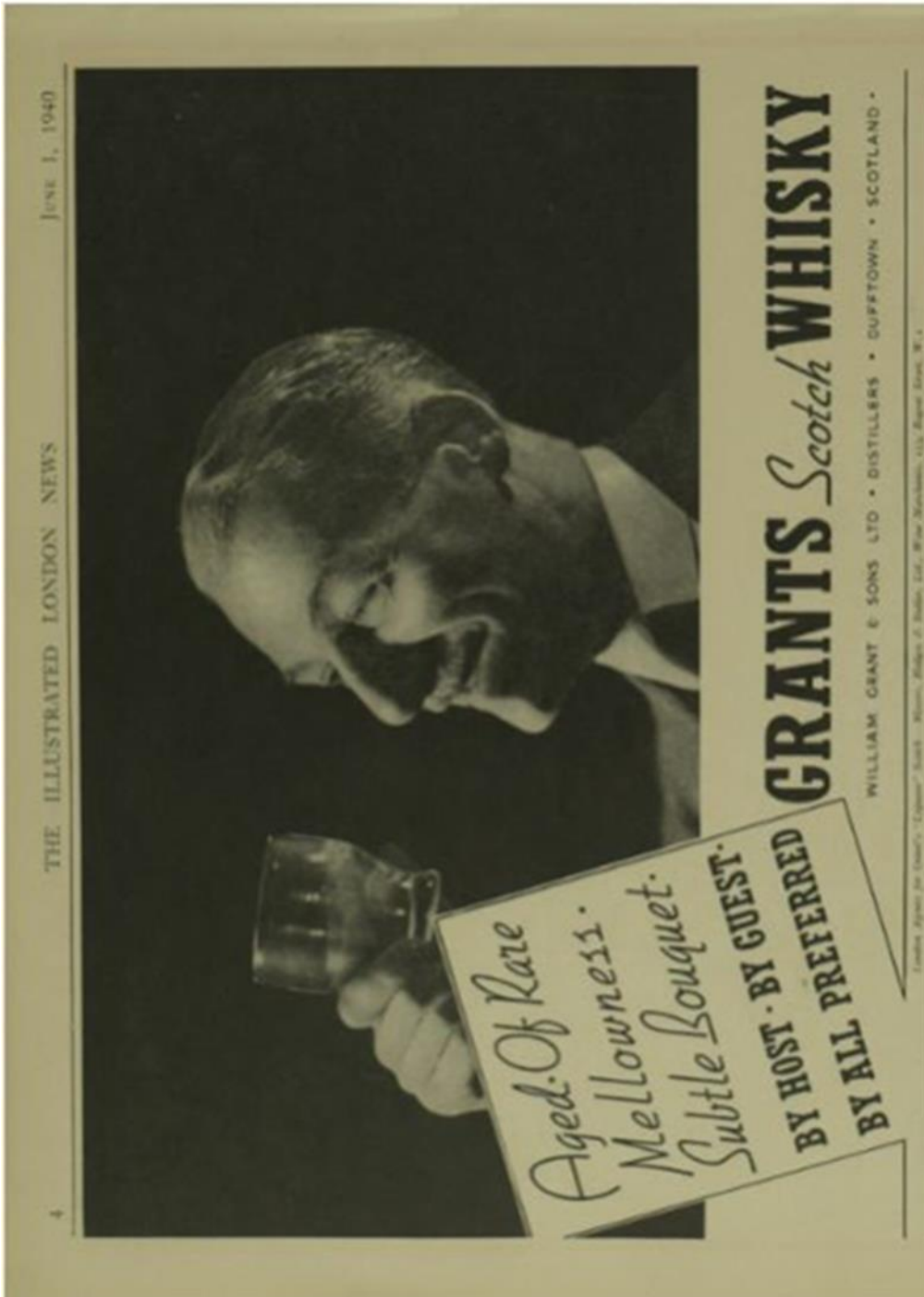


Fig. 5.2 – "Grants Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 1 June 1940, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

This section looks at two examples of advertising in 1940 that give an indication of the context for the advertising frequency that the industry participated in through the first year of the war and the influence for later change from these examples. The examples for Fig. 5-1 and Fig. 5-2 indicate the printed advertisements that appeared up to June 1940. While advertisements declined at the outbreak of the war, Scotch whisky advertising campaigns in *The Illustrated London News* did not immediately or entirely renounce the function of promotion in stimulating consumption. These examples continue advertising campaigns of 1939 for the brands Macdonald and Muir's 'Highland Queen Scotch whisky' and William Grant and Sons' 'Grants Scotch whisky'. The series for Fig. 5-1, the 'Highland Queen' campaign, was similarly composed with the image of an artistic work representing a notable historical Queen arranged with the silhouette of Mary Queen of Scots, associated with the brand and included the tagline, "Famous Queens by Famous Masters". While this composition uses the skill and craftsmanship of artmaking to equate with the production of Scotch whisky, the image's viewer does not need to know anything about art to appreciate the association. The repetitive nature of using "Famous Queens" to echo the brand name 'Highland Queen' utilises this cyclical association in reading the advertisement to reinforce the brand name in the viewer's mind and to make the association that the brand is well known and equated with quality and popularity.

As the 'Highland Queen' advertisement associates their blend of whisky with the public idea of nobility equating distinction, the next example communicates the same message, minus royal association, that Scotch whisky is sophisticated. Following the same formula, as part of a series connected by similar images and the repeated tagline, Fig. 5-2 for 'Grants Scotch whisky' focuses on the image of a distinguished gentleman of advanced age, raising a glass, not as a toast but as if to inspect and approve it. His smile indicates that he is pleased with what he finds, and as the viewer, we understand the equation of age with distinction and experience. The text of the tagline reads, "Aged, of rare mellowness, subtle bouquet," here giving the criteria that Grant's has determined appealed to their target consumer – a connoisseur who appreciates, and like the image, looks for these qualities in his whisky. From these two examples, it can be understood that collectively, they treat their whisky as equivalent to a treasured work of art, recognised as a symbol of quality and beauty in the case of 'Highland Queen,' and for 'Grants' approved by the knowledgeable connoisseur for its exceptional qualities. Both examples represent advertising campaigns that pre-dated the war; by their continuation after the start of the

war, they reflect a decision by these firms to continue promoting their labels in the home market.

They reflect a moment when change did not occur in a flash but was determined by decisions by the firms, in this case, to continue promotion. The catalyst for change from these examples is discussed in the next section. When promoting Scotch whisky, Glen referred to the wartime activity as that of a ‘caretaker’, where advertisements were used to boost public morale, reminding them of better days to come. Glen follows this wartime advertisement summary by saying that with a focus on exports after the war, some firms chose not to advertise in the home market.³⁵⁶ This may be true for specific brands or the impact across all types of promotion, but after analysing the advertisements in the *Illustrated London News*, it was found that there is more nuance than Glen’s assessment both during and after the war. While the examples of Fig. 5-1 and Fig. 5-2 do not reflect the outbreak of the war in their content, they do represent a relationship to broader branded goods advertising and a point for change to occur.

Glen spoke of the ‘caretaker’ activity as a way to frame advertising activity during the war positively, despite the contemporary criticism for stimulating spending that Haughton illustrated as contributing to the war effort by lifting the spirit of the public. Neither of these examples functions as morale-boosting explicitly because they were not created to be read in that way, but they should be considered as functioning despite the war as if business and life are as usual. This effort to reflect an uninterrupted everyday existence in the periodic press aligns with strategic efforts among advertisers between September 1939 and May 1940, known as the “Phoney War”. During this period in the Home Front, the government was warning of wartime risk that had yet to materialise to the degree that was stressed.³⁵⁷ This caused a tension between the public perception of feeling as the war did not evenly interrupt their lives and inspire a sense of patriotic duty for the war effort.

Without access to business records for company minutes, we cannot know the decision process or exact motivations that governed the continuation of the campaigns from 1939 into 1940. Their appearance reflects a choice to continue the visibility of the brands in the periodical press while incurring the expense to do this. It coincides with broader

³⁵⁶ Glen, “An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914,” 168.

³⁵⁷ The concept of fortitude by the British public during the war and austerity is referred to as “Blitz Spirit” and is a cultural phenomenon that has been studied in relation to advertising and propaganda in Clampin, David. 2014. *Advertising and Propaganda in World War II: Cultural Identity and the Blitz Spirit*. London: I.B. Tauris & Company, Limited. Accessed February 27, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

advertising practices that continue to promote goods to lessen the pressures of the war. The strain of the war impacted the supply of materials needed for the press throughout the 1940s, which was reflected in the appearance of commercial advertisements.³⁵⁸ The examples for Fig. 5-1 and Fig. 5-2 reflect the descriptions of this impact of materials on advertisements; the context will be described briefly below before illustrating the contrast the war had on Scotch whisky advertisements in the US in the next section.

Another element related to the changes that occurred because of the war is how restrictions on material and advertising frequency are associated with the design of advertisements. Haughton describes commercial advertisements as being reduced in size and less frequent because of the shortages in newsprint.³⁵⁹ Their visual composition reflects changes in the printing of periodicals to conserve materials; the immediate effect is that the advertising illustrations are more conservative by not appearing in full colour and are not full-page. These changes meant a reduction in advertisement expenses and a conservation of ink and newsprint. While this has been associated with a widespread shift in the context of periodic advertising and the war effort, in the case of Scotch whisky advertisements in Britain, full-colour advertisements were used sparingly in the 1930s, which is reflected in the examples from Chapter Two. As seen in Table 3, the frequency of advertisements that appeared in the *ILN* at the beginning of the 1930s was a plateau of stable amounts year to year and apart from the initial reaction to the outbreak of the war reflected in decreased frequency the number of advertisements annually was stable, with at least one Scotch whisky advertisement in each issue until the end of the war. The frequency of advertisements did not recover to the pre-war numbers until 1949 and into the 1950s. While the frequency increased, the visually conservative advertisements continued. This contrast between the advertising campaigns in the British press and those in the United States, seen in the examples from Life Magazine in chapter two, continues in the next section with the analysis of the differing contexts.

³⁵⁸ Haughton, "Justifying British advertising in war and austerity," 392.

³⁵⁹ Haughton, "Justifying British Advertising in War and Austerity, 1939-51," 392.

5.2 WWII ads in the US 1940

While the early 1940 advertising in the UK was divided between the suspension of promotion and the effort to maintain the status quo using conservative designs, the design and frequency of advertisements for Scotch whisky in the United States differed. One apparent reason for this was that the US did not formally enter the war until late 1941. Additionally, as contrasted with the British advertisements in the 1930s, the Scotch whisky advertisements examined in *Life Magazine*, seen in chapter two and here in Fig3-3, were not as conservative in the use of material as those in the British periodicals. Despite this precedent for the US advertisements, change from the war was felt, impacting the design and frequency of the advertising campaigns. Unfortunately, a complete analysis of the difference in US versus UK advertisements cannot be contained here, but two influences that impacted the design of Figure 3.3 in contrast to Fig3-1 and Fig3-2 will be briefly discussed. The driving force was the increase in the exports of Scotch whisky for the war effort and the need to promote the availability of Scotch whisky for needed dollars.

With the end of US prohibition, markets and demand were strategically cultivated through marketing and promotion by North American importers and Scotch whisky brands. The exports to the United States steadily increased, with export figures reaching record highs in 1939. Because of the popularity of Scotch whisky, when war broke out, concerns were immediately raised by consumers and retailers about the prospects of obtaining their spirits and the possibility of war-related price advances. News outlets reported in September 1939 an unjustified whisky panic, which led to an increase in the import of Scotch whisky.³⁶⁰ This increase in demand was reported in early 1940 by the American Consulate in Edinburgh as reaching a record for imports of Scotch whisky into the US.³⁶¹ The growth of exports coincided with the need for the British Government to fund the purchase of needed imports to feed the nation and pay for aircraft with a solution to increase the export of Scotch whisky to the US by 40%.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ “Sales of Scotch up 500% in City: Rumors of Shortage and Rise in Price...” *New York Times* (1923-); Sep 12, 1939; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 11. “War excitements in the United States.” *Economist*, 23 Sept. 1939, p. 563. The Economist Historical Archive.

³⁶¹ “Scotch Whisky Imports at Peak” Special to The New York Times, *New York Times* (1923-); Jan 25, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 40.

³⁶² “Export of Scotch to U.S. rises 40%: British sales drive designed to...” Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES. *New York Times* (1923-); Feb 29, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times. “Free and controlled Pounds.” *The Economist*, 6 Apr. 1940, pp. 608+. The Economist Historical Archive.



SOMEBODY'S MISSING

There's somebody missing in this picture of contentment . . . and it won't take you long to find it out.

In fact, it won't take you long to complete the picture . . . no matter where you live. For friendly, well-travelled Johnnie Walker is as available in Buenos as in Boston, in Tangiers as in Turin, in Johannesburg as in Joplin.

Not indispensable, mind you . . . but pleasant to have at hand when the mood calls for a rich sip of that flavour which speaks of Scotland's finest to so many tongues.

Little wonder, then, that Johnnie Walker Black Label is one of Scotland's proudest exports. For people of taste everywhere agree . . . there's no finer whisky than Scotch, and Johnnie Walker is Scotch at its smooth, mellow best. Sip it . . . and see!

IT'S SENSIBLE TO STICK WITH
JOHNNIE WALKER
 BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY



BLACK LABEL, 12 YEARS OLD (50.2 proof)
 Canada Dry Ginger Ale, Inc. • New York, N. Y. • Sole Importer

Fig. 5.3 – “Johnnie Walker”. Life Magazine, 9 September 1940, p.60. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The reality of the strain on foodstuffs in the UK led to debates on grain restriction. These debates were reported in the news cycle because they would impact the supply of future stocks of aged Scotch whisky. The introduction of the Potable Spirits (Licensing and Control) Order by the Ministry of Food strictly curtailed the ability to distil spirits from grains. It directed the marketing of Scotch whisky, which was the government's drive to earn the needed dollars.³⁶³ Despite the risk of transatlantic crossings, this effort was carried out, with the whisky stocks providing necessary outward cargo to return needed supplies. The increase in attacks by land and sea was also reported in the news, with articles sharing rumours about potential ways to ensure continued whisky supplies, such as storing Scotch whisky in Canada.³⁶⁴ With this anxiety fresh in the public mind and in the news cycle, by the Autumn of 1940, these tensions were reflected in the American advertisements. Fig3-3 represents a time during the war when efforts to increase the inventory of Scotch whisky in the US encountered disruption, with the advertisement text and image connecting to the news cycle but perpetuating the status quo. The way this is achieved is described below, contrasting the perpetuation of the status quo in British Scotch whisky advertisements. At the same time, a temporary moment before the effects of the war severely impacted the marketing of Scotch whisky.

Fig3-3 is a full-page colour advertisement in *Life Magazine*, appearing on 9 September 1940 for Johnnie Walker Blended Scotch whisky. The structure of the advertisement is composed in half by a large illustration painted in earth tones with the silhouette cut-out shape of a serving tray that holds a familiar square bottle of Johnnie Walker Black Label, two highball glasses with Scotch and soda, and a promotional figurine of the iconic Striding Man. This cut-out silhouette and the advertisement's copy text appear below the image. The tagline in bold reads, "Somebody's Missing," which, based on the war rationing and the challenges of transatlantic shipping, would have the viewer believe that the whisky tray is missing for that reason, but the copy text assures us that it is not the

³⁶³ Hansard, 28 February 1940, Debate restricting output for grain. Glen, "An Economic History of the Distilling Industry in Scotland, 1750-1914," 51-52.

³⁶⁴ "British Consider Storing Scotch Whisky in Canada" *New York Times* (1923-); Apr 14, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 65.

"Imported Liquor Stocks Enough for Six Months" *New York Times* (1923-); May 28, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 46.

"Nazis claim 2 sinkings: Armed merchant ships are victims--trawler overdue" *New York Times* (1923-); Sep 28, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 6.

"British shipments here of Christmas foods to be normal despite air raid destruction" *New York Times* (1923-); Oct 3, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 46.

case. Instead, the text reads that the “well-travelled” whisky is available in global cities and American ones from Boston, Massachusetts, to Tucson, Arizona, to Joplin, Missouri. The rest of the text proclaims the usual claims for popularity, smooth taste, and mellowness, as used to describe blended whiskies by the industry. As the news reports discussed above illustrate the efforts to increase the supply of whisky, including Johnnie Walker, to the United States, the threat of future inventory and price advances remained an anxiety for consumers and importers. The example for Fig. 5-3 in its design acknowledged these tensions in a way that is not meant to excite but to assure that the good business practices of Johnnie Walker, and by extension DCL, have ensured the quality and inventory for the future. The industry's efforts and the British Government's direction to meet the export aims and ration access to grain for distilling continued to impact the marketing of Scotch whisky and the advertisements. The continued pressures of the war on the industry caused further change from the composition of advertisements explored in this section and 5.1 at the start of the war, which is further reflected in the next section.

5.3 Patriotic advertisements

The beginning of this chapter has demonstrated that the outbreak of war impacted the advertising industry with concern for preserving the brand equity cultivated over the preceding decades and reconciling the function of advertising during wartime.

Advertisements had become a fixture of the periodic press. Maintaining their presence alongside the growing government messages was a significant strategy of the emerging social effort to cement the “Blitz spirit”. The examples from sections 5.1 and 5.2 were published in the first half of 1940, representing an effort to maintain a brand presence for consumers as the distilling industry came under the control of the Ministry of Food and as the export drive developed. This section represents a shift in Scotch whisky advertisements in the Summer of 1940 that remained for the duration of the war.

Fig. 5-4, an advertisement for Highland Queen, takes the campaign tagline “Famous Queens” seen in Section 5.1 and instead has chosen to use the association to represent military regiments historically affiliated with a Queen. In Fig. 5-5, Dewar’s also decided to incorporate illustrations of soldiers in their advertisements and further incorporated their previous strategy of publishing a series of prints for the consumer to collect. Both examples utilise the format of an image of the soldiers, a brief history of their regiment, and a military-inspired association with the brand and quality of whisky. These advertisements utilising imagery of active regiments remained in circulation throughout the conflict. The regiments represented displayed active units and the imagery for both Highland Queen and Dewar’s reflected uniforms that coincided with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. This reference to the heritage of British military history was a conscious choice and reflected a position for the Scotch whisky industry to project a patriotic point of view while continuing to ensure their brand remained visible to consumers.

July 13, 1940 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 3

Famous QUEENS



18th (Queen Mary's Own) ROYAL HUSSARS

The original regiment was raised in 1759-60 and in 1807 was equipped as Hussars. In 1821, however, it was disbanded and not re-formed until 1858. It was given its title—18th Queen Mary's Own Royal Hussars when Her Majesty Queen Mary became its Colonel in Chief in 1910. Linked with the 15th Hussars after the war 1914-18.

Although for 37 years it was just a name, this regiment's record caused it to be re-formed and earn its present distinction and honoured name.

So with those to whom

HIGHLAND QUEEN
GRAND LIQUEUR SCOTCH WHISKY

is just a name: a realization of its exceptionally fine qualities proves that the name is, in fact, a symbol of the highest achievement of the largest independent distillers in Scotland, which reaches its peak in Highland Queen Grand Liqueur.

MACDONALD & MUIR LTD., LEITH, EDINBURGH; also GLASGOW and LONDON



Fig. 5.4 – "Highland Queen". Illustrated London News, 13 July 1940, p. 3. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

For Distinguished Service



HONOURS OF
The 10th Royal Hussars
(Prince of Wales's Own)

*From its march at Wzburg, in 1796, to its action
in France and Flanders in 1914-18, the Standard of the
10th Royal Hussars has been decorated with
Twenty-one Battle Honours for Distinguished Service*

HONOURS OF
Dewar's "White Label"

*Grand Prix, St. Louis, 1904; Superior Quality,
St. Louis, 1904; one of several medals awarded
Dewar's White Label for Excellence in Scotch Whisky*



*If reconnaissance reports your
Scotch reserves depleted, select
DEWAR'S White Label and make...
highball of the highlands. Seasoned
veteran, it has won more than 60
medals of honour for distinguished
service. That's why, no gentleman
the world over, the order of the
day... and night... is DEWAR'S
White Label, Company... at ease!*

COMMAND DEPART ...AND BE "AT EASE"

*White Label
per 8
Fills 12
at 1/2
also known as
the Pure Stone*





Dewar's
"White Label"
The Medal SCOTCH of the World

 Both 50.8 Proof • BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY
Copyright 1940, Schenley Import Corporation, New York.

Fig. 5.5 – “Dewar’s White Label”. Life Magazine, 16 December 1940, p. 74. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The advertising literature by Clampin and Haughton both demonstrated that at the beginning of WWII, the advertising industry recognised their position was tenuous in the wake of rolling government controls for the war effort.³⁶⁵ Advertisers recognised the need to balance the preservation of brand equity with imagery and copy text that contributed positively to a war time cultural identity. A turning point for change in the wider advertising history also occurred in the Scotch whisky advertisements, as seen in Fig. 5-4 and Fig. 5-5. This concentration of military-themed iconography coincides with the awareness and fallout from the Dunkirk evacuation from 27 May 1940 to 4 June 1940.³⁶⁶ The evacuation represented both a decisive moment in the war for the recognition of the devastation possible in the conflict and becoming a rallying point for which to galvanise the nation's efforts to victory.

Scotch whisky advertisements could not rebrand their image as a commodity that eased wartime difficulties or could replace rationed goods as other national brands succeeded.³⁶⁷ To maintain their visibility and not face censure it was necessary for them to take on a patriotic tone. The selection by both Highland Queen and Dewar's deliberately used imagery that recalled the victory of Waterloo, based on the public consciousness that embraced the memory of the victory over Napoleon.³⁶⁸ The selection of the regiments demonstrated here invoked an idea of lineage to that victory, as both the 18th (Queen Mary's Own) Royal Hussars and the 10th (Prince of Wales Own) Royal Hussars participated in the Waterloo campaign and the evacuation at Dunkirk.³⁶⁹ In a loose sense, this fits the framing of "caretaker" that Glen used to define the wartime advertising activity, but instead of providing only a sense of what life would be like after the war or nostalgia for the past, the usage of military history from the defeat of Napoleon is meant to echo a unifying effort and a shared history that is not representative of the Scotch in Scotch whisky but a wider British cultural identity.

The Christmas issue of *The Illustrated London News* for 1940 provided a sense of the

³⁶⁵ David Clampin, *Advertising and Propaganda in World War II: Cultural Identity and the Blitz Spirit*. London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central, 67-68.

Philippa Haughton, "Justifying British advertising in war and austerity, 1939-51." in *Twentieth Century British History* 28 (3), (2017), pp. 390-413. 10.1093/tcbh/hwx031.

³⁶⁶ Clampin, *Advertising and Propaganda*, 97.

³⁶⁷ Clampin discusses the OXO advertisements "Comfort in the shelter" that repositioned the brand as a salve when taking shelter and as an alternate to tea shortages. Clampin, *Advertising and Propaganda*, 50. This is not something the whisky industry could do with its position as a luxury good.

³⁶⁸ Jasper Heinzen, "A Negotiated Truce: The Battle of Waterloo in European Memory since the Second World War." *History and Memory* 26, no. 1 (2014): 39-74. <https://doi.org/10.2979/histmemo.26.1.39>.

³⁶⁹ 18th Royal Hussars, National Army Museum, nam.ac.uk/explore/18th-royal-hussars-queen-marys-own. 10th Royal Hussars, National Army Museum, nam.ac.uk/explore/10th-royal-hussars-prince-wales-own.

significance and cultural position of Scotch whisky within British society during this period. The reception of this publication, as described by the American Periodic Press, indicates the familiarity of Scotch whisky advertisements to British readers and an American audience. *The New York Times* reported on the copies of the British periodicals arriving in the United States in time for Christmas. Their descriptions are related to the changes because of wartime rationing but also reflect the pressures on morale the war was having.³⁷⁰ Reflected in the advertisements is the accord of the advertising industry to ensure brand equity of commercial advertising remained visible and support the morale efforts supported by the government in cultivating “Blitz spirit”. *The New York Times* article acknowledges this by praising the lack of reaction to the bombings across the UK found in print:

Instead they will see nostalgic scenes of the untouched English countryside, reproductions of classic paintings and advertisements for Scotch whisky, Huntley and Palmer biscuits and Bovril.³⁷¹

The inclusion of Scotch whisky advertisements alongside other popular British branded goods demonstrates the perception of these advertisements as a regular feature of the periodic press and a sense of normal British life. These advertisements did not reach only Scotch whisky consumers but were seen by all readers of the magazine. This form of patriotic advertising demonstrated by Highland Queen and Dewar’s continued to the end of the war alongside the other brands that have appeared in *The Illustrated London News* and *Life*. While the advertising industry maintained more of its autonomy to continue promotion throughout the war, the impacts of government control on distilling and export capacity that the whisky literature has focused on is reflected in the advertisements at the beginning of the post-war period and is addressed in the next section.

³⁷⁰ “London magazines gay despite war: copies arriving here display same color...” *New York Times* (1923-); Dec 22, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 4.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

5.4 Post-War ads in the UK and US

Advertisements in the immediate post-war period reflected the tensions between the Scotch whisky industry and the government on the global distribution and replenishment of ageing whisky stock after a period of reduced wartime distillation and export programme. The government directed an export push during the war, which meant that the blending and distribution of Scotch whisky continued throughout the conflict. When fighting in Europe ceased, pre-war marketing practices did not immediately return, meaning the home market access to whisky remained strictly monitored under quotas.³⁷² Further, the government continued control of the allocation of grain supplies with divided debate about the future release for distilling. When discussing this, Daiches refers to the often-cited Sir Winston Churchill quote about rationing in 1945 that recognised that spirit distilled in the day was not available for at least three years, highlighting the urgency to contribute to the restoration of ageing stocks.³⁷³ There was a conflict for the government between feeding the nation with grain during a global shortage and continuing to receive the needed revenue for imported goods and war debt from the export sale of scotch whisky.

The lack of ageing whisky stocks created an access problem for some firms with an inability to preserve their proprietary blends; this caused a risk to the reputation of blends and the broader industry through the risk of immature whisky going to market, threatening the position of Scotch whisky as a product of esteemed quality. The limitation on inventory with quotas favouring export over home market sales risked losing market share to other alcoholic beverages or whiskies, which represented a further risk to the position of the industry and its importance to the British economy.³⁷⁴ The efforts to negotiate with the government on distilling and distribution were handled by the industry trade organisation, the SWA, and, in extension, DCL. Their efforts to preserve the reputation of Scotch whisky are reflected in the advertising examples from this section but have a further role in explaining changes in advertisements as the industry transformed in the post-war period and continues to be addressed throughout this chapter.

³⁷² Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 91-112.

³⁷³ Daiches, *Scotch*, 116. Also cited in Moss and Hume, *Making of Scotch Whisky*, 92.

³⁷⁴ Glen, "The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study," 87. Henry Ross, "The World-Wide Popularity of Scotch Whisky," in *Scottish Industry*, ed. Scottish Council Development and Industry, 1953, 195-197. Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 91-112.

4 THE ILLUSTRATED

DEWAR'S
"White Label"
WHISKY

It never varies

★

Maximum retail prices:
25/9 per bottle • 13/6 half bottle
(as fixed by the Scotch Whisky Association)

Fig. 5.6 – "Dewar's 'White Label' Whisky". Illustrated London News, 2 June 1945, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.



When good friends get together, the company is never really complete without that smoothest and mellowest of all friends—genial Johnnie Walker. To anyone who knows fine scotch whisky, the appearance of Johnnie Walker brings pleasure without parallel.

Popular Johnnie Walker can't be everywhere all the time these days. If occasionally he is "out" when you call . . . call again.



Both 50.0 Proof



*Steady state
...and going strong*

JOHNNIE WALKER

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY

CANADA DRY GINGER ALE, Inc., New York, New York • Sole Importer

Fig. 5.7 – "Johnnie Walker". Life Magazine, 5 August 1946, p. 110. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The tension in the availability of whisky felt across the industry with dwindling stocks is reflected in Fig. 5-6, the 2 June 1945 quarter-page advertisement for ‘Dewar’s White Label’ that appeared in the *ILN*. It is a visually uncomplicated advertisement with the name of the brand of whisky in an illustrated cloud, with a straightforward association of the white cloud with the brand’s name, ‘White Label’. Underneath the cloud illustration is the tagline “It never varies” this is meant, along with the simplicity of the imagery, to make a quick association for the reader who is already familiar with Dewar’s brand and its appearance in *ILN*. The tagline addresses concern the public may have felt over the availability of aged whisky stocks that contribute to the complex blended whisky. It is not possible to answer whether these concerns were based on the reality of inventory for Dewar’s without access to business records, but ultimately, it does not matter because whatever the reality of blending whisky in the post-war period, Dewar’s wanted their consumers to continue to associate their brand with quality and one that had remained consistent despite the lack of active distilling during the war. They are advertising that despite the present challenges, the composition of their blend and the flavour consumers were familiar with were unchanged. As part of the DCL combine and a member of the SWA, Dewar’s benefited from the negotiations for the allocation of grains for distilling, which was necessary to replenish the depleting ageing stocks required to maintain the consistent quality of their blended whisky. MacKenzie and Perchard place the success that brands such as Dewar’s and Johnnie Walker achieved during this period as directly connected to their association with DCL and the SWA, contributing to their distribution in the home and export markets.³⁷⁵

The activity of the SWA was increasingly important during this period, not only in negotiating the allocation of grain but also in their attempts to balance the quotas for distributing Scotch whisky between export markets and the home market. The negotiations with the Ministry of Food for distribution quotas during the war extended to the post-war period, with the SWA meeting annually to discuss the allocations and, from 1948, directly taking over the direction of exports.³⁷⁶ It was not until 1954 that the SWA gave permission to member firms to distribute based on their own agency and resources, with the caveat

³⁷⁵ Andrew Perchard and Niall G. MacKenzie, “Behind the ‘tartan curtain’: cartelisation in the Scotch Whisky Industry, 1830-1960,” in *A History of Business Cartels International Politics, National Policies and Anti-Competitive Behaviour*, ed. Martin Shanahan and Susanna Fellman, New York: Routledge, 2022.

³⁷⁶ Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 94-95.

that they must continue to increase exports to the USA.³⁷⁷ Sir Henry Ross, Chairman of DCL and the SWA throughout this period of negotiations and quotas, when discussing the worldwide popularity of Scotch whisky for a 1953 edited volume on Scottish Industry published by the Scottish Council Development and Industry, asserts:

It is possible that rationing of the home market may have to go on for some time to satisfy the Government's requirements and the country's currency needs. At the same time, the industry still regards it as axiomatic that a sound home market is the only firm basis of a thriving export trade, and opinion is hardening in the direction of greater freedom for the allocation of supplies to the consumer at home as a stronger foundation for world trade.³⁷⁸

The rationing of Scotch whisky available to the home market continued; Wilson highlights that it was not until the Spring of 1959 that standard brands were distributed freely, and for the older, more exclusive and de luxe brands, rationing continued into the 1960s.³⁷⁹ The reality of the limited availability of Scotch whisky for distribution in the home market conflicts with the frequency of Scotch whisky advertisements in the *ILN* during the 1950s.

When discussing WWII's impact on the advertising of Scotch whisky, Glen stated that from the "caretaker" role advertising had during the war, the return of regular advertising did not occur until 1954.³⁸⁰ It is possible that Glen was referring to the entirety of the promotion activity, so there may have been an overall absence of total advertising activity, observation of which is impossible for this project's scope to verify. The frequency of advertisements in periodicals like the *ILN* during this period of continued restricted distribution in the home market is significant because it reiterates the significance placed on maintaining brand equity through the continued visibility of brands and the importance of this publication's reach in international markets. Continuing to promote their products despite limitations on availability encouraged consumers to seek those brands out and preserve their memory of them in anticipation of the resumption of regular trading.

Just as Dewar's advertisement in Fig. 5-6 reflected the tensions around access to aged whisky and its distribution in the home market, Fig. 5-7 for Johnnie Walker used their mascot and copy text to address these strains in the US market. This advertisement acknowledged the disruption to shipments seen during the war and continued insecurity of

³⁷⁷ Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 110-112.

³⁷⁸ Sir William Henry Ross, "The World-Wide Popularity of Scotch Whisky," in Oakley, Charles Allen. *Scottish Industry: An Account of What Scotland Makes and Where She Makes It*, Edinburgh: Scottish Council Development and Industry, 1953, 195-197.

³⁷⁹ Wilson, *Scotch Its History and Romance*, 112.

³⁸⁰ Glen, "The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study," 168.

inventory as a minor inconvenience not to be noticed; here, the return of inventory is to be celebrated as the figure of the Striding Man approaches the boating party. A small block of text acknowledges this by stating that the personification of the Johnnie Walker brand "... Can't be everywhere all the time these days," encouraging the consumer who is unsuccessful in obtaining a bottle to try again. This acknowledged the disruption in distribution but mitigated this with the association that the Striding Man is just temporarily out as if on a walk. The text above the scene "Here he is now!" acknowledged that Johnnie Walker may be the last to arrive at this boating party, but he completes the assembly and is welcomed by enthusiastic friends. The copy text explains this scene by saying,

When good friends get together, the company is never really complete without that smoothest and mellowest of friends – genial Johnnie Walker. To anyone who knows fine Scotch whisky, the appearance of Johnnie Walker brings pleasure without parallel.

The design of this advertisement and the copy text continue a precedent set in previous advertisements for Johnnie Walker that emphasises the consumption of the spirit in places of sporting or predominantly male social spaces, especially seen previously in Fig. 4-8 and Fig. 5-3. While Dewar's advertisement in Fig. 5-6 reinforced the brand recognition of White Label and addressed the shortages, the Johnnie Walker advertisement in Fig. 5-7 reinforced the personification of the Striding Man as an icon for Johnnie Walker Scotch whisky, one that is associated with the pleasure of recreation and social spaces. These advertisements continued to associate this hedonism with primarily male pursuits, the format of which was replicated by broader advertising activity directed to men in the post-war period, which is detailed further in the following section.

5.5 The Post-War Man

The promotion of branded consumable goods in the early twentieth century was primarily directed to the gendered division of domestic labour for the wife who made purchases for the household. Advertisements for tobacco, alcohol, and automobiles were the exceptions to this format.³⁸¹ Scotch whisky pictorial advertisements from 1890 to this point, while not always overtly directed at male consumers, have overwhelmingly utilised imagery to associate Scotch whisky with male patterns of consumption through depictions of sport, the military, and historical or literary male figures. While bottles could be purchased for addition to the home bar, the function of advertisements was directed toward building brand associations and equity for the drinker to request Scotch whisky when drinking socially, and further to ask for a brand by name. The advertisements discussed in the 1940s reflected changes in relationship to World War II, and while it captures those tensions with the growing demand in the US market, it overlooks the recovery of public social drinking in the post-Prohibition US. The implication of this change, argued by Lori Rotskoff, is that social acceptance established drinking, such as the cocktail hour, as a normal practice in mainstream society but also one that was loaded with signs to upscale leisure and social prestige.³⁸² The 1950 advertisement in *Life*, Fig. 5-8 for Gilbey's Spey-Royal Scotch whisky, operated within this established format for promotion in its continued direction to men and its encouragement of brand loyalty. It also represented a shift within broader advertising and post-war culture to design pictorial advertisements that represented an idealisation of the targeted consumer through intentional appeal and broader affirmation of post-war gender roles.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Andrew Wernick, *Promotional Culture: Advertising, ideology and symbolic expression*. Sage Publications: London, (1991), 48-51.

³⁸² Lori Rotskoff, *Love on the Rocks: Men, Women, Alcohol*, 60.

³⁸³ Victor J. Viser, "Social Identity Formation in Midpassage: American Advertising Imagery in the 1940s." *Prospects* 27 (2002): 515-46, 536-537.

IN MOST OF THE WORLD'S
FINEST CLUBS ...
IN ALL OF THE WORLD'S
FINEST DRINKS !

*The world
agrees on
"Gilbey's please!"*

GILBEY'S SPEY-ROYAL BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY 84.8 PROOF ... 100% SCOTCH WHISKIES DISTILLED BY W. & A. GILBEY LTD.
Gilbey's Distilled London Dry Gin 90 Proof. 100% grain neutral spirits. National Distillers Products Corporation, New York, N. Y.

Fig. 5.8 – “Gilbey’s”. Life Magazine, 17 April 1950, p. 155. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The full-page colour advertisement of Fig. 5-8 is dominated by the bottle of Spey-Royal as well as Gilbey's other distilled spirit distributed in the US, their London Dry Gin. The hierarchy of the advertisement places the bottles as the central dominant figure, the colour of the bottles contrasted by an all-black background. The scale of the bottles is monumental compared to the horizontal panel of an urban scene at the top of the page. The significance of the bottles is so that they may be recognised by the consumer when out drinking socially. Instead of asking for a Scotch (or Gin), they can ask for Gilbey's by name. The copy text is positioned to bridge the image of the bottles with the image of the consumer Gilbey's is targeting. It states, "In most of the world's finest clubs... in all of the world's finest drinks!", the copy text infers quality and exclusivity by association for its inclusion within the bars of discerning clubs and its use within cocktails. The scene illustrated for this advertisement, does not show whisky consumption but anticipates it, as two groups of men in suits approach the club. The depiction of male social groups in the Gilbey's advertisement is related to the previous example from Fig. 5-7 of the Striding Man bringing the Johnnie Walker Scotch whisky to the yachting club. Both advertisements associate the presence of their brands within male predominant spaces of affluent leisure. This setting for the consumption of Scotch whisky is comparable to earlier adverts for sporting like the Famous Grouse advertisement or the Johnnie Walker golfing advertisements seen in chapter two, but they also expand from those examples to represent a wider trend in advertising in the post-war period.

In Fig. 5-7 and Fig. 5-8, the men are not sold bottles of Scotch from the shop to take home, they are being shown an aspirational lifestyle and elevated experience linked with the brand of whisky. While this carries similarities to earlier advertising that illustrated the consumption of Scotch whisky in aristocratic environs, then it was advertising to that segment, but in the post-war period, with the rise in consumer society it becomes markedly aspirational. This change is referred to by Leiss et al within the third phase of advertisement structures, categorised as narcissism, whereby from about 1945 to 1965, products are considered for what they can do for the consumer as a guide for their ideal life but also for how the consumers is viewed by others.³⁸⁴ This idealism was manifested through the personification of the 'everyman' drawing on forms of aristocratic symbolism reworked for the general public from the foundations in the nineteenth-century languages of class.³⁸⁵ This constructed 'everyman' archetype took the form of the generic

³⁸⁴ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 160-165.

³⁸⁵ Frank Mort, "Paths to Mass Consumption: Britain and the USA since 1945," in *Buy this Book: Studies in*

businessman establishing the primary consumer as middle class. The men depicted in Gilbey's advertisement display this form of masculinity by equating drinking with position, achievement, as part of career working men in the executive class. These men benefit from the social acceptance of the group and the membership in the club, that acknowledges their roles as a leader, captains of industry, and members of the elite. They are literally saluted by the doorman as they approach.

The middle-class businessman trope utilised as a symbol for persuasion and gender-role affirmation was a part of a wider cultural shift in the United States. Viser has identified this change in advertising approaches during the post-war period as a way for advertisements to reflect and influence capitalism and social ideals in America.³⁸⁶ His work is reinforced by Leiss et al in identifying the use of gender stereotyping to give branded goods a role as communicators of these ideals.³⁸⁷ It is this psychological appeal that the brands of whisky wanted to develop associations with a kind of behaviour and a status. When discussing phase three of Tedlow's paradigm, Morgan and Moss notice the change in Scotch whisky advertisements but do not place it within the context of wider promotional changes. They emphasise the post-war period as a unique influence on the paradigm, emphasising the scarcity of whisky inventory as the driver in raising the prestige of the product. They recognise the activity of marketers as targeting their stocks more closely than before because of the scarcity, particularly on segments of the American market, but their conclusions end there.³⁸⁸ The efforts by marketers to reinforce associations of Scotch whisky with quality and prestige are more complex than the scarcity explanation given by Morgan and Moss. As the industry moved out of the immediate post-war period, the efforts of advertisers continued to appeal to aspirational imagery like the example from Gilbey's, but as competition intensified promotion of brand associations also relied on easily identifiable symbols, seen in the following section, and associations with Scotland to reach an eager Scotch whisky drinker.

Advertising and consumption. edited by Mica Nava, Andrew Blake, Ian MacRury and Barry Richards. Routledge: London and New York (1997), 22.

³⁸⁶ Victor J. Viser, "Social Identity Formation in Midpassage: American Advertising Imagery in the 1940s." *Prospects* 27 (2002): 515–46. doi:10.1017/S0361233300001319, 536-537.

³⁸⁷ Leiss et al, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 185.

³⁸⁸ Morgan and Moss, "Marketing Scotch whisky," 129.

5.6 Simplification of Brand Identity

The strategy in advertising during the post-war period to utilise targeted persuasive imagery represented a progression of the wider advertising industry built on the promotional developments that emerged from the late nineteenth century. As promotion utilised psychological appeal, advertising imagery also strived to influence customers through instant brand recognition and positive association with images. While the strategies that support successful brand equity through the usage of names, symbols, and slogans, as described by Aaker, have their origins in the early branding efforts of the Scotch whisky industry, the success of that effort culminates in the advertising activity of the 1950s.³⁸⁹ The advertising campaigns for “Black & White” whisky during the 1940s and 1950s were built around the illustrated mascots of two Scottish dogs, one black and one white. These characters created a visual shorthand for their brand through the association and popularity of the dogs. This was a shared strategy by other Scotch whisky firms to utilise a character or symbol to identify their brand, successful examples are the ‘Striding Man’ for Johnnie Walker and the white horse for White Horse Distillers. The utilisation of characters in advertising and marketing activity reflects wider branding practice and demonstrates the influence on the Scotch whisky industry beyond the firms and industry associations.

The example for Fig. 5-9, the 3 May 1954 advertisement in *Life Magazine* for ‘Black & White’ represents a cultivation of branding efforts in the wider cultural consumer memory. It is building on deliberate associations with their brand name and past pictorial promotional material to utilise a totem or character as part of the brand identity. This works similarly to the use of logos as a representation of a brand and the associations of symbols in registered trademarks. Using characters or figures connected with their brand, they have created a shorthand visual equivalence for the consumer to instantly link with their product and create a ‘corporate personality’.³⁹⁰ These associations did not emerge fully formed and reflect developing iterations of branding that culminated in these examples, built on equity and familiarity with the brand among consumers.

³⁸⁹ David A. Aaker, *Managing Brand Equity: Capitalizing on the Value of a Brand Name*, Jossey-Bass Inc., U.S., 2007, 191.

³⁹⁰ Celia Lury, *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy*. London; New York;: Routledge, 2004. doi:10.4324/9780203495025, 78-79.



Still A Best Seller!



"OUR POPULARITY NEVER
WANES, WHITEY!"

"THAT'S BECAUSE THE
QUALITY AND CHARACTER
OF BLACK & WHITE
NEVER CHANGE, BLACKIE.
IT'S FIRST WITH MORE
PEOPLE THAN ANY
OTHER SCOTCH WHISKY!"



"BLACK & WHITE"

The Scotch with Character

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY 85% PROOF

THE FLEISCHMANN DISTILLING CORPORATION, N. Y. • SOLE DISTRIBUTORS

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Fig. 5.9 – "Black & White". Life Magazine, 3 May 1954, Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The post-war boom introduced at the beginning of this chapter propelled branding development and increased the frequency of periodical advertisements in both the US and the Home market. The increase in frequency and the expense for this activity is consistent with the wider study of advertising in Post-war Britain by Clayton, who explains that industries with ‘intense competition’ from a limited range of large-scale firms promoted their brands extensively during this period.³⁹¹ Glen recognised the importance of brand imagery and frequency in advertisements as a distinct feature of the Scotch whisky post-war boom, with a significant increase from 1956.³⁹² This can explain the frequency of advertisements by brands under the DCL umbrella and why competitors outside their domain followed suit. The intensity of competition directed the imperative for brand recognition by consumers and the desire for equity that would lead to sales. The emergence of the ‘Black & White’ dogs as a familiar mascot for the brand represents the achievement and visibility of their association cultivated by the firm through advertising and promotion.

The tagline for Fig. 5-9 called it “The Scotch with Character”. This phrase took on a double meaning, referring to the flavour of the whisky and the popularity of the black and white dogs in the advertisement. The representation of the dogs took on a dual role as an icon for Scotland due to the origin of the breeds and as a symbol for the brand ‘Black & White’. Glen, Lockhart, and Hands discussed the success of the association.³⁹³ The authors recognised that by the 1950s, the dogs were a “time-honoured symbol” that was successful because of the repetition of the brand's name and the dogs' popularity as an emblem. Lockhart attributes the origin of the ‘Black & White’ dogs to the entrepreneurial genius of Buchanan, a connection made by the participation of his own dogs in a Highland dog show as early as 1892.³⁹⁴ This contributes to the narrative of ‘great men’ as the catalyst for the success of Scotch whisky brands such as Buchanan’s but ignores the development and role of advertising in forming and reinforcing brand equity among consumers.

The development of one of Buchanan’s whisky labels as a brand name called the ‘Black and White Scotch whisky’ reflected the firm’s recognition and response to consumer behaviour. Hands discussed Buchanan’s advertising strategy, which developed the brand as

³⁹¹ David Clayton, “Advertising expenditure in 1950s Britain,” in *Business History*, 52:4, 651-665, (2010), DOI: 10.1080/00076791003753194

³⁹² Glen, “The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study,” 170-171.

³⁹³ Glen, “The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study,” 170. Lockhart, *Scotch*, 118-119. Hands, *Making Scotch Respectable*, 77.

³⁹⁴ Lockhart, *Scotch*, 118.

'Black and White' in response to customers asking for the whisky based on the label and bottle in bars.³⁹⁵ This brand was advertised alongside Buchanan's other whisky labels in advertising campaigns discussed in Chapter Three. These examples, Fig. 3-8, the 1903 illustration of a polo player and Fig. 3-12, from the 1913 series of Dickens illustrations, are absent of the dog characters but reflect a recognition of the power to use images and cultural references to associate the brand name in consumer's minds. The advertising campaigns in 1930 saw a series of dog breed illustrations by the popular animal artist Arthur Wardle. Following this series, advertisements centring the image of the whisky bottles appeared, but they included a small illustration of two dogs, one black and one white, seated on a plinth. The first of these appeared in the *ILN* on 25 October 1930.

This small illustration of the dogs on a plinth is seen in surviving promotional bar decorations and continued to appear throughout the 1930s. This is the development of the black and white dogs as a mascot or icon for the 'Black and White' Scotch whisky. However, they only appeared as a minor element until 1936, when they emerged as characters central to an advertisement campaign. This shift from an element of the advertisement composition as a surrogate trademark or logo to the main pictorial space demonstrates an effort to use the recognition of a character in the brand identity. This was consistent with wider trends in branding and advertising for mass-produced goods in Britain and demonstrated their influence in changes to Scotch whisky advertising. Hornsey explains through the activity of examples such as Penguin, the book publisher, and Guinness, the brewery, that advertising characters or mascots offered a friendly and unthreatening way to directly address the consumer.³⁹⁶ He establishes that mascots function differently than trademarks, which must remain consistent to qualify as a guarantee that they can be transformed. In Fig. 5-9, the taglines and the conversation between the two dogs morph their characters into representations of the brand and the consumer. The dogs are illustrated on a bookshelf and take on the personification of the consumer, confused by the abundance of choice in books, which echoes the experience at the whisky shop shelf with a plethora of brand choices. While the status of books as bestsellers may be variable, the dogs' voice would make the consumer believe that their brand is unwavering in popularity and quality. By the point of this advertisement, the dogs had become a familiar feature of 'Black & White' promotion and had emerged from the

³⁹⁵ Hands, *Making Scotch Respectable*, 77.

³⁹⁶ Richard Hornsey, "'The Penguins Are Coming': Brand Mascots and Utopian Mass Consumption in Interwar Britain." *Journal of British Studies* 57, no. 4 (2018): 812–39.

plinth as the mantle of corporate personality.

By the time Fig. 5-9 went to press in 1954, the ‘Black & White’ dogs had twenty years to become an affectionate symbol to consumers of the whisky brand. Through advertising, Buchanan’s was able to make the dogs function as an asset to the brand equity from an image and association that did not originate with the founding or initial trademark for the firm. By taking advantage of the good will the dogs had garnered with the public demonstrates a level of brand management by the firm, but not in the way that we would understand it today, they recognised the power of branding and having a mascot but are on the cusp of acknowledging its value as an intangible asset that needs protecting. As was discussed in chapter one, overwhelmingly the Scotch whisky industry utilised registered trademarks for brand labels. These trademarked brand labels have featured in advertisements depicted on the images of the bottles operating as a graphic feature in the composition typically located near blocks of copy text, whereas the central illustration of the advertisement operates as a connection to the consumer’s life and hobbies or their notions of national and imperial culture. Because of the success of the ‘Black and White’ dogs as a representation for the brand they moved from their use as jovial subject of advertisements to become a trademark on the bottle. This change in the label was officially registered on 31 December 1957 as UK00000772620 and further as a redesigned label and trademark on 25 Aug 1966 as UK00000898746. By legally protecting the image of the dogs as a trademark, the firm has acknowledged the success of their promotions and utilised the dogs as an unalterable part of the brand’s identity.

Buchanan settling on the ‘Black & White’ dogs as a protected asset to their brand represents an acknowledgement of the heritage advertising had created through decades of promotion. While this is comparable to the accession of brand mascots for other Scotch whisky brands, such as Johnnie Walker and White Horse, the usage of a mascot or brand personality was not achieved uniformly across the industry. This activity is consistent with changes in the promotion of branded commodities identified by Schwarzkopf, recognising the magnitude of trademarks to building brand equity and how it was acknowledged in the 1950s-1970s as a codified practice.³⁹⁷ Scotch whisky advertisements in the middle of the 1950s marked a pivotal change in the management of periodical promotion, signalling their importance as a driver for exports and a reflection of the motivations and mission of the

³⁹⁷ Stefan Schwarzkopf, “Turning Trademarks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Practiced and Conceptualized Branding, 1890-1930,” in *Trademarks, Brands, and Competitiveness*, edited by Silva Lopes, Teresa da, and Paul Duguid. Taylor & Francis Group, 2010.

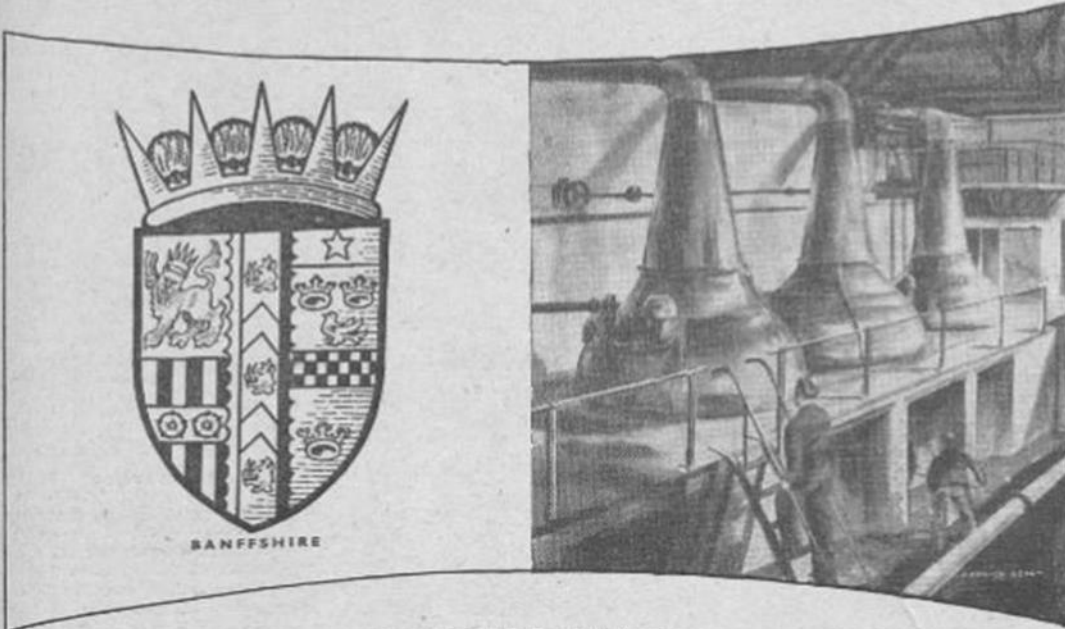
industry. Firms like Buchanan's that had brand equity with consumers entered the whisky boom years with an advantage. As the following sections demonstrate, the popularity of Scotch whisky increased the threat of imitation and new competitors meant that protecting brand assets and industry distinction were more critical than ever.

5.7 Scotch Whisky and Scotland

The landscape of Scotland has featured in Scotch whisky advertisements, as in Fig. 4-12 for Holt's Mountain Cream and minorly in Chapter Four. Still, that reference was tied to cultural references and not specifically to the location of making whisky other than broadly Scotland. This next advertisement, while it did not strictly promote Scotch whisky, demonstrated how the Scotch whisky industry embraced the need for advertising and how the success of this activity in connection to export growth was understood within wider international commercial activity. Fig. 5-10 is an 8 October 1955 advertisement for *Time magazine* that appeared in *The Economist*. This advertisement referred to the global success of the Scotch whisky industry, and despite this success, it is necessary to advertise, and they do this through the internationally distributed *Time magazine*. The copy text appealed to the readers of *The Economist*, who conducted business to internalise that even what they perceived as a wildly successful product needed to be promoted for competitive advantage. It does not endorse a specific brand of Scotch whisky but refers to the Speyside region and, more specifically, the Glenlivet district.

The advertiser made a conscious decision not to align this advertisement as publicity for a famous brand over another; it demonstrates, more importantly, the emerging change within the industry and among consumers to acknowledge the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky through the landscape and sites of distilling. It also represented a changing trend in Scotch whisky advertisements to promote the landscape of Scotland in association with the spirit, which emphasised that the place of production was integral to the quality of the Scotch. The tension and activity related to the place-making of Scotch whisky can be explained by the efforts of the SWA in the decades after the war to confirm the geographical distinction of Scotch whisky-making in Scotland as a unique and protected produce.

The World is their Market



GLENLIVET

Beautiful Glenlivet lies deep in the Highlands of Scotland. Together with Nairn, Elgin, Forres, Dufftown and other famous distillery towns, Glenlivet produces the big-hearted Scotch whisky that has so many friends all over the world. But in Glenlivet they know that even fine Scotch cannot sell itself. Other countries make whisky too. Competition is keen. Brand names jostle one another wherever whisky is sold.

It's the same in any industry. *Making* products for the world is only half the job. You've got to show them, sell them — and *sell them hard* — wherever a market for them exists. Many manufacturers are doing this very successfully through TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine.

IN TIME FOR BUSINESS

TIME's net paid audited circulation exceeds two-and-a-quarter million copies weekly (A.B.C.). There are five separate editions of TIME* with the same editorial content. One circulates only in the United States — the other four, the *International Editions*, are published simultaneously in English and read by important people in more than 100 countries outside the U.S.A.

Ninety-three of every 100 readers of TIME's International Editions hold influential positions in business, government and the professions. They look upon TIME not only as the best means of keeping abreast of international news, but as an introduction to the world's foremost companies and products.

You can buy advertising space directed to those markets which interest you most — through one edition, any combination of two, three or four, or in all five of the world-ranging editions of TIME.



Advertising in TIME sells around the world!

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

- * TIME Atlantic
- TIME Pacific
- TIME Latin American
- TIME Canadian
- TIME U.S.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON W1 • Telephone: GROSVENOR 4080

Fig. 5.10 – “Time”. The Economist, 8 October 1955, p. 119. The Economist Historical Archive.

The definition of whisky during this period meant that Scotch whisky lacked an appellation which would protect it at home and abroad from imitators who utilised symbols or names that would confuse consumers that their whiskies were Scotch whisky. The work of Bower and Higgins on the litigation and lobbying efforts by the Scotch Whisky Association demonstrates that their activity played a significant role in the legal recognition of the geographic requirements to make Scotch whisky.³⁹⁸ The reason an appellation is desirable is because it extends legal protection to producers of products from a specified region and allows for litigation against products which try to misrepresent their association.³⁹⁹ The SWA's appellation strategy to gain this protection also highlights the relationship between DCL and the SWA, they needed to cooperate and support the efforts of the other to gain the desired outcome.

An example of a successful appellation is Champagne, recognised as a distinctive product with ties to specific places in France. This is because as the brands of Champagne developed, they utilised regional names instead of family or firm brand names.⁴⁰⁰ While there is a historic precedence for some Scotch whisky brands to have associations with specific regions, such as the Glenlivet, due to the nature of blended whisky effort was directed at making the brand generally known as Scotch. In discussing the global success of Scotch whisky, William Henry Ross the chairman and managing director of DCL, declared that the success is due to quality, and this had been demonstrated as only achieved through Scotch whisky made in Scotland with imitators failing. Yet despite this success, to protect the industry both in quality and perception, he explains that it was necessary and supported by the SWA for the UK Parliamentary Act of 1952, which upheld the 1933 Finance Act, which named Scotch whisky as that distilled in Scotland and matured for at least three years.⁴⁰¹ To support the appellation, the industry began to emphasise the distilleries and the regions of Scotland where distilling took place. However, it also revealed the complexities of blended Scotch whisky that are constructed from the spirit of plural distilleries. The efforts to highlight the intricacies of the Scotch whisky industry can be seen in the publications by authors such as Daiches but also in the types of

³⁹⁸ Julie Bower and David M. Higgins. "Litigation and Lobbying in Support of the Marque: The Scotch Whisky Association, c. 1945–c. 1990." *Enterprise & Society*, 2021, 1–31. doi:10.1017/eso.2021.33.

³⁹⁹ Bower and Higgins, "Litigation and Lobbying," 3.

⁴⁰⁰ Kollen Guy, *When Champagne Became French*, Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2007, 26-30.

⁴⁰¹ Sir William Henry Ross, "The World-Wide Popularity of Scotch Whisky," in Oakley, Charles Allen. *Scottish Industry: An Account of What Scotland Makes and Where She Makes It / Edited by C.A. Oakley; with a Foreword by Lord Bilsland*. Edited by Charles Allen Oakley. Edinburgh: Scottish Council Development and Industry, 1953, 195-197. Bower and Higgins, "Litigation and Lobbying," 4.

advertisements that continued to emerge that emphasised the landscape in the illustration.⁴⁰²

Because of this effort to protect the name of Scotch whisky and reinforce the distillation in Scotland, it became more widely known that the production activity extended outside the borders of Scotland. Glen illustrates the activities of actors in the industry that endangered the quality of whisky and the perception of the industry. This activity included bulk shipments of Scotch whisky to overseas locations to be diluted or mixed with other grain spirits, the sale of immature spirits by special license, and the blending and bottling of Scotch whisky outside of Scotland.⁴⁰³ The blending and bottling aspect illustrates a growing distinction to define the making of Scotch whisky extended beyond the distillation and encompassed all of the production that led to the spirit reaching consumers. In sum, this period marks the efforts to reinforce the physical production of Scotch whisky with the geography and ingredients from Scotland, with the industry achieving this through illustrated advertisements.

⁴⁰² Daiches, *Scotch*, 124-126.

⁴⁰³ Glen, "The Scotch Whisky Industry (1939-1961) An Economic Study," 230-233.

5.8 The Post-war Boom

The two advertisements for this section represent the significance of the American market's contribution to the post-war boom and reflect the desirability of international companies to invest in Scotch whisky. Fig. 5-11 and Fig. 5-12 are advertisements for the brands Ballantine's and Long John, which had nineteenth-century origins in the Scotch whisky industry but became subsidiaries of North American holding companies. The pressures on distilling activity during and after WWII and the government-mandated export drive meant that more effort went into marketing Scotch whisky in North America, and firms that represented enormous drinks interests in that region were motivated to control more or gain access to Scotch whisky. MacKenzie and Perchard discuss the access to Scotch whisky stocks that DCL controlled during Prohibition through cartel behaviour. While it allowed for quality Scotch whisky to continue to reach American consumers through illicit activity, DCL ultimately held all the cards for inventory allocation.⁴⁰⁴ The North American drink interests that purchased Scotch whisky subsidiaries in the 1930s cultivated their channels for access to spirit inventory despite the restrictions on distilling during and immediately after WWII. The seeds of this investment contributed to their ability to gain a competitive advantage in marketing their Scotch whisky in North America. They allowed them to cultivate brand equity for their Scotch whisky brands.

Spirit inventory was a concern for everyone in the industry, and as grain restrictions ended for production, there was a drive to meet the growing demand for Scotch whisky through the expansion and modernisation of existing distilleries, the reviving of silent ones, and the creation of new distilleries.⁴⁰⁵ This led to increased distilling capacity to replenish the inventory of ageing stocks. When discussing the organisational change in the industry that emerged in response to the boom and distillery expansion, Moss and Hume comment that it should not be surprising that interest and involvement in the trade developed by American and Canadian firms.⁴⁰⁶ The first advertisement, Fig. 5-11, is for Ballantine's, owned by Hiram Walker & Sons (Scotland) Ltd., a holding company established by Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts (Ontario, Canada) when they purchased George Ballantine & Son (Glasgow) in 1935.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ MacKenzie and Perchard, "Behind the 'tartan curtain'," 237-239.

⁴⁰⁵ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 167-168.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁴⁰⁷ Craig, *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record*, 239. Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, 157.

The more you know about Scotch,
the more you like Ballantine's

THE SUPERB SCOTCH

Did you know, for example? . . .



that when it was first minted 130 years ago, this George IV shilling piece would have paid the whole tax on a bottle of Mr. Ballantine's Whisky. There have been some changes since then! The superlative quality of Ballantine's, however, remains unaltered.



that the 42 mature "single" whiskies which go to make Ballantine's are tested always by snuff. To taste them is unnecessary, and would not in fact be specially enjoyable, for it is the subtle blending of so many chosen "singles" which creates the magic of the superb Scotch.



that Ballantine's is one of the best liked Scotches in the world. In the United States, Sweden, France and many other countries, it is a top seller. The world over, whenever friends meet together, they naturally prefer the superb Scotch.

From Scotland's largest distillery to connoisseurs the world over

Fig. 5.11 – "Ballantine's Finest Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 29 August 1959, p. d. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

4 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS NOVEMBER 28, 1959



The friendly Scotch...

Long John WHISKY

The proprietary Scotch Whisky of world-wide renown

Fig. 5.12 – "Long John Whisky". Illustrated London News, 28 November 1959, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The context of this purchase was previously discussed in section 4.9 of the previous chapter. As part of the investment in Scotch whisky, Hiram-Walker expanded a distillery site in Dumbarton that included a malt distillery and a grain distillery, both of which were licensed to Ballantine's. This distillery site was the largest continuous distillation for potable spirits in Scotland.⁴⁰⁸ Craig implies from Ballantine's company history that the distillery construction may not have happened had it not been for the difficulty in negotiating with DCL for grain whisky.⁴⁰⁹ Moss, Hume, and Craig discuss the further investment that Hiram-Walker made in distillery ownership in Scotland as distillery acquisitions continued throughout the 1950s. What is significant for the advertisement is that Hiram-Walker largely glossed over this information in representing their whisky to the consumer, making the brand's association with the spirit made in Scotland without mentioning the capital investment and foreign ownership.

Fig. 5-11 was designed with an enormous eye-catching image that is split in half by a scene of men boating in the background and the foreground, a bottle of Ballantine's, two empty glasses, and a pair of binoculars for watching the nautical activities. This identified the consumer this advertisement is directed at utilising established tropes seen in Fig. 5-8 for Gilbey's and Fig. 4-8 for Johnnie Walker to appeal to affluent men and associating leisure activities and sport with consuming Scotch whisky. Below the image is the tagline, "The more you know about Scotch, the more you like Ballantine's". This appealed to the responsible, discerning Scotch drinker who is not satisfied drinking any whisky, but because they are knowledgeable about Scotch, they should choose Ballantine's. This is followed in small print by "Did you know, for example?..." and proceeds to illustrate three qualities about the whisky the firm wants consumers to know underneath a small illustration. These little vignettes are meant to give the impression that they are informing the consumer about the qualities of the whisky but reveal very little about the making of the whisky and revealed nothing about the ownership by Hiram-Walker.

The first image depicts a small coin that links to the famous story of Scotch whisky becoming popular with King George IV after he visited Edinburgh, and it implied that over 130 years the whisky quality had not changed. The copy text also refers to Mr Ballantine, the founder of the original firm the brand is named for, the aim of which is to link the brand of blended Scotch whisky with a lineage as a guarantee to quality, which assured consumers that this whisky was competitive with the other well-known brand names. The

⁴⁰⁸ Moss and Hume, *Making of Scotch Whisky*, 157.

⁴⁰⁹ Craig, *Scotch Whisky Industry Record*, 247.

bottle label utilised in the main illustration also contributes to the effort by Hiram-Walker to position Ballantine's as a heritage Scotch whisky, utilising a cursive script that mimics a signature, a crest, and a seal, all to project history. The average consumer of the past would not have likely known the efforts Hiram-Walker went to in purchasing and building distilleries in Scotland and, therefore, would not realise that the whisky in the bottle likely had very little to do with the whisky George Ballantine was retailing in the nineteenth century. The following image and text refer to the spirit in the blend and respect of growing interest and knowledge of the places of production. It identifies that the blend contains forty-two 'single' whiskies but does not enlighten the consumer on where they came from or which grains they had been distilled. The text intentionally implied that the blending of Scotch whisky is a skill reliant on the sense of smell, and the alchemy of blending them makes this a quality whisky. The last image depicts a man drinking Ballantine's before a city skyline; this implies the sophistication of drinking the Scotch and, with the text, refers to three of the places the whisky is a top seller, the US, Sweden, and France. At the very bottom of the page, the text reads, "From Scotland's largest distillery to connoisseurs the world over," this refers to the distilling operations in Dumbarton and in a similar way that in the past Dewar's implied the superiority of their whisky available around the world, Ballantine's is also trying to impress their customers with their distribution, availability, and popularity.

Like the advertisement for Ballantine's, Fig. 4-12 for Long John whisky represented a Scotch whisky brand being marketed by a North American-owned subsidiary. A *New York Times* article from 1957, only two years before this advertisement, explained how Long John whisky came to be owned by a North American company.⁴¹⁰ While supplying Scotch to America was an important part of this activity, both Hiram-Walker and Schenley's companies were operating in the Scotch whisky industry to enter more international markets. This is clear from that article: Lewis S. Rosenthal, chairman and president of New York City-based Schenley Industries, Inc., started a worldwide alcohol drinks marketing expansion by purchasing the London-based drinks company Seager, Evans & Co., Ltd. in 1956 for \$9 million.⁴¹¹ This was an effort to offer consumers worldwide a line-up of all the popular segments of alcoholic beverages, enabling retailers to acquire these beverages from one company over multiple ones. This diversified the products they could offer and insulated them if and when trends changed. At the time of this advertisement and the time

⁴¹⁰ "Schenley Plans Big Expansion of Production and Marketing: Price to be Higher Schenley plans world expansion." *New York Times* (1923-), May 30, 1957. Last Accessed 04 December 2023.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

of the *New York Times* article, it is apparent that Schenley believed in the continued boom of the Scotch whisky industry with the construction and purchase of five distilleries in Scotland. The article further details that the Long John brand of Scotch whisky was projected to expand exports in the United States from an annual five thousand cases to fifty thousand. It goes on to say that the reason for increasing the importation of Long John had to do with the arrangement Schenley had to import Dewar's whisky and that its popularity meant that it remained in short supply.⁴¹² This relationship and the popularity of brands like Dewar's influenced the design of advertisements like Fig. 5-12.

This advertisement for Long John whisky, like the advertisement for Ballantine's, is designed to communicate the 'Scotch' in the Scotch whisky. It is meant to appeal to consumers using the established language to demonstrate quality Scotch whisky. Fig. 5-12 is composed similarly to Fig. 5-11, with a large illustration taking up three-quarters of the page. In this advertisement, the bottles of Long John whisky are placed prominently in the foreground to demonstrate what the consumer should recognise in the store or bar. The illustration can be understood to depict the type of consumer the advertisement is aimed at, mature, affluent males and with the addition of the Scottish hat or bonnet with what is presumably a clan badge above the ear, an "authentic" Scotsman. The usage of this figure holding up a glass of Scotch whisky in a gesture of both cheers and approval is reminiscent of advertising seen at the beginning of this Chapter in Fig. 5-2 for Grant's and in the examples from Chapter Four in Fig. 4-15 and Fig. 4-16. This culminated in the compression of this type of figure into a trope for representing quality and approval, he is either a respected peer giving approval or depicts the approval of a native drinker for the national drink of Scotland. The landscape featured as the backdrop for the figure as a nod to the material and place of making, but it is an in descript formulaic depiction of a Scottish landscape. It only matters that the consumer thinks that it is an image of Scotland. The next section expands on this figure of the Scotch whisky drinker in advertisements and how the features had developed from the inter-war period to end the post-war period.

⁴¹² Ibid.

5.9 The Scotch

The advertisements in this section represent the continuation of the Scottish association to represent Scotch whisky; this follows a period that has had relatively few overt examples of this iconography. Instead, advertisements during this period have been primarily directed at the continuation of recognisable brand identities and appeal to the prestige of drinking Scotch whisky for a primarily mature male American drinker. As has been argued, the invocation of Scotland to sell Scotch whisky has a purpose, and in this case, it reflects the modernisation of contemporary popular associations that would be known outside of Scotland. The advertisements together provide a further layer of context, representing the industry's status at the end of the 1950s. While the advertisement for Fig. 5-13 appeared in the *ILN*, it reflected a continued effort to maintain brand recognition. At the same time, most Scotch whisky stocks continued to be distributed to export markets.

Fig. 5-13 is a full-page colour advertisement for Dewar's that appeared in the *ILN* in 1959. The image is broken into three horizontal blocks that break up how the reader understands the advertisement, coupled with short action phrases that quickly move the viewer through the advertisement. The first section begins with a cropped image of a gentleman's wristwatch, implying that he is anticipating the time of the day to enjoy a Scotch whisky. This acknowledges a culture of Scotch whisky consumption as part of a routine, and with the following image of a mature man with his head tipped back drinking from a glass, the advertisement is compressing the brand and spirit as synonymous, which is substantiated by the following copy text that says, "Dewar's is the Scotch!" The aim of the advertisement is to clearly and quickly reinforce in the consumer's mind that the brand of Dewar's whisky is Scotch whisky. The image of the man drinking is similar to Fig. 5-2 and Fig. 5-13, where the advertisements have utilised the image of a mature man holding a glass of Scotch in approval and in a toast to quality, but in Dewar's image, he has actually taken a drink. At the bottom of the page, next to the bottle of Dewar's White Label, is the small, illustrated figure of a Scottish pipe band leader. This represents a similar change as seen in the Johnnie Walker advertisements in Fig. 5-3 and Fig. 5-7 that have subordinated a familiar brand personality into a type of logo. By this point, Dewar's had a history of utilising Scottish cultural references to represent the association of the 'Scotch' in their Scotch whisky and did not have a history of a brand character this is an attempt to create that association.

4 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS APRIL 11, 1959

Anticipate
a
Scotch..

Appreciate
a
Dewar's..

DEWAR'S
is the
Scotch!

- IT NEVER VARIES

Fig. 5.13 – “White Label' Dewar's Finest Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 11 April 1959, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

The
happiest
scotch
'n water

MARTIN'S V.V.O.
BRAND

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY 26.8 PROOF, IMPORTED BY MCKESSON & ROBBINS, INC., NEW YORK, N. Y.

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Fig. 5.14 – “Martin’s V.V.O. Scotch whisky”. Life Magazine, 31 August 1959, Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

This differed from establishing familiar brand characters in the way Johnnie Walker and Buchanan's Black & White achieved with the "Striding Man" and the black and white dogs. This advertisement is strikingly in contrast to Fig. 4-15, which utilises the caricature illustration of a Harry Lauder-esque figure holding a Scotch whisky. The shift away from this overtly stereotypical Scottish figure in Fig. 5-13 represented an understanding of Scotch whisky in the Home market without the need to reinforce through this type of imagery, but that is not the case for the next advertisement.

The advertisement for Fig. 5-14 is for Martin's V.V.O (very, very old) Scotch whisky, printed in the 31 August 1959 issue of *Life magazine*. The photograph represents a gentleman sitting in a small row boat with his arms in the now familiar gesture of a toast. His attire is significant; while he is not clothed in the Highland dress of the distant past, he is wearing what the imaginative American consumer believed to be the attire of their contemporary Scotsmen. The cheerful figure is a compression of the "Friendly Scotch" in Fig. 5-12 for Long John, as well as the representations of the Scotsmen in Fig. 4-15 and Fig. 4-16. These representations are less about the reality of drinking whisky in Scotland but have by 1959 come to be regarded as what the consumer in the export market expects with this association. As the popular cultural references for Scotland evolved from the Victorian and Edwardian periods to the stage and screen references of the 1930s, these references continued to change. Familiar representations of Scottish culture for the broader American consumer during this period were influenced by cinema, such as the 1954 musical film *Brigadoon* and the 1949 comedy film *Whisky Galore* based on the 1947 novel by Compton MacKenzie.⁴¹³ By placing the figure in this advertisement in the boat, the reader would quickly make the association between *Whisky Galore* and Martin's VVO and add to that association the phrase and image associated with the popular way of drinking Scotch in America with water.

This represents familiarity with the firm advertising Martin's V.V.O. to understand the market in America. Their activity indicates the broader industry marketing practice in the post-war period to steer their promotion and distribution efforts to the American market. Daiches includes MacDonald and Muir, the firm producing Martin's V.V.O, in his discussion of Scotch whisky firms outside of DCL. MacDonald and Muir also blended Highland Queen, but he mentions that Martin's V.V.O. is almost exclusively made for

⁴¹³ *Brigadoon*, Vincente Minnelli director, Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer, 1954, 108 minutes. *Whisky Galore!*, Alexander Mackendrick director, General Films Distributor UK, 1949, 82 minutes. Compton MacKenzie, *Whisky Galore*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1947.

export.⁴¹⁴ Daiches mentioned that with so much of the bottled Martin's V.V.O going to the export market there is only one location where it can be obtained in Scotland,

... Charles Muirhead & Sons Ltd., an attractive Edinburgh retail firm owned by Macdonald & Muir. It is so far as I know the only place in the United Kingdom where 'Martin's VVO', virtually unobtainable in Britain because it is blended almost entirely for export, can sometimes be bought.⁴¹⁵

In sum, these two advertisements represent the changes in the Scotch whisky industry by the end of 1959. Their publication and availability in the home and export market reflect what Glen meant when she referred to post-war brands not being advertised in Britain.⁴¹⁶ The iconic brands such as Dewar's that had been advertised before the war continued to be in publications like *ILN*, but less known brands were instead competing for a position in the larger American market, pushed to that marketing activity by the U.K. government as a way of earning foreign currency and helping with their balance of payments.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ Daiches, *Scotch*, 155.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Glen, *The Scotch Whisky Industry*, 168-169.

⁴¹⁷ Perchard and MacKenzie, "Behind the 'tartan curtain'" 239-241.

5.10 Chapter 5: Conclusions

Returning to the title of this chapter, the 1956 *New York Times* article that inspired it, and Compton MacKenzie, the advertisements have demonstrated how the promotional marketing and distribution of Scotch whisky was altered during and after the outbreak of WWII. This activity contrasts with the treatment of the Scotch whisky industry during WWI; the U.K. government recognised that the significance of the North American market could be leveraged to support government spending during the war. While this did not prevent a decline in distilling with concerns for grain shortages, it did ensure that existing ageing stocks were directed towards earning dollars to pay for the war debt. Following the end of the war, restrictions on distribution continued towards hard currency markets, and taxes in the home market continued to limit the consumption of Scotch whisky even with the limited inventory available. There were two competing perspectives on the export drive, for Sir Henry Ross and DCL this meant that while a healthy home market meant assurances for a healthy business, it was ultimately a patriotic duty that the industry performed and continued to perform after the war.⁴¹⁸ Reflecting on the continued increases of tax duty, Compton MacKenzie decries that taxation has meant "... the Scots have been deprived of their national drink."⁴¹⁹

The export drive found a growing market in American drinkers, the increasing availability of Scotch whisky arriving in the United States did not satisfy the increasing popularity of Scotch whisky. From the advertising examples in Fig. 5-7 for Johnnie Walker, Fig. 5-8 for Gilbey's and through to Fig. 5-11 for Ballantine's, Scotch whisky had become a widespread fixture within American drinking culture representing the leisure activity in a prosperous post-war America. To explain this success, the industry espoused explanations for Scotch whisky's success over other alcoholic choices, demonstrating the significance of the production in Scotland and that it was inimitable. Ross declared as,

a witness to the continuing enterprise of the industry, but the basic reason is the reputation it has held over a long period of time for unrivalled quality. It has become a truism that Scotch whisky cannot be made anywhere but in Scotland and that attempts at imitation have invariable, and indeed egregiously failed.⁴²⁰

The marketing of Scotch whisky had promoted the necessity of the making of Scotch

⁴¹⁸ Sir William Henry Ross, "The World-Wide Popularity of Scotch Whisky," in Oakley, Charles Allen. *Scottish Industry: An Account of What Scotland Makes and Where She Makes It / Edited by C.A. Oakley; with a Foreword by Lord Bilsland*. Edited by Charles Allen Oakley. Edinburgh: Scottish Council Development and Industry, 1953, 195-197.

⁴¹⁹ Compton MacKenzie, "The Artful Blend," *The Spectator*, 24 June 1955, 20.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 195-197.

whisky as inseparable from Scotland, and with post-war spirit inventory mainly in the hands of DCL, stakeholders in the North American market, where Scotch was prospering, wanted to gain access to distilling and blending in Scotland. In sum, the capital investments that North American firms made during the Prohibition and Repeal era led to further interest in increasing the distilling capacity within Scotland. This activity was discussed in section 5.8. Beyond the increased marketing of these Scotch whisky brands owned by North American companies, the continued growth in the U.S. spurred a spree of further capital investments from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s.⁴²¹ The efforts of the industry to promote the quality and prestige of Scotch whisky as inseparable from Scotland with its identity as a national beverage created a paradox as less and less Scotch was available in the home market, and international investment increased. The identity of Scotch whisky as a spirit was continuously shaped by social and cultural changes within the industry and among consumers. The next chapter explores how this change developed in the 1960s and how this impacted the trajectory of the post-war boom.

⁴²¹ Niall G. MacKenzie, Andrew Perchard, David Mackay & George Burt (2022) Unlocking dynamic capabilities in the Scotch whisky industry, 1945–present, *Business History*.

Chapter 6: “Whisky on the Rocks” 1960 – 1970

So far, this thesis has analysed Scotch whisky pictorial advertisements and their contribution to developing brand identities, reflecting the representation of cultural perceptions and consumption patterns of Scotch whisky. Chapters Three through Five were constructed with recognition of the context in which literature on the history of the Scotch whisky industry and brands played an essential role in establishing, reifying, and promoting the product. These accounts mythologised the foundations of firms and their transformation into globally traded brands. When there has been tension acting against the industry, these problems are often recast as struggles the industry has triumphed against because of the prestige of Scotch whisky and the business sense of the entrepreneurs, or they have centred the production processes and quality of spirit at the neglect of marketing. The advertisements illustrated in these chapters have shown how these actors communicated these tensions as well as their identities and products to consumers.

The material and analysis in this chapter are a slight departure from the preceding chapters; while it continues the analysis of advertisements, contemporary sources are used more frequently to tease out the context that explains the design and trends within advertising during this period. Additionally, secondary sources that reference the structural change in the 1970s and the periodisation of this chapter are utilised. The advertising examples paint a picture of an industry conflicted with its image and heritage, unsure of how to appeal to opposing consumers, and deciding what it means to make Scotch whisky as a product with a desired appellation but also as a coveted global spirit in the face of increased competition from other products. This chapter makes a novel contribution to the history of Scotch whisky, reflecting on a tumultuous ten years that continued the post-war boom, reveals tensions around what Scotch whisky means to changing consumers and to the producers during the period, and ends with a global recession that would irrevocably alter the organisation and production of the industry in the decades that followed.⁴²² Effectively, this thesis has so far utilised advertising examples to explain the global success and popularity the industry achieved but it is known that the years following the end of this chapter brought unprecedented structural change and decline to the industry, the advertisements in this chapter visualise the tensions in the industry that led to that decline.

The primary Scotch whisky literature does not cover this period largely due to the time the

⁴²² Solimano, Andrés. *A History of Big Recessions in the Long Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. doi:10.1017/9781108755276.

authors were publishing their work; this emphasises the lack of a more recent academic account of the industry's history. Moss and Hume's foundational work, the 1981 *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, includes the decades of 1960 and 1970 in their chapter 'Scotch Triumphant 1945-1980'; their work was written at a time when the industry did not demonstrate the self-awareness that the boom could end.⁴²³ While Weir published his history of DCL in 1997, due to limitations on archive access, his narrative only extends to 1939.⁴²⁴ While Daiches' work was published in 1969 with subsequent editions in the 1970s and 80s, his work contributes to the rising knowledge of single malt Scotch whisky growing among whisky connoisseurs during this period and contains criticism for the industry, but ends during the boom years.⁴²⁵ Glen's BLitt dissertation, submitted in 1963, addresses the economics of the industry from 1939 to 1961.⁴²⁶ Although Glen's research touches on advertising's contribution to marketing, it foreshadows concerns in the industry's structure that become relevant in this chapter.

Subsequent works by Morgan, Moss, and Weir have similar limitations, or, as Jones avers, these authors did not fully realise the changes and significance of marketing strategies.⁴²⁷ Further reflections on the structural and marketing changes the industry faced after what Jones refers to the 1960s-70s as the "Golden Age" of Scotch whisky can be found in the work of Love, Baxter, and Ashcroft.⁴²⁸ While these accounts discuss the structural changes in the industry and place partial blame on marketing, their analyses are limited in identifying the faults. In a textbook chapter on the marketing of Scotch whisky, Jonathan Driver, former global malts director for Diageo and luxury whisky consultant for Whyte & Mackay, writes that the decline in the US market that began in the 1970s has been completely neglected in the histories of Scotch whisky. He questions whether the Scotch whisky industry could have managed this change in a way that did not usher in thirty years of decline.⁴²⁹ In this chapter, advertisements are discussed against a backdrop of export optimism, the global economy with "stagflation", and changing whisky consumers to

⁴²³ Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*.

⁴²⁴ Weir, *History of the Distiller's Company Limited*, 1997.

⁴²⁵ Daiches, *Scotch Whisky*, 1969.

⁴²⁶ Glen, *The Scotch whisky industry (1939-1961): an economic study*, BLitt the University of Glasgow, 1963.

⁴²⁷ S. R. H. Jones, "Brand Building and Structural Change in the Scotch Whisky Industry since 1975," in *Business History*, Vol. 45, No. 3 July 2003, p 72-89.

⁴²⁸ J H Love, 'The Changing Face of Scotch, External Takeover'; L F Baxter, *Political Economy of Scotch Whisky*, Brian Ashcroft, "A Case Study of External Takeover: The Scotch Whisky Industry." in *Takeovers, Mergers, and the Regional Economy*. Editors B. Ashcroft and J.H. Love. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993.

⁴²⁹ Jonathan Driver, "Marketing Scotch whisky in the 21st century and previously," in *Whisky: Technology, Production and Marketing*. Elsevier, 2014, DOI:10.1016/B978-0-12-401735-1.00019-2

demonstrate how competing firms and their brands responded within this climate.⁴³⁰

⁴³⁰ Solimano, Andrés. *A History of Big Recessions in the Long Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. doi:10.1017/9781108755276.

6.1 Whisky at Home in the UK vs US

While differences between the design of advertisements in the UK Home market and the US export market have been especially distinguishable since the 1930s, the examples for Fig. 6-1 and Fig. 6-2 set the tone for widening this chasm. This reflected a differing impression of marketing British-made goods to consumers in the minds of those in charge of advertising. The article from *The Economist's* 16 April 1960 issue best illustrates the differing approach.⁴³¹ The author suggested that advertisements for British goods in America must appeal to Americans through “snob-appeal” and that, in contrast, in Britain, advertisements for the same goods are “inoffensively dreary”. They suggest further that advertisements in the hands of the British would not appear “British enough” to the American consumer. This was evident in the advertisements that emphasised the Scottish tropes in the imagery. The article distinguishes among British exports that Scotch whisky has been established in the American market as a domestic staple. This distinction is significant because it signals a transformation for Fig. 6-2. Instead of being advertised as a Scottish or British brand, it appeals to the American consumer as a familiar branded good, not as an imported guest but as a regular feature. Fig. 6-1, in contrast, is not quite “dreary”, but it does represent a differing consumer base reflective of the retail of Scotch whisky in the home market.

⁴³¹ “Madison Avenue Looks at Britain,” *The Economist*, 16 April 1960.

Now that you're able
insist on "White Label"



Put your foot down!

Make "WHITE LABEL" your watchword this winter—
 and enjoy the heartwarming glow and superb
 softness of this truly great Scotch.

If ever a whisky was worth insisting upon,
 it's "WHITE LABEL!"



Fig. 6.1 – "Now that you're able insist on 'White Label'". Financial Times, 8 February 1960, p. 6. Financial Times Historical Archive.



Put out
the bottle
that shows
you know
Scotch!

• Tonight, make it "BLACK & WHITE."
No other Scotch has made more friends,
kept more friends. The reason?
Extra smoothness has always given
"BLACK & WHITE" a light, bright
character all its own. No wonder
"BLACK & WHITE" is the best loved
Scotch in America.

The Scotch with Character



"BLACK

&

WHITE"



DISTILLED & BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY • 50% ALC/VOL (100 PROOF) • THE FLEISCHMANN DISTILLING CORPORATION, N.Y.C. • SOLE DISTRIBUTORS

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Fig. 6.2 – "Black & White Scotch whisky". Life Magazine, 20 October 1961, p. 76. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

Fig. 6-1 comes from the 8 February 1960 issue of the *Financial Times* as a quarter-page advertisement for Dewar's White Label. The image of the advertisement is a composite photograph of a distinguished gentleman next to a table covered with 'White Label' bottles. The composition is reminiscent of the famous campaign in Chapter Three, Fig. 3-5, where the similarly seated gentleman holds up a single bottle of Dewar's whisky to share with his ancestors as they descend from their portraits. The longevity of that advertisement in memory is called upon in this advertisement, combined with the copy text, to illustrate the status of Scotch whisky stocks after a lengthy period of post-war rationing in the home market. Referencing the older advertisement campaign reminds the Scotch whisky drinker of the lineage of Dewar's whisky. It echoes the "Madison Avenue" article: "We know this product is not competitive in price or design, but it *is* British-made, and we've been making it for a *very* long time."⁴³² The design of this advertisement targets the type of whisky drinker that the Scotch whisky industry had before the war. It assumed that during the prolonged export drive, the brand equity established before the war remained for consumers now that inventory was more plentiful.

In 1960, as the post-war boom continued, with distilling capacity and storage expanding, it was reported that The Distillers Company were building a series of new warehouses capable of holding an inventory of barrels at an estimated retail value of £244 million.⁴³³ Glen reports that while exports continued to expand by a projected 10% per year, the Home market was stationary. Despite the projected growth in the export market, Glen made this conclusion:

Probably, production of Scotch whisky is overshooting the mark, because there are no new world markets into which Scotch whisky can break. ... with growing competition abroad, no firm can expect to remain an exporter on a large scale unless its marketing efficiency overseas is very high, as the DCL have found to its cost in North America.⁴³⁴

Further to this, Glen foreshadows that at the rate of capacity expansion and the lack of markets, by 1966, there would be a surplus of Scotch whisky. The marketing efficiency that Glen speaks of plays a significant role in navigating the business of Scotch whisky during this period. Despite Glen's predictions, the industry was still optimistic, with Fig. 6-1 appeals to old consumers; Fig. 6-2 reflects an acceptance and desire to appeal to the

⁴³² "Madison Avenue Looks at Britain," *The Economist*, 16 April 1960.

⁴³³ "18m. gallons of Scotch whisky," *The Guardian (1959-2003)*; March 23, 1961; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer, pg. 17.

⁴³⁴ Glen, *The Scotch whisky industry (1939-1961): an economic study*, BLitt the University of Glasgow, 1963.

modern American Scotch whisky drinker.

The advertisement in Fig. 6-2 is for 'Black & White' appearing in the 20 October 1961 edition of *Life Magazine*. In contrast to Fig. 6-1, this advertisement appears in colour and is divided into three sections that, as previous advertisements have done, communicate the image of a whisky bottle with copy text and contained the now trademarked mascot or logo, with a central focal image. In this instance, the black and white dogs that have become familiar brand icons do not take a central focus but remain a graphic feature. They are there to remind the viewer that the brand is built on their equity. As the article "Madison Avenue Looks at Britain" suggests, the design of this advertisement is meant to appeal to the consumer who has "superior tastes and certainly superior incomes."⁴³⁵ The design of this advertisement through the copy text and the photograph of the whisky drinkers demonstrates an acknowledgement by the advertising designers and, by proxy, the importers and 'Black and White' whisky to cater their advertisement to the perceived social ideal consumer.

The central image in Fig. 6-2 takes place in a modern domestic space where two couples are seated around a table with whisky glasses and a bottle of 'Black & White'. This is a scene of entertaining and is noteworthy because while hospitality and hosting responsibilities are reinforced with the copy text, "Put out the bottle that shows you know Scotch!", this is not directed strictly at the housewife hostess responsible for impressing guests alone but includes women as a part of this social scene. There is a glass on the table for every person in this tableau. This is a scene of friends socialising and drinking Scotch whisky, but among the friends, they still want to impress each other with the prestige of the brand of whisky they serve. The emphasis on friendliness is reminiscent of the 'Black & White' advertisements published in *Life Magazine* during the 1940s and 1950s and is echoed in the copy text. This text is a call to action for the consumer to reinforce their brand associations and to choose 'Black & White' whisky for sharing with their friends:

Tonight, make it 'Black & White.' No other Scotch has made more friends, kept more friends. The reason?

Extra smoothness has always given character all its own. No wonder 'Black & White' is the best loved Scotch in America.

The contrast between these two advertisements illustrates a difference between the consumer in the UK home market being encouraged to "insist on 'White Label'" because

⁴³⁵ "Madison Avenue Looks at Britain," *The Economist*, 16 April 1960.

of its quality for the individual drinker as a connoisseur to gain personal satisfaction. In the US market, advertisers appeal to consumers as part of a social contract, and they gain status and satisfaction by sharing this brand of Scotch whisky in their social circle. The following advertisements continue to contrast the US and UK markets but illustrate this using the same Scotch whisky brand.

6.2 The Striding Man Strategy US vs UK

The advertisements in this section are both for Johnnie Walker Red Label Scotch whisky, which appeared in print in 1963. They further demonstrate the divide between brand communication strategies in advertising for the U.K. home market and the U.S. market, highlighted in the previous section. Fig. 6-3 appeared in *Life Magazine* on 2 August 1963; it is a graphic advertisement with an uncomplicated photograph of almost infinite glasses of whisky that extend beyond the photograph's edges and into an imagined space.

Underneath the image in large bold letters is a simple question for the consumer to link with the images, “With over 208 to choose from... How can you select the Scotch that’s smoothest?” reflecting both the challenges of deciding among so many brands as well as the distilleries that contribute spirit to the blending of Johnnie Walker Red Label. Below the bold text is a block of smaller copy text that explains the predicament of choice and offers further appeal to the consumer. This is coupled with a small graphic icon of the ‘Striding Man’ and a small Johnnie Walker Red Label bottle to remind the customer to rely on the familiar and recognisable brand. While Fig. 6-3 relies on the simplicity of the graphic image of whisky to appeal to consumers with a plethora of choices, Fig. 6-4, in contrast, uses textual narrative combined with imagery to reason with consumers and influence their selection of Johnnie Walker.

The advertisement for Fig. 6-4 in the 2 November 1963 *ILN*, a full-page advertisement, utilised a format replicating an editorial article. At the top of the page is a cropped image of the Johnnie Walker Red Label bottle next to a glass of whisky with a pitcher of water pouring into the whisky. Below the image in bold letters, the text reads, “The flavour of Johnnie Walker is 3,000 years old”, and underneath this text are small vignettes of text that contribute a simplistic but romanticised narrative of the contributing parts that make the flavours of Scotch whisky. This advertisement appeals to the consumer familiar with Johnnie Walker as a historic brand and associates brand longevity with the quality of craft and material. The information here appeals to the consumer who wants assurances of the authenticity of the products they are purchasing but may not be as knowledgeable about the production and materials. The copy text in this example deliberately uses mythology and blatant exaggerations of the industry to present as if they are revealing secrets about Scotch whisky. Each paragraph uses a fact that is a generalisation for the entire Scotch whisky industry but does not reveal any specific information about the distilleries that make up the composition of their blend.

BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND. BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY. 40-50 PROOF. IMPORTED BY CHINA BRY COMPANY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK



With over 208 to choose from... how can you select the Scotch that's smoothest?

Color won't help you. Whether a Scotch is lighter or darker has no connection with smoothness.

You might encounter many pleasures on a taste tour, but the process is slow.

So we have a solution: Shorten your quest for uncompromising smoothness, and head straight for the Scotch most preferred by more Scotch drinkers.

And that would be Johnnie Walker Red. The mellow maturity and silken smoothness of Johnnie Walker Red has made it the most enjoyed, most wanted Scotch in the entire world.



Johnnie Walker Red – just smooth, very smooth

84 Copyrighted material

Fig. 6.3 – “Johnnie Walker”. Life Magazine, 2 Aug 1963, p. 12. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.



The flavour of Johnnie Walker is 3,000 years old

TAKE a stretch of wild Scottish moorland. Make sure there is a good growth of heather. Leave it to soak for about three thousand years in the damp highland mists; cover occasionally with snow. And what have you got? Peat. Slow-burning, aromatic peat. The peat whose smoke gives so much of the characteristic flavour to malt whisky. And the finest of the malt whiskies go into Johnnie Walker.

No foggy peat

To the layman's eye all peat looks like partly melted chocolate, but the peat cutter must be more discriminating. Near the surface is the 'foggy' peat—soft and crumbly and burning with a dense smoke. At the bottom is black peat. Only the

middle layer is right for the job—and that is what Johnnie Walker use.

World's favourite

Many things are done to make sure that you will enjoy the exact authentic flavour of the world's favourite Scotch whisky. You need do only one thing. And that is never to be content with just saying 'whisky' when you mean Johnnie Walker.

individuality in the flavour of Johnnie Walker. Stills are made by hand—each one represents a month's hard hammering by six coppersmiths.



This man grows whisky for Johnnie Walker

Peter Robertson has lived and worked on Gateside Farm in Speyside for 38 years. Like his father before him he grows

barley—and the pick of his crop goes to the nearby distillery. There it will play a star part in making fine malt whisky and thence find its way into Johnnie Walker—and only the best of the malts do that.

Some like Johnnie Walker hot

One of the good things about having a bottle of Johnnie Walker at home is that you can enjoy it just the way you want it. You probably didn't even think of having Johnnie Walker and hot water when you bought it. But just try it at a nightcap the next cold evening, or when you have a cold.



Whisky and Water

That's how to drink it—to preserve the true flavour. But water is important to whisky in another way. Scotch whisky can only be made with the pure, clear water of Scotland—particularly that of Speyside, famous for its distilleries. That's one of the reasons why it can't be imitated anywhere else in the world.



Copper Kettle—1963 style

Two hundred years ago the crofters distilled their whisky in copper kettles. Today Johnnie Walker is distilled in copper, but now the kettle can hold up to 4,000 gallons. There are very good reasons for following the tradition of copper—it will not corrode and it cannot possibly give any alien flavour to the whisky. Every still has its own special character, and contributes a little of its

Who was Johnnie Walker, anyway?
As you would expect, he was the man who started it all. John Walker, farmer's son, set up his wine and spirit business in Kilmarnock in 1820. The Johnnie Walker figure was created in 1908 by Tom Browne R.L., a famous illustrator of the day. It was based on a silhouette portrait of the founder.



Advance, Friend, and be recognised
Johnnie Walker whisky has been sold in the famous square bottle with its three labels since 1908. It is by far the best known whisky in the world, and today it is going strong in 158 countries. When you see the Johnnie Walker bottle you can be sure you are getting the world's most popular Scotch whisky. When you serve from it, you naturally like your guests to see what they are getting. That is why the people at Johnnie Walker have taken the trouble to adopt this distinctive styling of the square bottle with its special arrangement of three labels.

Red Label, Bottle 41/6, half 21/9, quarter 11/2, miniature 4/3 (U.K. prices). Whether you are having whisky by the bottle or by the tin, SAY JOHNNIE WALKER



Fig. 6.4 – "Jonnie Walker Red Label Old Scotch Whisky". Illustrated London News, 2 November 1963, p. b. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003.

Examining these two advertisements together reveals two different strategies for appealing to American versus British consumers. The British advertisement Fig. 6-4, advertised with an overwhelming amount of information about Scotch whisky production and the claim that Johnnie Walker's flavour is 3,000 years old – which is categorically incorrect but refers to the criticism in *The Economist* article discussed in the previous section that states that British advertisers focused on heritage and age of the producer as an appeal to purchase.⁴³⁶ This is an important distinction when new labels are introduced into the home market, especially those that were successful in the US where consumers were less concerned with company lineage. Yet, despite this through the purchasing of existing brands external to Scotland enterprises could leverage that lineage when marketing their Scotch whisky as a form of legitimacy to the quality of that brand despite not previously being widely marketed.

The American advertisement for Fig. 6-3 through the usage of a bold graphic image emphasised the amount of choice for whisky in the US market but is doing this with as simple language as possible, with JW as a leader based on the preference for “smoothness” the word smooth appearing six times within the text. In this way both advertisements are also about taste, in the American market it is a desire for “smooth” whiskies and in the British market the contribution to flavour by peat and the wider production methods in the contribution to the flavour of the blend. This marks a wider change as until this point references to flavour in the whisky have been limited across the examples given so far in this thesis, with a few references to “mellowness” or “a flavour you’ll like” but little effort to explain what that meant relying on appeal to be based on the implied quality and brand name. As more and more people in different markets drank Scotch whisky, their desire for distinct flavours emerged as an important factor in deciding what whisky to drink beyond the familiar brands and this becomes an important consideration as this chapter continues.

⁴³⁶ “Madison Avenue Looks at Britain,” *The Economist*, 16 April 1960.

6.3 Transatlantic Trends

The advertisements in this section represent a further change in marketing brands of Scotch whisky. Brands like 'Black & White' and 'Johnnie Walker' continued to be successfully marketed in the U.S. utilising the brand equity and recognition that they developed since the turn of the century. However, as the growth of the American market continued to expand, other brands outside of the DCL's umbrella began to successfully jockey for popularity within this sector. Fig. 6-5 and Fig. 6-6 represent this change for Scotch whisky marketing through the targeted audience of *the Economist*. Where examples in section 6.1 and 6.2 represented a delineation between the advertising for the U.S. and the U.K. home market, the readership of *the Economist* bridges the Atlantic and appeals to an Anglo-American consumer but also one apart from the mass market readership in the *ILN* and *Life* magazines. In examining these two advertisements the activity of competing industry stakeholders is revealed as well as the ways they tried to manage established and emerging brand equity.

THE ECONOMIST MARCH 21, 1964

**REMOVE THE CORK
TO GET THE MESSAGE**



THE MESSAGE: The generous and rewarding taste of this very special Scotch. In Cutty Sark you will discover the full overtones of the great Highland malts, subtly revealed through its light colour. People who lead in taste are leading the way to Cutty Sark. Pick up a bottle today.



CUTTY SARK SCOTCH WHISKY

Fig. 6.5 – “Cutty Sark”. Economist, 21 March 1964, p. 1137. The Economist Historical Archive.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 22, 1964



**UNTIL NOW YOU HAD TO SMUGGLE
THIS GREAT SCOTCH OUT OF SCOTLAND!**

Great? Great! Crawford's Scotch. Last year over a million bottles of Crawford's were consumed by the whisky-wise Scots alone. All by themselves (a few friends included). In Scotland alone. Now you can buy and enjoy Crawford's in England. And why not? It's one of the good things of life. In the distinctive bottle you can recognise anywhere. Crawford's is the name to look for. Or just ask for Crawford's. Crawford's.

Crawford's
SCOTCH WHISKY

*Three Star bottles 44/6. Half bottles 22/3. Quarter bottles 11/11. Miniature bottles 4/6.

Fig. 6.6 – “Crawford’s”. Economist, 22 August 1964, p. 718. The Economist Historical Archive.

Fig. 6-5 is an advertisement for Cutty Sark Scotch whisky that appeared in *the Economist* on 21 March 1964, just three years after the brand reached the milestone of 1 million cases exported to the U.S. market.⁴³⁷ Whereas famous blended brands had developed for the appeal to customer's palettes in the U.K. market, Cutty Sark represented a blended brand which constructed their Scotch whisky with American consumer's tastes in mind. The success of this brand and the American market rippled through the rest of the industry. The Cutty Sark advertisement in Fig. 6-5 is a graphic full-page image of a bottle of Cutty Sark at the edge of the tide on the beach. Splashed with seafoam the bottle invokes an idea of a message in a bottle that has washed ashore. This is combined with the bold copy text, "Remove the cork to get the message." The advertisers have appealed to the consumer with a call to action, just like a message in a bottle, the bottle must be opened, but while the message is written in copy text below the image, the most important message is what is inside the bottle, the whisky. Further to appeal to the consumer to imbibe the message also appeals to the consumer's ego through the copy text implying the type of person who drinks Cutty Sark. This text reads:

The Message: The generous and rewarding taste of this very special Scotch. In Cutty Sark you will discover the full overtones of the great Highland malts, subtly revealed through its light colour. People who lead in taste are leading the way to Cutty Sark. Pick up a bottle today.

This text influenced the customer to be conscious of the whisky's colour and associations with the Highland distilleries that contributed to the blend. While it invokes the broad region for these distilleries, it is not more specific than that, preferring instead to play on the nautical heritage of the branding by positioning the bottle in the sea. Ultimately, the text aims to convince consumers that drinking Cutty Sark puts them in a league of bold individuals. DCL was partly nervous about brands like Cutty Sark due to their success – Cutty Sark's success was well publicised, with the *Financial Times* producing articles about their record Scotch sales in the US from 1966-1972.⁴³⁸ The emergence of different blends on the market meant they had to work to offer nuanced marketing approaches for their brands to compete effectively. DCL were, of course, no different, and this is

⁴³⁷ MacKenzie, Gordon and Gannon, "A Spirit of Generosity: Philanthropy in the Scotch Whisky Industry," *Business History Review*, 93 (3), 2019, 9.

⁴³⁸ "Record Cutty Sark Whisky Cargo for U. S." *Financial Times*, 19 Sept. 1966, p. 4. Financial Times Historical Archive, Accessed 22 June 2023. Financial Times Reporter, "Cutty Sark Leads '68 Scotch Sales to U. S." *Financial Times*, 25 June 1969, p. 6. Financial Times Historical Archive. Accessed 22 June 2023. Kenneth Gooding, "Cutty Sark's U. S. Lead Confirmed," *Financial Times*, 11 June 1971, p. 6. Financial Times Historical Archive, Accessed 22 June 2023. Kenneth Gooding, "Cutty Sark Maintains Its Sales Leadership in U. S." *Financial Times*, 5 May 1972, p.15. Financial Times Historical Archive, Accessed 22 June 2023.

evidenced by their promotion of Crawford's Scotch whisky.

Fig. 6-6 for Crawford's Scotch whisky that appeared in the 22 August 1964 issue of *The Economist* represented the activity of DCL, who had added Crawford's during a previous period of amalgamation, to utilise their ownership of brands acquired during rationalisation to re-launch marketing for these labels that competed against their famous brands but could be promoted with contemporary social and cultural appeal without risking damaging established brand equity and associations. DCL purchased Crawford's Scotch whisky in the 1940s. Crawford's was a brand that had been exported outside of Scotland but was overshadowed by its bigger blending brands as part of the vast portfolio of DCL. DCL's ownership of brands after various takeovers and amalgamations became a tool for trying to keep a hold of market share as new entrants and brands outwith their control gained in popularity in the export and the home market. However, as a minor player, DCL routinely did not publicise their ownership of Crawford's, contributing to a lack of transparency of the advantages that brands like Dewar's, Buchanan's and Johnnie Walker benefited from by association. Because those labels had established globally recognised brand iconography and lineages, their promotional advertisements remained more formulaic to maintain the recognisable elements of their brand equity. That allowed less well-known brands to be marketed as new or innovative and allowed them to take a different approach while not fully targeting different market segments. These examples reflect a transition towards understanding the importance of appealing to diverse consumers versus appealing as broadly as possible, which was the overarching practice.

Fig. 6-6 represents an example of the nuanced approach to differentiate Crawford's in the market. It is designed to appeal to the target reader of *the Economist*, someone associated with international business activity. In addition to that appeal, the photography and copy text were taking advantage of the popular cultural phenomenon of the 007 James Bond genre of films – the gentleman is styled to look like the famous spy, with a glamorous woman sitting beside him with the bottle of Crawford's peeking out of a case. In studying the popularity and influence of the James Bond franchise on British popular culture, Alan Burton quotes Nina Hibbin, a film critic for *The Daily Worker*, who refers to 1964 as “the year of the Secret Agent”.⁴³⁹

In making this association, they can utilise the popularity of the 007 franchise to make

⁴³⁹ Alan Burton, “‘Jumping on the Bondwagon’: The Spy Cycle in British Cinema in the 1960s,” *Journal of British Cinema & Television*, Edinburgh University Press, vol. 15, iss. 3, July 2018.

associations with their brand and the books and films. Because the brand is not as recognisable in the export or home market, they can portray its lineage as if it has been a secret that the Scottish people have kept for themselves, thus providing an embellished authenticity and appeal. This is achieved in the copy text by saying:

Until now you had to smuggle this great Scotch out of Scotland! Great? Great! Crawford's Scotch. Last year over a million bottles of

Crawford's were consumed by the whisky-wise Scots alone. All by themselves (a few friends included). In Scotland alone. Now you can buy and enjoy Crawford's in England. And why not? It's one of the good things of life. In the distinctive bottle you can recognise anywhere. Crawford's is the name to look for. Or just ask for Crawford's. Crawford's.

By highlighting the unfamiliarity of the whisky to consumers across the U.K., they are raising its position in the minds of the consumer as something that has been limited or hoarded, but if they know the name as if it is a secret password, they can also gain access to this distinctive bottle. With all the repetition of the brand's name and the justification of its popularity, there has not been any room left to describe what the whisky inside the bottle tastes like, and that is not the point. The appeal here is the graphic photograph of the distinguished, spy-like figure standing behind the glamorous secretary-esque woman who has seductively draped her arm across a case that reveals the bottle of Crawford's Scotch whisky at her fingertips. In this way, the advertisement appeals to performative consumption, associating this brand with international spies and intrigue, but with a strong business element to it as well; the reader of *the Economist* can play the spy with a bottle of Crawford's whisky. These two examples demonstrate how advertising blended brands of Scotch whisky changed during this period, shifting away from previous depictions of tartanry and Empire by focusing on more modern and relevant references to the Scotch whisky drinker in the 1960s.

6.4 Whisky Sour

Advertisements that appeared in the home market during this period have been criticised for their reliance on tartanry and the old ways of promotion. Lynne Baxter identified them as contributing to the turmoil the industry faced as it lost global market share with the economic recession, arguing that they were “tired old assumptions” about what Scotch was.⁴⁴⁰ While Fig. 6-7 and Fig. 6-8, advertisements in *ILN* in 1965 for Highland Queen and Long John Scotch whiskies, fit this criticism, the three previous sections illustrated that advertising for some brands had moved away from overtly Scottish iconography. This demonstrates the limitations of earlier assessments of marketing and advertising because of the lack of archive access or digitisation. Further, the communication style in advertising was changing to appeal to different consumer trends. The advertisements in this section demonstrate the continuation and close visual repetition of advertisements in previous decades. While the Mary Queen of Scots image had long been associated with the Highland Queen brand, it was perhaps impossible to dissociate the figure from history to an association strictly with the brand. This also explains the Long John advertisements using a stereotype of a bonnet-wearing Scotsman. Neither of these brands has been able to utilise these figures as characters strongly associated with just their brands.

⁴⁴⁰ Lynne Baxter, “Political Economy of Scotch whisky”, 77.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS CHRISTMAS NUMBER, 1965—11



Grown, Germinated, Malted, Dried, Crushed, Brewed, Cooled, Yeasted,
Fermented, Distilled, Extracted, Casked, Matured, Blended, Vatted,
Married, Bottled in Scotland, and enjoyed everywhere in the world.

Long John
SCOTCH WHISKY

The Scotch they drink in Scotland

Fig. 6.8 – “Long John Scotch Whisky”. Christmas Number. Illustrated London News, 15 November 1965, p. 11. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842- 2003.

An article in *The Economist* on 28th August 1965 titled “Whisky Sour” discussed the criticism of the state of the industry and Scotch whisky’s global position:

At first sight, the Scotch whisky industry is hardly a moderniser’s ideal, with its domination by one single organisation, with an estimated 70 per cent of the business. Nevertheless, it is probably the country’s fourth largest exporter, after vehicles, steel and tourism and so commands respect.

It continues:

The international smart drink of the moment happens to be Scotch whisky. Whether it will always be so is less certain. Fashion, especially snob fashion, is a perilous basis for an industry as big as this. And the whisky habit abroad is still relatively new. In 1900 – out of a world consumption about the same level as today – only one-fifth went abroad. It is still too early to say the whisky boom is establishing a permanent habit. What seems more permanent is Scotland’s hold over the market. That Scotch should be regarded so unquestionably as “the best” is a supreme public relations achievement, but precisely what distinguishes Scotch from other whisky is still unknown.⁴⁴¹

The article recognises several features of Scotch’s history and success – the focus on tradition and heritage, its global appeal, and the question of its distinctiveness. However, it also identifies the industry’s challenges at the time, which Baxter’s analysis shows was not resolved some twenty years later.

⁴⁴¹ “Whisky Sour.” *Economist*, 28 Aug. 1965, pp. 799+. The Economist Historical Archive, link.gale.com/apps/doc/GP4100794184/GDCS?u=glasuni&sid=bookmark-GDCS

6.5 Discount Snobs

The advertisements in this section represent developments in broader advertising practice in the late 1960s. The differentiation in marketing was increasing – brands were willing to experiment with their approach and messaging, shifting their focus away from more traditional forms of imagery to start considering not just depictions of Scotland but also reasons consumers might drink whisky based on cost. The examples for advertisements for the U.S. market have emphasised the simplicity of the message (which brand of Scotch to buy) to make a greater appeal to changing fashions and a new generation of drinkers. From a previous focus on notions of prestige and quality (with associated expensive connotations) emerged another approach targeted at consumers with more economically discerning preferences. The House of Stuart brand was one such example of this where their advertising approach was targeted at these types of consumers:

Fig. 6-9 copy text:

“House of Stuart. The Scotch for people who don’t have to prove anything to anybody.”

Nobody buys House of Stuart just to look good. It doesn’t cost enough for that. People buy it because they admire the gentle warmth of its swallow.

Or because they have enough confidence in their judgement to know a good, light Scotch when they taste it, not when they price it.

If your store happens to be out of stock, call the distillery in Alexandria, Scotland. Alexandria 2781. We’ll arrange delivery.⁴⁴²

The advertisement for House of Stuart uses a photograph of a woman in posh British riding gear, giving the airs of aristocracy. She holds a riding habit in her hands, and a suited man lights a cigarette behind her. They are in the garden outside a large house that does not fit into the photograph's frame. The image has more stylistically in common with a fashion magazine editorial or a candid shot captured by the paparazzi. Underneath the text is a conversation, presumably between the woman and man in the photograph.

⁴⁴² “House of Stuart,” *Life magazine*, 10 February 1967.

House of Stuart.
The Scotch for people
who don't have to prove
anything to anybody.



"Peter liked the Scotch, darling. He said we must have paid a fortune for it."
 "What did you say?"
 "I smiled."

Nobody buys House of Stuart just to look good. It doesn't cost enough for that.

People buy it because they like the way it feels. Or because they admire the gentle warmth of its swallow.

Or because they have enough confidence in their judgment to know a good, light Scotch when they taste it, not when they price it.

If your store happens to be out of stock, call the distillery in Alexandria, Scotland, Alexandria 2781. We'll arrange delivery.

House of Stuart Scotch.

100% Imported Scotch Whisky.
 86 Proof, House of Stuart, N.Y., N.Y.



Fig. 6.9 – "House of Stuart". Life Magazine, 10 February 1967, p. 76. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.



After the long sleep, there emerges *the unique heart whisky of Chequers Scotch.*

SECURE in its casks in the warehouse, our make waits out the quiet years, whilst it slowly perfects itself into a spirit of a singular mellow softness. Then, called forward at maturity, it brings its unique character, through blending

and marrying, to stand as the heart of our final product, Chequers.

Chequers to America

Here in our distillery by Elgin in Morayshire, we have kept to the old ways, loath to risk a change in doing things that might change the nature of our whisky. As to whether this is a virtue in us, you must seek the answer if you will in our product. Chequers is now being despatched to America in restricted amount. Your barman or whisky dealer may have come upon it. If so, we commend it to you.



JOHN McEWAN & Co. LTD.
By Elgin in Morayshire, Scotland

CHEQUERS
BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY



Chequers Importers, Ltd., New York, Inc. Representing
The Exclusive Distribution For Chequers in The United
States • 80 PROOF • BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY

Fig. 6.10 – “Chequers”. Life Magazine, 6 October 1967, p. 96. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

The text reads:

“Peter liked the Scotch, darling. He said we must have paid a fortune for it.” “What did you say?”

“I smiled.”⁴⁴³

Several things can be inferred from this conversation and the image. House of Stuart aimed to be perceived as a prestigious brand of Scotch whisky, but they knew that they were cheap. For that reason, they are trying to appeal to thriftiness and justify the flavour of their Scotch whisky as something that can fool their friends whilst still associating with expensive (and upper-class) pursuits such as horse riding. Instead of the tactic that ‘Black & White’ used to convince consumers to purchase the well-known whisky to impress their friends, House of Stuart says that their whisky is for people who do not need to do that because they are very confident.

House of Stuart advertising its low price point and through the guise of Scotch whisky’s “snob appeal” has been discussed by Thomas Frank in his book, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*.⁴⁴⁴ In his analysis of 1960s advertisements, he identifies that the priorities of 1950s advertisements to give customers satisfaction through the attainment of social status was superficial and that in this period, consumer culture became interested in the authenticity of their goods.⁴⁴⁵ Discussing House of Stuart, Frank suggests that the copy text is still trying to impress peers; it does this in an “anti-status” way, not wanting to conform to the reasons other Scotch whisky consumers select their brand. This fits into the wider trend for advertisements in America changing in the 1960s, with emphasis on what Frank refers to as the new consumer paradigm that centred individuality and purpose and appeared to dominate in publications like *Life Magazine* for goods targeted to men, such as automobiles.⁴⁴⁶ This move to promote individuality and ideas of what is fashionably hip for consumers was at odds with the strategies employed widely by the industry to appeal to conservative mature male Scotch drinkers. The desire for authenticity in advertisements during this period also adds a layer to the complexity of promoting Scotch whisky in a changing demographic of spirit consumers.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Thomas Frank, *The conquest of cool: business culture, counterculture, and the rise of hip consumerism*, London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, 142-143.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 133-134.

Fig. 6-10 for Chequers represented another advertisement in Life Magazine that responded to the consumer culture's interest in authenticity. By the period of this advertisement, Chequers was another subsidiary of DCL through James McEwan & Co., Ltd., which they acquired in 1937.⁴²¹ For example, in Fig. 6-6 for Crawford's, Chequers was another attempt by DCL to launch a new blend of Scotch whisky for the U.S. market. Where Crawford's advertisement appealed to what could be called a hip or fashionable consumer, the advertisement for Chequers is more closely related to DCL's strategies for Johnnie Walker in Fig. 6-4, though noticeably less informative. In this way, the Chequers advertisement emphasised the lineage of production of Scotch whisky and, through this lineage, gives authenticity to the product. The images used are purposefully sepia toned to give the impression of age, and the copy text reinforces this.

Here in our distillery by Elgin in Morayshire, we have kept to the oldways, loath to risk a change in doing things that might change the nature of our whisky. As to whether this isa virtue in us, you must seek the answer if you will in our product. Chequers is now being despatched to America in restricted amount.

Your barman or whisky dealer may have come upon it. If so, we commend it to you.⁴⁴⁷

While it maintained the simplicity of American advertisements for Scotch whisky, Fig. 6-9 used simple methods through the images and the copy text to imply the authenticity of the Scotch whisky. In addition, it has solved the problem of the unfamiliarity of this brand in the U.S. market compared to brands such as Johnnie Walker by demonstrating its scarcity. In this sense, the consumer who is unfamiliar with this brand can make the association that it is because of scarcity of the spirit which conflates this lack of brand awareness and distribution to being "limited". Like Crawford's advertisement, it becomes more desirable through its rarity, as if it is a secret that the company is now sharing with worthy Scotch whisky drinkers.

Although these advertisements ultimately made strides to adjust to changing consumer culture in the 1960s, they still rely on the "snob appeal" of Scotch whisky. This issue around drinking fashions is mentioned in *The Economist* in 1967, where the article discusses the uncertainty in the industry and identifies areas in marketing strategy for Scotch whisky that could secure Scotch's future.⁴⁴⁸ The author suggests that companies needed a clear marketing strategy and that brands of Scotch should be aimed at market

⁴⁴⁷ "Chequers," *Whiskypedia*, <https://scotchwhisky.com/whiskypedia/2339/chequers/>, Last accessed 11 December 2023.

⁴⁴⁸ "Drinking Fashions," *The Economist*, 26 August 1967, The Economist Historical Archive, 751.

segmentation, for example, what they call cut-price sales, whisky for the young, for mixing, for women, and for the middle-aged.⁴⁴⁹ Further, the author suggests that DCL let its brands compete in markets without targeted marketing direction, meaning their brands lost position to light Scotch whiskies such as J&B Rare and Cutty Sark. The 1960s began with the continued prosperity of the Scotch whisky boom, but once again, the meaning of Scotch whisky to consumers was changing, and despite some strides to keep it relevant, the definition of Scotch continued to evolve.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

6.6 Bottled or Bulk

This thesis is focused on advertising Scotch whisky, but it is important to reiterate that promotion is one part of this activity when it comes to marketing. As mentioned in 6.3, Jones and Baxter criticise the industry's marketing activity leading to the 1980s decline. The advertisements in this section demonstrate the tension in the industry regarding the shipment of bulk Scotch whisky to export markets. It also continues the issues of the previous section around defining Scotch whisky, with Fig. 6-11 and Fig. 6-12 contrasting efforts to promote cheaper Scotch whisky brands with brands defining what is authentically Scotch whisky. Fig. 6-11 is for Passport Scotch whisky, owned by Seagram, and Fig. 6-12 is for Dewar's, owned by DCL.

The advertisement for Passport whisky plays on the brand's name and its relationship to Scotch whisky made in Scotland. This bold text at the top of the page, "Spend Christmas in Scotland. Here's your Passport." uses clever language for the American consumer this was directed at to associate the brand name with travelling to Scotland. However, as the text elaborates, instead of spending money on an expensive trip to Scotland or a bottle of Scotch whisky, they can benefit from the company's workaround. This is explained in the copy text:

This year, give and serve Passport Scotch. it can make you look like the last of the big-time spenders, without necessarily being one.

But you'd better hurry. The word about Passport will get around fast.

We blended this new Scotch of the most outrageously expensive whiskies Scotland has to offer. But we didn't bottle it in Scotland. If we did we'd have to charge an astronomical price.

We bottle Passport right here in the U.S.A., to save you money on taxes.

So, with our sneaky little tax loophole, you sink your money into Christmas cheer. Not into taxes.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ "Passport Scotch Whisky," *Life Magazine*, 13 December 1968.

Spend Christmas in Scotland. Here's your Passport.

This year, give and serve Passport Scotch. It can make you look like the last of the big-time spenders, without necessarily being one.

But you'd better hurry. The word about Passport will get around fast.

We blended this new Scotch of the most outrageously expensive whiskies Scotland has to offer. But we didn't bottle it in Scotland. If we did, we'd have to charge an astronomical price.

We bottle Passport right here in the U.S.A., to save you money on taxes.

So, with our sneaky little tax loophole, you sink your money into Christmas cheer. Not into taxes.

Passport Scotch.

Imported by Calvert



85 PROOF • 100% BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY • IMPORTED BY CALVERT DISTILLERS CO., N.Y.C.

Fig. 6.11 – “Passport whisky”. Life Magazine, 13 December 1968, p. 106. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

Authentic.



What we put
in this bottle

They say there are more than a thousand ways to blend whiskies in Scotland, but few are authentic enough for Dewar's "White Label." Dewar's has only the finest of whiskies from the Highlands, from the Lowlands, from the Hebrides. Each one is chosen for its own special purpose, and is then rested in its own snug vat. Finally, one by one, they're brought together by the hand of the master blender of Perth. His skill makes sure that Dewar's never varies.



Dewar's never varies.

Fig. 6.12 – "Dewar's". Life Magazine, 21 November 1969, p. 68. Life Magazine Digital Archive, New York Public Library and Google Books.

As in the examples in section 6.4, the promotion of affordable Scotch whiskies included an appeal to be perceived as spending a lot of money for that “snob appeal”. The motivation for Seagram’s to export Scotch whisky into the U.S. as a bulk shipment had to do with the taxation system employed by the U.S., and this workaround relied on was an attempt to avoid paying higher taxes on the spirit inside bottles and the water that was added to bring the spirit to the marketed proof or alcohol volume. In this case, it was a profit-driven exercise, but for the SWA, it was a risk to the quality of Scotch whisky as bulk exports in other markets were often combined with local spirits and “passed off” as genuine Scotch whisky.⁴⁵¹ Another layer to the issue concerning the bottling of Scotch whisky in North America is the content of the water. Can it still be classified as Scotch whisky when the contents have had water from outside Scotland added? From Dewar’s next advertisement, the answer to that question would be a definitive negative.

The advertisement for Fig. 6-12, for Dewar’s in *Life Magazine* in 1969, can be understood as a response to the practice demonstrated by Seagram’s for Passport. The image in the illustration emphasised the bottling of Scotch whisky in Scotland, defining the entirety of the making of Scotch whisky as necessary to define it authentically. The copy text is vague about what parts of the bottling process are across Britain but reinforces the historical links with Perth as the place where the blending of the whisky takes place. They demonstrate their assertion on what makes Scotch whisky by saying,

What we put in this bottle

They say there are more than a thousand ways to blend whiskies in Scotland, but few are authentic enough for Dewar’s ‘White Label.’ Dewar’s has only the finest of whiskies from the Highlands, from the Lowlands, from the Hebrides.

Each one is chosen for its own special purpose, and is then rested in its own snug vat. Finally, one by one, they’re brought together by the hand of the master blender of Perth. His skill makes sure that Dewar’s never varies.

The changing nuances and sophistication that are demonstrated in these later adverts are symptomatic of the industry’s change more generally – the emergence of white spirits (vodka, gin, and rum) as a competing product category in the 1970s meant the sector was faced with having to shift away from its traditional foci to something that reflected the changing tastes and attitudes of its consumer base. Tartanry and Scottish imagery were no longer sufficient to grab the attention of discerning consumers globally.

⁴⁵¹ “Whisky exporters told to stop “passing off” Scotch,” *The Financial Times*, 26 March 1970, 31.

6.7 Chapter 6: Conclusions

In a decade, the continued prosperity and growth that the Scotch whisky industry had found focused on the American market was under threat. The tensions the industry faces are revealed in the advertisements and demonstrate decisions by the industry to address these forces. By operating with a production-focused approach meant to match the year-on-year growth in export figures, it could not address a new generation of drinkers, changing tastes, and economic vulnerability. The examples reveal a continued chasm between the approaches to promoting established Scotch whisky brands in the Home and U.S. markets. DCL tried to compete with brands such as Cutty Sark, utilising the subsidiaries at their disposal. Unfortunately, increasing the quantity of brands did not increase the effectiveness of their appeal to consumers.

Each chapter periodisation has defined what Scotch whisky revealed through the images utilised to promote it, the way that brands developed equity, and the collective effort of the industry to reinforce the links with Scotland. In the previous chapters, this has changed to reflect evolving popular cultural references to Scotland for consumers at home and abroad. The acceptance of Scotch whisky as a plentiful and implied part of drinking culture, emphasising prestige and quality, reinforced what the *New York Times* called “Snob appeal”. This conflicted with advertisements such as Fig. 6-5 for Cutty Sark and Fig. 6-6 for Crawford’s that appealed to younger professionals with the income to consume Scotch but desired through advertising and consumption satisfaction through their choice of beverage. The ‘Scotch’ in Scotch whisky was no longer as necessary to the consumer of blended whisky, yet this was occurring at the same time as single malts (Scotch whisky made from a single distillery and much lauded by the ‘Gentleman Scholars’) were becoming more widely available for the burgeoning connoisseur. An additional complication in defining Scotch whisky was the continued efforts of the SWA to lobby and litigate on behalf of the industry to protect it against imitations in overseas markets. From the advertisements in this chapter, the complexities of Scotch whisky’s image in the 1960s contributed to a widely varied approach to visual promotion activity.

The lack of awareness for advertising also extended to challenges in forecasting the levels of spirit requirements to fulfil expected exports. The *Financial Times* reported in January 1970 a forecast for the decline in whisky consumption, which would be the first decline since the distilling ceased during WWII.⁴⁵² This accounted for uncertainty with economic

⁴⁵² Albert Evershed, “Decline in whisky consumption forecast,” *The Financial Times*, 29 January 1970, 23.

activity, but by June, *The Financial Times* reported that instead of declining, the U.S. market consumption increased by 18%; further, the 4-month consumption by America alone exceeded the annual totals of consumption in the Home market.⁴⁵³ While this caused continued optimism for the strength of the American market to continue absorbing the increasing inventory of Scotch whisky, it meant continued neglect of addressing the diversity of consumers as fashions in drinks for a new generation would impact the fortunes of the industry. With the difficulty of forecasting demand for Scotch whisky and the absence of legitimate market segmentation, the 1970s demonstrate a rocky future for Scotch whisky.

⁴⁵³ Financial Times correspondent, "No sign of slack in U.S. whisky boom," *The Financial Times*, 3 June 1970, 6.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

By analysing a collection of illustrated Scotch whisky advertisements from 1890-1970, this thesis has identified how the Scotch whisky industry has sought to represent itself and its produce to the world. Advertisements and branded promotional materials for Scotch whisky exist globally in abundance as a remanent of marketing strategies by the industry. Yet, with all this material, the contribution of advertising to Scotch whisky's global success has been neglected in the literature at best as a required part of doing business and at worst for a failure to appreciate the power of images in communicating complex meanings.

Writing on Scotch whisky has not shied away from romantic turns, waxing poetically about the quality of the spirit and its time-honoured position upon a pedestal ahead of other global spirits. The bias of writers working directly with the industry has continued to shroud the activity of Scotch whisky in the mists of time behind a tartan curtain. These sources offer frustration to historians, but ultimately, they help paint a picture of a deliberate strategy collectively to keep the industry's appeal alluring. The Scotch whisky industry has fiercely protected its reputation and maintains control of the narrative concerning its history, heritage, and quality. It was not the objective of this thesis to reveal some sinister hidden activity (and it does not) but to say that where an absence of or lack of access to records to verify historical moments exists, published periodicals give insight in a reproducible way to decisions and strategies over time. The work here argues that the usage of Scotland to sell Scotch whisky has not been a tartan wrapper but one of many strategies integral to making Scotch whisky and one that the industry shaped as it expanded internationally.

This thesis has shown and reiterated the usage of symbols of Scotland was not just a decoration or aesthetic but a conscious design element and way of communicating meaning. These meanings have not been static and have transformed and fluctuated over the nearly hundred years of this periodisation. Scotch whisky has meant different things to consumers, and the industry has used images and copy text to appeal to these changing consumers. In the first instance, these symbols were utilised to distinguish this spirit made in Scotland, built on a foundation of association with the consumption of Scotch whisky and references familiar to Victorian drinkers. Scotch whisky was being transformed outside Scotland from a national drink by and for Scottish people to a spirit accepted by the upper echelons of society and coveted by the emerging middle class across the Empire.

As the recognition of Scotch whisky grew, more and more stakeholders entered their brands of spirit into the market, using easily understood references to Scotland, which contributed to the impression by previous whisky historians of the homogenous nature of this activity. With this in mind, chapter one has established the beginnings of pictorial advertisements for Scotch whisky and the reasons for using Scottish iconography to position and define Scotch whisky in the consumer's mind and move towards a broader cultural acceptance. Chapter two demonstrated the shift of these signs for changing trends and more effort to design within a brand's developing identity, with the Scottish associations reflecting changing popular cultural references. The 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky was not as visible in the examples during this period, with more emphasis on representing the drinker of Scotch whisky outside of Scotland, appealing more to the prestige of drinking Scotch whisky. This continued in the post-WWII period in chapters three and four when it became imperative to reinforce that to be Scotch whisky, it needed to be made in Scotland. As the meaning of Scotch whisky was changing in the post-war period, increasing consumer awareness of the difference and availability between blended whisky and single malts made it necessary to ensure the authenticity of the spirit and emphasise the production in Scotland.

In studying these advertisements, this thesis has revealed the shifting patterns and themes for utilising Scotland's culture and geography to advertise Scotch whisky, as well as showing three significant priorities and strategies by the industry during the periodisation. These were the development and action to create power for name brands of Scotch whisky, the recognition of Scotch whisky as a protected appellation, and the significance of export activity in the scale and strength of the industry. Regarding Scotch whisky brands, they played a feature role in communicating Scotch whisky to the world. The power of their distribution made their presence visible in more places, and they were responsible for cultivating equity and recognition among consumers. To position a beverage in the world's imagination as a distinct commodity and distinct among similarly made spirits, the industry needed to cultivate the distinctiveness of qualities inherent in Scotch whisky. Once this association was cemented in the minds of consumers, it could act as a kind of guarantee of superiority against other spirits vis-à-vis in terms of quality and prestige.

The pressure of competition contributed to the activity of brands to value what others were doing successfully. In some cases, this caused emulation; in other examples, it contributed to the emergence of distinct brand personalities. Brands have been mentioned in the literature in a silo of company histories. At the same time, this has not been a thesis about

brand development; it has been evidenced through the selected advertisements that the changes over time make it possible for future historians to carry on this analysis. This thesis has also brought to light the examples of branding and promotional activity for companies and brands that were not part of the DCL cartel or one of the Whisky Barons, showing competing campaigns has added another layer of context for interpreting the design and strategy of advertisements. This contributes to the history of Scotch whisky beyond the enduring examples.

When Scotch whisky gained popularity in markets outside of Scotland and increasingly as it was shipped internationally, it was subject to imitation and adulteration. The Scotch whisky industry worked to cultivate a distinct product and used signs to communicate the spirit's quality, prestige, and uniquely Scottish origin. However, it was not enough to educate consumers to avoid unscrupulous retailers; the industry needed legal protection. The industry had to emphasise that the whisky made in Scotland significantly differs from whiskies or alcohols made anywhere else to be recognised as having a unique geographic indication. The literature has focused on the litigation activity and lobbying efforts by the SWA to secure legal protections for Scotch whisky and their fight against imitators trying to mislead consumers using Scottish cultural signs. This thesis has demonstrated how the industry collectively supported these initiatives through advertisements that reinforced the quality and prestige of whisky made in Scotland. The cultivation of the appellation by the SWA is an area that would benefit from further examination; the SWA published newsletters that were consulted within the records for Whyte & Mackay Ltd. It is a resource that could be mined along with other locations where further issues have been preserved.⁴⁵⁴ These newsletters document the specific instances and efforts the SWA was making in the campaign to gain geographic indication protections for Scotch whisky and the efforts to educate consumers about imitators. While they detail the litigious activity conducted by the association, the newsletters also include articles reporting on initiatives to educate different markets on Scotch whisky and hosting visiting stakeholders in Scotland, all meant to justify the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky.

The practical implications of needing to reinforce the 'Scotch' element of the whisky industry have meant that histories of the industry have primarily focused on the making of Scotch whisky, which keeps the focus on Scotland. The literature has also measured the industry's success through the activity that saw firms distribute their produce in foreign

⁴⁵⁴ GB 248 UGC 235/3/2/23/2, Item, Whisky Association correspondence, 5 Nov 1940-30 Mar 1945.

markets and establish branch offices and subsidiaries. Still, there has been little research on making global Scotch whisky drinkers. Efforts by the industry to maintain a balanced trade between retailing Scotch whisky in the home market and abroad were forever altered by the export drive for dollars during WWII. This thesis represents that change in the shift of advertisements, including a split between those appearing in U.K. home market periodicals and U.S. periodicals. This has made visible the differing strategies employed in making Scotch whisky appeal to different consumers in these markets. Because of this division of the markets, this work has acknowledged the significance of Scotch whisky in America and the increasing multi-national ownership within the Scotch whisky industry. The industry's focus on the American market is an area that would benefit from further analysis, as well as the role of the government in skewing the industry towards exports.

The home market has never recovered its share of Scotch whisky exports, with an estimated 90% of production now going to exports; in 2016, this was valued at £4bn a year, and for 2022, the SWA has stated exports were valued at £6.2bn.⁴⁵⁵ The comparison of home market advertisements and those in America was deliberate because of the proportion of international export efforts that went to America and restrictions on the scope of this study. Still, future research on advertisements should continue to address these contrasts and extend to include more global examples.

This work has argued that advertisements communicate information about a product. Still, they also have value as an alternative source that can reveal patterns and responses by the industry to outside forces and pressures. Using these examples to mine for deeper meaning, this study has expanded the history of Scotch whisky outside Scotland and the U.K. It has not been possible for this research to create a tick list of every kind of trope or theme utilised to sell Scotch whisky. Still, it has revealed how advertisements have been used to define Scotch whisky in different periods and how this contributes to understanding the industry. It was impossible to include every advertisement from the archive collected for this study, but by focusing on how patterns emerged and offering explanations for the changes in the industry, this study has set up a foundation for future studies to build on. This study has demonstrated the ability to observe changes and frequency of advertisements in a way that is easily referenced with a publication date and source location. Future studies of Scotch whisky advertisements can focus on specific brands,

⁴⁵⁵ Tom Bruce-Gardyne, "Would leaving the EU boost whisky sales?" 07 June 2016, <https://scotchwhisky.com/magazine/opinion-debate/the-debate/9558/would-leaving-the-eu-boost-scotch-whisky/>, Accessed 17 November 2023. "Facts and Figures," The Scotch Whisky Association, <https://www.scotch-whisky.org.uk/insights/facts-figures/>, Accessed 17 November 2023.

trace the history of certain tropes or themes, or compare advertisements across different periodicals. Incorporating literature on advertising has made it possible to give context and interpret the advertisements for Scotch whisky, making it possible to tease out meaning from their example. This largely solved the problem of limited access to business archives and limitations on periods of records for comparison. Using periodical advertisements has made it possible to give a full chronological periodisation where relying solely on material in archives would have resulted in case studies as a proxy for the industry. While that is a common approach to conducting business history, the methodology employed in this thesis has allowed the beginning foundation of an advertising history of Scotch whisky.

In this thesis, the focus has been on periodical advertisements that have been digitised because they offer practical reproducibility, allowing future researchers to access the examples given in this analysis. Continuing the research on promotion will benefit the understanding of the industry's activity by continuing to study periodicals and expanding to include the vast surviving promotional material culture. There is also an opportunity to determine the role of advertising firms in decision-making or in shaping the modes of communication utilised in these advertisements. The lack of expansion into this is justified in this thesis because of the intention to include a variety of firms advertising in the same periodicals, some of which are known to have utilised ad agencies and others that have not. That element is not critical for interpreting the advertisements in this study. Ultimately, the advertised firm published and approved the designs to be released at some level. Still, it would benefit the analysis of this relationship if companies would allow access to analyse their records and give insight into more of the decision-making process. However, it should be acknowledged that this is a big ask for an industry that is overwhelming protectionist to these processes. At different periods of its export history, advertisements have tried to appeal to other consumers in various places; this continues to have ramifications in the contemporary industry, with marketers trying to carve out more segments of consumers and appeal to younger, fashionable drinkers. This speaks to the reach of this study; this research intends to appeal to those interested in Scotch whisky history and business historians and to be useful to current industry marketers to give insight into how the industry has advertised and why.

The periodisation has made it possible to capture the emergence of periodic advertisements for Scotch whisky, demonstrate the changes in the industry, and contribute more to history than simply chronicling the successes. It has made it possible to understand the development, expansion, and changing priorities in the marketing of Scotch whisky, which

justifies why the images and signs have changed. The scope of this research has captured periods of boom, bust, wartime, depressions, and recessions and reflected on how this influenced the industry's activity and how they presented themselves to consumers. This differs from the literature where an approach has been to treat these periods as challenges overcome by “good business sense”, placing the survival of certain firms down to moral character and not situational opportunities. Including the context of tension for the industry helps explain the advertisements in this thesis. The decision to end the periodisation of the thesis in 1970 reflects the state of the literature for this period and the scope of this project.



A significant portion of this thesis is utilised for the foundations of pictorial advertising and, throughout the chapters, demonstrates a narrative of a changing industry with substantial advertising activity; this is relevant for the end of chapter four, where the post-war success enjoyed by the industry was in decline. It was determined that extending the periodisation past the point of 1970 was beyond this project's scope because the industry significantly transformed, so there would not be enough space to analyse how this was reflected in advertisements. The literature on the industry started to emerge in the 1980s, although it remains relatively sparse, with some historians beginning to examine what occurred with the recession and hostile takeover of DCL. That period does not benefit from the same level of reflection in the literature as the previous decades and, therefore, should be addressed before a study of advertisements can continue. The same could be said about moving the history of Scotch whisky advertisements to meet with a current survey of the contemporary Scotch whisky industry's usage of material culture and landscape in promoting their spirit.⁴⁵⁶



The association with Scotland is integral and justifies why previous histories have continued emphasising that central aspect of Scotch whisky. Still, by analysing advertisements over a long duration, this work has expanded the narrative in the industry's history and explained its longevity and success features. Understanding Scotch whisky's place as a global spirit must be acknowledged. Highlighting the ‘national’ part gives it authenticity and a tether to its lineage and remains a way to communicate quality. Today's challenge for the industry is to promote Scotch whisky with an appeal to embrace new segments of the drinks market. At the same time, diversity of drinkers should be



⁴⁵⁶ “Material Spirits: Objects, Past and Landscape in Contemporary Scottish Whisky,” National Museum of Scotland, PhD thesis by Laura Scobie, University of Edinburgh, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/collections-research/collections-departments/scottish-history-and-archaeology/projects/material-spirits-objects-past-and-landscape-in-contemporary-scottish-whisky/>, Accessed 17 November 2023.


encouraged; how does the meaning of 'Scotch' change to connect with these consumers? How advertising in the future addresses this remains fundamental to the industry's integrity, and it cannot lose what makes it Scotch from Scotland's people, places, and soul. While it may be 'whisky' in Scotland, you cannot take the 'Scotch' out of Scotch whisky.







Appendix 1: Table 1 1880s UK Trademarks





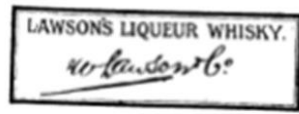
Name/Mark Text	First Publication Date	UK Trademark Number (searchable)	Image with a description where needed
Stand Fast Craigellachie the Strathspey Highland Malt Whiskey	31 March 1880	UK00000021759	 <p>A piper plays to four kilted dancers, presumably dancing a Strathspey in the foreground with a view of the glen to the Craigellachie bridge in the background. The bridge was designed by architect Thomas Telford, built between 1812-1814 and crosses the River Spey near the village of Aberlour.</p>
Highland Whisky. The Sword Blend. James Sword & Son, Glasgow & London	28 April 1880	UK00000022150	

The Deerstalkers' Blend of Old Highland Whisky	20 April 1880	UK00000022296	 <p>Illustration of a kilted Deerstalker and a dog, like popular images by Sir Edwin Landseer, Sir David Wilkie, and R. R. McIan. It most closely resembles in composition (to the point of cutting and pasting elements) the 1848 illustration and lithograph by R. R. McIan for the publication <i>Gaelic Gatherings</i>, notably with the</p>
			removal of the presumably English holiday shooter.
The Abbotsford Whiskey	26 May 1880	UK00000021947	 <p>A small portrait of Sir Walter Scott adorns the image of this 'whiskey' named for his baronial home in the borders, Abbotsford. The portrait possibly a combination of several has the greatest influence from the Sir Henry Raeburn 1820s portrait widely printed and circulated.</p>

Rothsay Scotch whisky	27 Sept 1882	UK00000026251	 <p>Ads for this whisky state availability at wine merchants or wholesale from the Finsbury Distillery, London, E.C. which was a multi-generation gin distillery. The choice for 'Rothsay' could be an anglicisation of 'Rothesay' a popular vacationing spot on the Isle of Bute and described in writing after a visit by Queen Victoria and subsequently Princess Louise and the Marquess of Lorne.</p>
Celebrated Auld Langsyne Scotch Whiskey M & B.	19 March 1884	UK00000034295	 <p>A convenient wordplay on the popularity of Robert Burns' Auld Lang Syne and</p>

			the name of the Lang Brothers who were Glasgow-based whisky merchants. This trademark is ²⁷⁷ currently owned by the company that owns Lang Brothers Ltd. but it is unclear from the 'M&B' if this was an earlier whisky later owned by the Lang Brothers.
The Bailie Nicol Jarvie Blend of Old Scotch Whisky Sole Proprietors. Nicol Anderson & Co. Ltd. Queen's Dock Leith Produce of Scotland Very Old Reserve	20 Feb 1884	UK00901104520	
Glenisla Whiskey	14 Nov 1883	UK00000034208	
The Gaelic Whisky	15 Sept 1884	UK00000039612	
The Loch-Lomond Whisky	19 Sept 1884	UK00000039719	
The Loch-Fyne Whisky	19 Sept 1884	UK00000039720	

Highland Laddie Old Scotch Whisky	21 Jan 1885	UK00000042248	 <p>A kilted figure in the foreground dances for a piper playing and a barefoot woman looks on the figures are some distance from two bothies and in the background a possibly ruined castle on a hill looms over them compressing the distant and recent past together.</p>
The Emblem Whisky	22 March 1886	UK00000052227	
Old Priory Blend Scotch Whisky Robert Brown	21 Jan 1887	UK00000061211	
The Harvest Home Finest Old Malt Whisky	21 Oct 1886	UK00000057910	
"Pride O' the Glen" Old Highland Whisky	03 Dec 1886	UK00000057659	
Glenleven Old Highland Whisky	29 Dec 1887	UK00000071098	

The Encore Whisky (The Double Distilled)	07 Sept 1887	UK00000067332	
The Rosebank Whisky. Tangite unum tangite omnes	20 Dec 1887	UK00000070852	
"From the heath covered mountains of Scotia I come" Pure Malt Whisky from J & J Grant of Glen-Grant Distillers	15 Feb 1888	UK00000072719	 <p>Stylised depiction of two seated kilted men, the left figure holding a rifle, the right figure holding a shield. They are seated next to a barrel presumably with whisky in the vessel on top. There is a hill in the background. The figures are a stylised illustration like the work of R. R. McIan.</p>
Blair Drummond Old Scotch Whisky	20 Oct 1888	UK00000081425	
Lawson's Liqueur Whisky	28 Aug 1889	UK00000092366	

Appendix 2: Periodical Archive Collection

Note: The citations for many of these periodicals have been generated by the database where they are digitally stored. For this reason, any mistakes in spelling have been preserved to enable access to the database. In some cases, the title of the citation may not reflect the advertisement referenced but is preserved to allow retrieval from the source database.

The advertisements and articles collected from these digital periodical archives are available at the following link they are organised by periodical, year, and are distinguished with AD for advertisements: Advertisement and Article Archive St Hilaire Thesis 2023 or https://gla-my.sharepoint.com/:f:/g/personal/m_st-hilaire_1_research_gla_ac_uk/EI0uv1W1EUUpHq5YlkIetf4cBKyCtCjp-g7NefmHjERyNYg

Appendix 2.1: Illustrated London News

1890 – 1899 - Advertisements

- "J R D." Royal Wedding (Duke of York and Princess May of Teck) (Wedding Number). Illustrated London News, 10 July 1893, p. 36. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "John Robertson and Son Fine Old Scotch Whisky." Late Charles François Gounod (Supplement). Illustrated London News, 28 Oct. 1893, p. 551. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "The Famous Uam Var Whisky." Illustrated London News, 2 Nov. 1895, p. 565. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "Pattisons' Whisky." Christmas Supplement. Illustrated London News, 19 Dec. 1896, p. 869. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "Dewar's Whisky." Illustrated London News, 30 Jan. 1897, p. 163. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 17 Apr. 2022.
- "The Scotsman Old Highland Whisky." Illustrated London News, 23 Jan. 1897, p. 136. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "'Glenleven' the Whisky of the World." Illustrated London News, 10 Dec. 1898, p. 890. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "Lipton Limited." Illustrated London News, 24 Dec. 1898, p. 968. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan Blend." Illustrated London News, 12 Mar. 1898, p. 388. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Uam Var Scotch Whisky." Illustrated London News, 9 Dec. 1899, p. 847. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.

1890 – 1899 – Articles

- "Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 30 Aug. 1890, pp. 276+. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 16 Feb. 2023.
- "Interior of the Exhibition." *Antwerp International Exposition 1894 (Supplement)*. *Illustrated London News*, 1 Sept. 1894, pp. 4+. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 14 Oct. 2022.

1900 – 1909 – Advertisements

- "Uam-Var Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 22 Dec. 1900, p. 957. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 7 Oct. 2022.
- "Black & White." *Pictures from the Royal Academy (Supplement)*. *Illustrated London News*, 19 May 1900, p. 696. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Ballantine's Old Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 4 Apr. 1903, p. 531. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "The 'Talisker'." *Illustrated London News*, 21 Feb. 1903, p. 288. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "James Buchanan & Co., Scotch Whisky Distillers." *Illustrated London News*, 18 July 1903, p. 104. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "The Two Best Scots." *Illustrated London News*, 13 June 1903, p. 927. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Black & White." *Illustrated London News*, 16 May 1903, p. 762. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Perth Whisky De Luxe." *Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1903, p. 773. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar's White Label' Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 24 Dec. 1904, p. 971. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar's 'White Label' Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 12 Nov. 1904, p. 715. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "D. C. L' Pure Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 8 Apr. 1905, p. 516. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Campsie Glen Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 15 July 1905, p. 108. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "James Buchanan & Co. Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 21 Oct. 1905, p. 584. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Scotch Whisky John Robertson & Son." *Illustrated London News*, 13 Jan. 1906, p. 66. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "The Robbie Burns Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 6 Jan. 1906, p. 36. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "James Buchanan & Coy. Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 17 Nov. 1906, p. 733. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "James Buchanan & Coy. Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 20 Oct. 1906, p. 573. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Johnnie Walker." *Illustrated London News*, 4 Dec. 1909, p. 813. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Usher's Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 18 Sept. 1909, p. 405. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.

- "The Well-known Distillers, Messrs. John Dewar and Sons, Limited, Have Secured the Contract for the Sole Supply of Scotch Whisky to the Welcome Club and All the Refreshment Bars, Buffets, Etc., at the Italian Exhibition, Opened at Earl's Court on May 11." *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1904, p. 746. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Messrs. James Buchanan and Co., Limited, Have Recently Had the Honour of Appointment by Royal Warrant to Supply Scotch Whisky to His Majesty the King of Spain." *Illustrated London News*, 15 Dec. 1906, p. 906. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "The House of Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1908, p. 761. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Those Who Are Thinking of Laying down a Large Stock of Whisky Will Be Interested to Know That Messrs. Andrew Usher and Co. Can at Any Time Fill Orders for Thoroughly Matured Scotch Whisky to the Extent of 30, 000, 000 Bottles! for over Half a Century They Have Controlled Almost the Entire Output of the Famous Glenlivet Distillery, and Their Whisky Has Been Greatly Esteemed for More Than a Hundred Years for the Consistent Purity and High, Unvarying Quality Which It Has Always Maintained." *Illustrated London News*, 2 Oct. 1909, p. 484. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

1910 – 1919 – Advertisements

- "Johnnie Walker." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Dec. 1910, p. 931. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Usher's Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 19 Mar. 1910, p. 444. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.
- "Fox Export Only." *Illustrated London News*, 5 Aug. 1911, p. 250. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whisky 'Black & White'." *Illustrated London News*, 18 Feb. 1911, p. 241. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Usher's." *Illustrated London News*, 28 Jan. 1911, p. 145. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's 'Black & White' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 11 Mar. 1911, p.357. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Aug. 1912, p. 231. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "John Dewar & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 19 Apr. 1913, p. 529. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Whiskies 'Black & White' and 'Red Seal'." *Illustrated London News*, 26 Apr. 1913, p. 575. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 28 June 1913, p. 983. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 22 Mar. 1913, p. 387. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 8 Mar. 1913, p. 319. The *Illustrated London News Historical Archive*, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 3 May 1913, p. 621. The *Illustrated London News*

- Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 31 May 1913, p. 795. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar." *Illustrated London News*, 29 Nov. 1913, p. 907. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Iona' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1914, p. 1073. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 5 Dec. 1914, p. 787. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "King George IV' & 'D. C. L.'" *Illustrated London News*, 21 Mar. 1914, p. 483. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Usher's 'Green Stripe' & 'O. V. G.' Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 28 Nov. 1914, p. 749. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 13 Mar. 1915, p. 345. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 23 Oct. 1915, p. 537. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 18 Sept. 1915, p. 379. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 1 Jan. 1916, p. 27. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Iona' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 16 Dec. 1916, p. 750. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 16 Dec. 1916, p. 745. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 25 Nov. 1916, p. 641. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 26 Aug. 1916, p. 253. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "J. & G. Stewart, Limited." *Illustrated London News*, 27 May 1916, p. 687. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Tuckey's Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 29 Jan. 1916, p. 158. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons." *Illustrated London News*, 7 June 1919, p. 839. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd., Scotch Whisky Distillers." *Illustrated London News*, 30 Sept. 1916, p. 395. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "John Walker & Sons, Ltd." *Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1916, p. 143. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 4 Mar. 1916, p. 313. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Buchanan's Scotch Whiskies." *Illustrated London News*, 5 Feb. 1916, p. 187. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Four Crown' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 7 Oct. 1916, p. 428. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Iona' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 22 Dec. 1917, p. 799. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "Tuckey's Pure Malt Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 28 Dec. 1918, p. 888. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.
- "B L Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 12 Apr. 1919, p. 536. The Illustrated

London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

"Red Tape' the Whisky." Illustrated London News, 13 Dec. 1919, p. 954. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 27 Sept. 1919, p. 485. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 5 Apr. 1919, p. 470. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 6 Sept. 1919, p. 365. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

1920 – 1929 – Advertisements

"Johnnie Walker." Illustrated London News, 20 Nov. 1915, p. 673. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"B.L. Gold Label Scotch Whisky." Wedding of the Duke of York and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon (Special Number). Illustrated London News, 28 Apr. 1923, p. 731. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"Grant's Stand Fast Scotch Whisky." Wedding of the Duke of York and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon (Special Number). Illustrated London News, 28 Apr. 1923, p. II. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 30 June 1923, p. 1171. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 12 May 1923, p. 819. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"B. L. Gold Label." Illustrated London News, 12 May 1923, p. 825. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"Young's Mountain Dew." Illustrated London News, 5 July 1924, p. 48. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

"John Haig?" Illustrated London News, 26 Jan. 1924, p. 157. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb.

"John Haig?" Illustrated London News, 12 July 1924, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"Highland Queen Scotch Whisky." Illustrated London News, 7 June 1924, p. 1099. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"B. L. Gold Label Scotch Whisky." Christmas Number. Illustrated London News, 24 Nov. 1924, p.i. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 21 Feb. 2022.

"Haig Scotch Whiskies." Christmas Number. Illustrated London News, 23 Nov. 1925, p. 2. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

"Johnnie Walker." Illustrated London News, 3 Apr. 1926, p. 635. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Summer Number. Illustrated London News, 19 June 1926, p.1105. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

"John Walker & Sons, Ltd." Illustrated London News, 20 Mar. 1926, p. 529. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

"John Haig." Illustrated London News, 6 Mar. 1926, p. 4. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

"Grant's Best Procurable Scotch Whisky." Illustrated London News, 3 Sept. 1927, p. 395. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb.

2022.

- "White Horse Distillers, Limited." *Illustrated London News*, 22 Oct. 1927, p. 737. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Accessed 12 July 2023.
- "White Horse Distillers Limited." *Illustrated London News*, 29 Oct. 1927, p. 774. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Accessed 12 July 2023.
- "Liqueur Scotch Whisky Vat 69." *Illustrated London News*, 1 Sept. 1928, p. 402. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.
- "Buchanan's 'Black & White' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 6 Apr. 1929, p.558. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.
- "'King George Iv' Old Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 16 Mar. 1929, p. 2. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.
- "Dewar's 'White Label' Scotch Whisky." *Illustrated London News*, 12 Oct. 1929, p. 655. The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003. Accessed 22 Feb. 2022.
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