
By
Rochelle Pereira-Alvares

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ABSTRACT

Mickey’s, Minis and Pints: An Investigation of the Marketing and Advertising Initiatives of Seagram and Hiram Walker, 1950-1969

Rochelle Pereira-Alvares
University of Guelph, 2014
Advisor: Catherine Carstairs

This dissertation is an investigation of the marketing and advertising initiatives of two Canadian distillers Hiram Walker and Seagram in the United States from 1950 until 1969. The study contributes to the field of alcohol studies as it explores the divergent meanings alcoholic beverage advertisements conveyed about drinking in relation to constructs of gender, race and class. This dissertation demonstrates that while Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising campaigns and marketing efforts targeted white, middle class men, they disseminated competing and contradictory messages about masculinity and normative alcohol consumption to reach consumers with varied interests. The dissertation argues that despite the existence of an established heterosocial cocktail culture in the 1950s, the majority of Seagram and Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements presented drinking as a homosocial activity. During the 1950s and 1960s, Hiram Walker and Seagram tried to increase market share by advertising to women and African American consumers in novel ways. This dissertation compares and contrasts the distillers’ advertisements directed at white men, women and African American consumers. As well, it adds to the history of advertising as it explores how the distilleries tried to influence
consumers’ purchasing decisions, tap into their desires, expand market share and increase sales at a time when competition was intensifying.
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Introduction

In the early 1960s, a reader of Life magazine might have come across an advertisement for Hiram Walker’s Canadian Club Whisky like this one that stated “When the Limbo originated in the jungles of Africa, it was used as a test of manhood…Today in the Virgin Islands, it’s a colorful dance…My Island friends taunted me into trying it, and I thought I was man enough to do it. But they didn’t tell me they were going to set the bar on fire!”¹ In the vignette, Toby Schoyer, an American tourist to the Virgin Islands, decides to take up the challenge to dance under a three foot high limbo pole set afame by his host. After a successful attempt, Schoyer was confident in his abilities, and asked his host to lower the bar by a foot, so he could prove himself a second time. Much to Schoyer’s disbelief, his shirt caught on fire, and his host had to douse out the flames. After the ordeal, Schoyer’s host treated him to a glass of Canadian Club Whisky—“the World’s lightest whisky” at the Buccaneer Hotel. The whisky was an antidote to his embarrassment and a reward for being a good sport. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hiram Walker released hundreds of advertisements like this one as part of its Adventure Series print advertising campaign. It illustrates Hiram Walker’s decision to combine heroic masculinity with humour to target middle class male consumers.

This dissertation is a history of the advertising and marketing initiatives of two Canadian distilleries, Seagram and Hiram Walker in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. It examines Seagram and Hiram Walker’s print advertising in four magazines: Ebony, Gourmet, Life, and Sports Illustrated because distillers were limited to advertising in printed media. It contributes to

the history of advertising as it explores how the distilleries, through their advertisements and marketing endeavours tried to influence consumers’ purchasing decisions, expand market share and increase sales at a time when competition was intensifying. Moderate drinking was a socially accepted trait throughout much of American history with the exception of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when dry advocates launched influential campaigns against alcohol consumption and the alcoholic beverage industry. In order to reverse the damage, whisky makers were committed to turn drinking into a respectable and desirable activity among all segments of American society.

This dissertation builds on the work of scholars like John Burnham, Lori Rotskoff and Pamela Pennock who stress that shortly after the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the alcoholic beverage industry, of which Seagram and Hiram Walker were two prominent members, laboured to normalize alcohol beverage consumption. It contributes to the field of alcohol studies as it explores the meanings alcoholic beverage advertisements conveyed about drinking in relation to constructs of gender, race and class. This dissertation demonstrates that while Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising campaigns and marketing efforts targeted white, middle class men, they disseminated competing and contradictory messages about masculinity and normative alcohol consumption to reach consumers with varied interests. The dissertation argues that despite the existence of an established heterosocial cocktail culture in the 1950s, the majority of Seagram and Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements presented drinking as a homosocial activity. In this same period, the distillers tried to increase market share by advertising to women and African American consumers in new ways.

Seagram and Hiram Walker are the focus of this dissertation because they were two of the largest distillers in North America in this period. Approximately at the mid-point of this
study, Seagram and Hiram Walker individually spent $11.6 million and $4.9 million on magazine advertising in 1962.² Out of the nation’s top one hundred advertisers, Seagram ranked twelfth and Hiram Walker ranked forty seventh. The distillers were in the business of selling whisky, a spirit made by fermenting and distilling grains like corn, rye, wheat or malt. Americans preferred beer over all alcoholic beverages, but whisky was their favourite distilled spirit in the postwar decades.³ Seagram’s brands were the highest selling in the blended and Canadian whisky categories, with Hiram Walker’s products sitting between second and fifth place. Shortly after the repeal of Prohibition, the American whisky market reflected some regional variations. Drinkers in the East liked straight rye whisky, and those in the South and West had a fondness for bourbon whisky. However, data from The Liquor Handbook, a distilled spirits trade publication, showed that Americans had a predilection for “blended whiskies” as opposed to other styles of whisky in the 1950s.⁴ “Blended whiskies” comprised of a minimum of 20% by volume of 100 proof straight whisky combined with grain neutral spirits. A blended whisky could only bear a grain name designation like “blended rye whisky” if it contained 51% by volume of straight whisky like rye or bourbon. Most often, blended whiskies consisted of two or more straight whiskies mixed with grain neutral spirits and did not carry a grain name designation.⁵ Some of Seagram and Hiram Walker’s most popular and lucrative products were blended whiskies like Seagram’s 7 Crown, V.O., Crown Royal and Calvert Reserve and Hiram Walker’s Imperial Blended Whiskey and Canadian Club Whisky. By the mid-1960s, straight whiskies proved to be strong competitors, but throughout the period under study, Seagram and

³ See Appendix A-Table A-Alcoholic Beverage Sales in the United States, 1950 to 1990
Hiram Walker’s aforementioned brands were among the ten best-selling whiskies with Seagram’s 7 Crown leading sales. Along with Schenley and National Distillers, Seagram and Hiram Walker, collectively known as the Big Four, controlled 75% of the distilled spirits market. Although they were both Canadian distilleries, Seagram exported 90% and Hiram Walker 80% of their output to the United States. Seagram and Hiram Walker were serious contenders in the American distilled spirits market, which meant their advertising messages had the potential to shape consumers’ attitudes about drinking.

**The Shadow of Prohibition and Distilled Spirits Advertising Regulations**

The Volstead Act implemented national prohibition in the United States starting in January 1920 that banned the production and sale but not the consumption of alcoholic beverages until 1933. In Canada, several provinces introduced prohibition in the 1910s with most repealing the law by the mid-1920s, while the federal government had it in effect from 1918 to 1920. Therefore when Seagram and Hiram Walker could not distill whisky in the United States, they were free to do so in Canada. In 1934, the United States Treasury investigated Seagram and Hiram Walker for trafficking alcohol into America via Detroit. American government officials accused Canadian distillers of evading custom duties and revenue taxes amounting to $100 million. Without admitting to charges, Seagram paid the United States Treasury a fine of $1.5 million.

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7 Hagley March 12 slide 692


million, and Hiram Walker was said to have followed suit. Even though neither distillers were officially charged with any crimes, the accusations sullied Seagram and Hiram Walker’s reputations. As a result of the allegations, and the fact that alcohol was seen as a problematic product, the distillers spent much of the 1950s and 1960s trying to convince consumers of their respectability.

The onset of World War II also disrupted the distillers’ foray into the American market. Seagram converted its facilities to produce alcohol for the war effort in Canada in 1940 and in the United States in 1941. According to the Distilled Spirits Institute, a public relations industry coalition, all distillers ceased production of beverage alcohol for the duration of World War II but continued to supply consumers by rationing existing whisky stocks. For the entirety of the war, Seagram decreased its brand advertising in favour of “token” advertising or reserved appeals. Historian Michael Dawson indicates that consumer goods manufacturers in the United States and Great Britain, along with some tourist associations in British Columbia, adopted a policy of “Salesmanship in Reverse” to encourage tourists to purchase war bonds and save money for spending once the war ended. Similarly, Seagram mainly circulated public service announcements that discouraged civilians from engaging in careless talk and spreading rumours, urged consumers to purchase Defense Bonds, and publicized its own involvement in the war as a manufacturer of industrial alcohol. Between 1944 and 1945, Hiram Walker’s plant in Peoria, Illinois packaged K-rations on behalf of the United States military and released similar

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12 H.V. Kaltenborn “A Report to the Nation” *Life* (22 February 1943), 75.
13 Michael Dawson, “ ‘From Business as Usual ’ to ‘Salesmanship in Reverse’: Tourism Promotion in British Columbia During the Second World War” *Canadian Historical Review* (June 1 2002), 248.230-254.
14 Ibid., 249.
advertising to Seagram. After the war ended, Seagram, Hiram Walker and Schenley voluntarily rationed grain use to supply a war-ravaged Europe with food stocks at the request of President Truman, and encouragement from the Distilled Spirits Institute.16

This dissertation begins in the post-World War II period for several reasons. By 1950, the distillers were free to manufacture and sell beverage alcohol undisturbed by production restrictions. In the 1950s and 1960s, Americans’ gross incomes were higher than ever before, and increased disposable incomes meant that a burgeoning middle class could increasingly afford the swath of consumer goods that flooded the market. The culture of mass consumerism which gave symbolic meaning to purchase goods by preying on individuals’ insecurities, prompted and enabled middle and upper class Americans to compete with and impress their peers with material purchases including beverage alcohol. It also addressed consumers’ fantasies, and they likely derived pleasure from shopping for and utilizing their purchases. Distilled spirits sales did not rise dramatically in the early 1950s but consumption rose steadily from about 163 million wine gallons in 1952 to 368 million wine gallons in 1970.17 As advertising regulations and societal attitudes eased, it opened up new segments of the market to the distilled spirits industry. Gallup Polls conducted between 1950 and 1966 revealed that twenty percent more women drank beverage alcohol, with more wives buying alcohol for the home than in past decades, but did not offer a comparative baseline with earlier years.18

Although white middle class Americans had become more tolerant of drinking, a legacy of temperance guided the strict codes governing the advertising, marketing and sale of distilled spirits in the 1950s and 1960s. To a degree, the laws reflected some of society’s lingering unease about the relationship between drinking and morality. Federal law stated that distilled spirits advertisements could not falsify information about the age or nature of the alcohol in question, make any scientific claims about its therapeutic properties, its physical performance capabilities, or disparage competitors’ products. Testimonials by amateur and professional athletes were banned, along with illustrations or photographs of football, baseball and hockey players, boxers or track and field athletes. The law designated these as professional sports, but permitted illustrations of men golfing and playing tennis. Distillers’ emblems and insignia could not resemble flags or seals of the United States military or government organizations. In compliance with most states’ laws, industry members avoided mention or illustration of Santa Claus, religious holidays, figures and themes, especially the words “Christmas” and “Easter”, American Presidents or government officials, and state monopoly stores. In addition to the government regulations, the Distilled Spirits Institute, which was a coalition of major distillers like Seagram, Hiram Walker and National Distillers, voluntarily banned the use of female characters or models from distilled spirits advertisements from 1937 until 1958. As well, the Institute forbade its members from advertising on radio in 1937, and on television in 1948. The same year, the National Association of Broadcasters reinforced the Distilled Spirits Institute’s decision by banning liquor advertising on radio and television.

20 Ibid., 173.
The distilled spirits industry also had to be cognizant of the multiple and complex state laws regulating alcoholic beverage sales and advertising. In 1950, Oklahoma and Mississippi were dry states, while many wet states had local option provisions that allowed individual counties to be partially or totally dry. Wet states with a significant amount of dry territory included Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. States were either categorized as open-states, where private retailers sold alcohol, or monopoly states with government owned and operated liquor stores. There were twenty nine open and seventeen monopoly states in 1950. In monopoly states, makers of beverage alcohol were not permitted to use point-of-sale advertising, attractive merchandise displays or striking exterior signage. Customers had to choose from a posted list of distilled spirits brands, give their orders to the clerk, who would then return with the products. In 1959 newspapers in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Washington, Kansas, New Hampshire and Wyoming did not allow liquor advertisements containing women even though the Distilled Spirits Institute had lifted its ban the previous year. North Carolina and Virginia permitted images of a liquor bottle or label, and pricing information but no advertising copy while Kansas prohibited references to certain holidays like Father’s and Mother’s Days, Christmas, Easter and Thanksgiving.

Although Americans had become more permissive about drinking since the 1920s, not all welcomed the shifting social and cultural mores, and a few tried to obstruct distillers’ advertising and marketing activities. In 1949, the National Temperance and Prohibition Council, questioned the integrity of Henry Luce (the owner of Life, Time and Sports Illustrated) for profiting from

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22 Bretzfield, Liquor Marketing, 83.
alcohol advertising. The committee argued that alcohol advertisements failed to acknowledge that alcohol was a poisonous and addictive substance that led to car accidents, rapes, divorces and murders. It asserted that Luce’s actions conflicted with his stance that Life magazine would create “the first great American Century”, and his role as a prominent and respected leader of the Presbyterian faith. In the 1950s, “dry” proponents appealed to Congress eight times to limit or prevent distilled spirits advertising but the bills did not pass. As well, Idaho, Oregon and Washington states held referendums in 1946, 1950 and in 1954 to curtail alcoholic beverage advertising in various situations but again they did not pass.

This opposition made distillers cautious. When the Puerto Rican Economic Development Administration placed tourism advertisements featuring Puerto Rican rum and “married couples of good social repute who ha[d] actually visited and enjoyed Puerto Rico” in American media in 1957, the Distilled Spirits Institute retaliated by asking the organization to reissue advertisements without images of women. In the 1950s, the Licensed Beverage Industries Inc., an alcoholic beverage industry lobby group, issued several instructional pamphlets and brochures. The literature stressed the industry’s efforts to curb drunk driving and underage drinking, and its contributions to the nation’s economic growth and alcoholism research. The intricate alcohol

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26 Ibid, 3.
advertising and sales regulations suggested that Seagram and Hiram Walker had to be careful about how they would advertise whisky, and the act of drinking to consumers.

The Culture of Drink and the Formation of Race, Class and Gender Ideology

The “culture of drink” can be defined as “the physical setting, the social rituals, and cultural meanings of a particular drinking style or situation…who drinks, when and where drinking occurs, what beverages are consumed, how drinkers understand their motivations to drink, and how drinkers pursue their relationships with fellow drinkers.”  

Several historians have shown that drinking behaviour and drinking culture is not static. Rather, it has shifted over the years, and has always been influenced by one’s gender, race and class. One factor that helps to create a drinking culture is advertising. Seagram and Hiram Walker were whisky sellers, but in order to do so with minimal censure in the years following prohibition, they had to promote it as a respectable activity. Through their advertising and public relations campaigns, Seagram and Hiram Walker disseminated messages about appropriate drinking behaviour.

Within the broad and complex field of alcohol studies, there are three areas of study that have guided this study including research on middle and working class male drinking culture, racial constructs and alcohol consumption, and the role of drink and women. For decades, a large segment of American society regarded drinking as disreputable, drunkenness as emasculating and disapproved of working and upper class male drinking culture.  

Not all middle class Americans were abstemious but most valued moral fortitude, sobriety and self-control, and

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31 Rotskoff, 25.
responsibility to society and the family were central to respectable manliness. Middle class drinking culture started to change in the United States roughly around the 1920s. A culture of “comradeship and tough guy manliness” emerged out of World War I that celebrated smoking, drinking, swearing and gambling, behaviours most middle class Americans deplored. However, many respectable men who had learned to smoke, swear and drink during the war, continued these activities after it ended so that these behaviours gained wider social acceptability, and eventually subverted standards of middle class respectability. Although Prohibition in the 1920s banned the production and sale of alcohol, Americans continued to drink. A culture of optimism, defiance and liberality took hold of the decade to facilitate a new drinking culture, particularly for middle class Americans who began to drink in public, and in heterosocial company. This set the tone for acceptable standards of middle class drinking culture in the ensuing decades.


In the post-Prohibition era, distillers like Seagram and Hiram Walker imagined a very different drinking culture from the one typically associated with whisky drinking. Drinking, especially public drinking in bars and saloons, was associated with working class men engaging in “manly” activities like smoking, gambling and unruly behaviour often free from spousal and familial responsibility. Historians like Jon Kingsdale, Madelon Powers, John Burnham Peter DeLottinville, David Brundage, Lori Rotskoff, Craig Heron and George Chauncey comment on the saloon’s role in constructing working class heterosexual and homosexual male identity and sociability.\(^{35}\) In contrast, middle class men in the nineteenth century either abstained, or drank in their homes and in the backrooms of saloons but did not tolerate public drunkenness.\(^{36}\) Dissatisfied with drinking’s undesirable, working class reputation, some distillers in the 1940s started to glorify the rituals of making, serving and drinking cocktails, acts that were emblematic of middle and upper class lifestyles. In the 1950s, many alcoholic beverage manufacturers, including Seagram and Hiram Walker created advertising campaigns to normalize alcohol consumption to coincide with the increasing number of Americans drinking in their homes.\(^{37}\) Distillers’ advertisements appealed to middle class Americans based on their yearnings for


wealth, sophistication and respectability. This literature demonstrates that class status defined the boundaries of appropriate drinking behaviour. It determined where, how much, and with whom one could drink, with men abiding by certain rules and codes. Like these scholars, I discuss how Seagram and Hiram Walker used class to outline respectable, male drinking culture in the 1950s and 1960s. With American society growing increasingly permissive, this dissertation shows that Seagram and Hiram Walker presented American men with competing and conflicting representations of masculinity that showed drinking as a desirable, most often homosocial act integral to middle class leisure.

By the 1950s, drinking became a normal aspect of middle class suburban sociability, so that it had assumed “an aura of cool sophistication bordering on blandness, even banality.” People drank for various reasons, to relax after a tiring day, rejuvenate themselves before returning home from work, or to cope with stress and pressure. For white middle class men, drinking became a symbol of social conformity as they tried to fit in with their neighbours or fellow country club members. Prior to this period, drinking was not a gauge of middle class masculinity but distillers like Seagram and Hiram Walker tried to appeal to middle class men based on their masculine sensibilities. While this literature discusses the significance drinking had to middle class sociability in the 1950s, Lisa Jacobson assesses that few scholars have examined the themes, imagery and messages distillers conveyed about drinking. This dissertation expands on Jacobson’s work as it compares Hiram Walker and Seagram’s

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38 Ibid., 44.
40 Ibid., 195-196.
41 Ibid., 198-200.
advertising and marketing strategies over the course of twenty years to determine how they privileged some ideas about drinking at the cost of others. Despite alcohol’s developing salience to middle class sociability, Seagram and Hiram Walker’s desire to promote respectability, and overall cautious approach suggests that drinking was not completely normalized. Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertisements emphasised that drinking was a socially desirable act but promoted that respectable white, middle class men drank in moderation and in prescribed settings.

**Drinking Culture and Racial Constructs**

Race, like class, was also a determining factor in how drinking behaviour was perceived. A substantial literature examines how North American society and lawmakers characterized and stigmatized African Americans’, First Nations’ and Asians’ drinking behaviour as problematic. Scholarship by Julia Roberts, Sharon Salinger, Dan Malleck, Joe Coker, Mariana Valverde, Marni Davis, H. Paul Thompson and Lee Willis examines how race, religion or ethnicity sometimes excluded groups from conventional drinking spaces and the accompanying drinking culture. For example, in the Canadian context, law makers believed race and morality were inherently linked, and banned First Nations peoples’ access to alcohol, and prevented Chinese immigrants from working in beer parlours. In both Canada and the United States, many whites in society believed drinking rendered African American men uncontrollable, prone to raping

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white women and violent. At the same time, scholarship has shown that reality belied the racial stereotype as early as the eighteenth century because African American community leaders and members embraced temperance. This literature reveals that racialized images of drinking marginalized some groups more than others, presenting them as a threat to society’s moral order. This dissertation explores how racial constructs from earlier time periods influenced Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising messages and imagery using African American models, and how visual representations of race evolved in the postwar decades.

**Drinking Women: The Working and Middle Classes**

By the 1950s, distillers were aware that women were drinking in growing numbers but were careful about advertising to this market segment. A large literature has shown how up until the 1920s, middle class women did not have the freedom to drink, participate in drinking cultures or visit public drinking spaces. The rules governing working class women’s drinking behaviour were not as strict, and many negotiated the gendered world of drinking by entering male drinking spaces. For example, working class women in the nineteenth century sipped beer with male or female companions in the back rooms of saloons secluded from the main drinking area. At home, the same women drank with female friends, and in heterosocial company but to drink in public, on one’s own, was questionable and controversial. Their middle class counterparts consumed alcohol in their homes, in the form of medication, cooked with it, drank wine and champagne with meals, and served it to guests. After years spent drinking in the home,

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50 Catherine Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*, 52-69.
Prohibition in the 1920s dissolved the gendered nature of drinking culture as respectable women started to drink in public places such as restaurants, dance halls and speakeasies. It opened up new, albeit illegal settings, where women could mingle in heterosocial company, and enjoy a drink free from disapproval.

By the 1940s, female sociability shifted back to the home as middle class women hosted mixed gender cocktail parties, to entertain friends and neighbours. Mariana Valverde identifies the cocktail as the drink of among heterosexual middle class Americans in the 1950s. Cocktails disguised hard liquor’s harsh taste into palatable, safe and suitable beverage options for middle class women. Catherine Murdock argues that women’s drinking domesticated drinking culture, along with the “elimination of a masculine subculture based on exclusivity, inebriety, and violence within the United States.” The fact that the home once again became the main site of respectable women’s drinking suggests that some Americans were uneasy about the idea or sight of women drinking. This dissertation follows in the path of such scholars who study the gendered nature of drinking culture, as it explores Seagram and Hiram Walker’s use of themes like gracious living and domesticity to appeal to female consumers, and situate appropriate female alcohol consumption within the home. Seagram and Hiram Walker did promote heterosocial drinking, but advertised it as a distinctively gendered activity. Their advertisements delineated between appropriate male and female drinking culture and rituals, and men were their primary subjects.

52 Mary Jane Lupton, “Ladies’ Entrance: Women and Bars” Feminist Studies 5:3 (Fall 1979), 571-88 and Catherine Murdock, Domesticating Drink, 147.
53 Catherine Murdock, Domesticating Drink, 74-75.
54 Valverde, Diseases of the Will, 159.
56 Murdock, Domesticating Drink, 8.
The Role of Advertising and Consumer Culture in American Society

There is a vigorous and fractious debate over advertising’s role in and impact on society. Critics contend that it has led to conspicuous consumption, the destruction of family values, the stratification of society and the objectification of women. They argue that the industry can manipulate consumers’ purchasing habits, preferences and anxieties, and that it views consumers as emotional, impulsive and naïve. Advertising can misrepresent a product, make exaggerated or false claims and coerce consumers to engage in behaviours like smoking or drinking. However to suggest this is to negate consumers’ autonomy. Other than advertising, there were and are a myriad of forces at work that could influence a consumer’s purchasing decisions. In the case of drinking, a consumer might select a particular type of alcohol based on taste preferences, consume more than a single beverage on one occasion, drink excessively or choose to abstain entirely. Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertisements implied alcohol was a benign substance and ignored mention of its devastating health, financial and social consequences but they did not have the power to dictate consumers’ actions and experiences. Rather than manipulating Americans to drink more, the distillers responded to and reflected consumers’ growing acceptance of alcohol, and reinforced idealistic social norms.

Advertisements generally portray what Jackson Lears has termed “fables of abundance”, that became symbolic of societal values, and endorsed some cultural values at the cost of others. Advertising can offer consumers a “Zerrspiegel”, a mirror to distort their realities by

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embellishing some circumstances or characteristics, and often reflected the industry’s social and cultural biases.\(^{61}\) Advertisements did not represent people’s real behaviour or attitudes, but hinted at consumers’ emotional desires, materialistic longings, fears and anxieties.\(^{62}\) Likewise, this study suggests that Seagram and Hiram Walker presented consumers with aspirational messages, and offered them a figurative chance to escape reality and revel in their fantasies.

In *Social Communication in Advertising*, Leiss et. al. propose that advertising is valuable because it can convey and affirm the meaning of countless symbols and ideas as a means of social communication between people and objects.\(^{63}\) An advertisement could be a “carrier of culture” so as to offer insight into a society’s ideals.\(^{64}\) Advertising gave goods meaning, a democratizing force that offered Americans membership into an “exciting community of consumers” regardless of income.\(^{65}\) Consumer goods supplanted the role of family and neighbourhood as symbols of expressing community identity.\(^{66}\) Therefore, people identify with the values presented in advertisements, and attach social meaning such as prestige, affection or love to the goods they purchase.\(^{67}\) By purchasing Hiram Walker and Seagram’s brands and consuming the spirits, consumers bought into the lifestyles the distillers presented. This dissertation conveys that Hiram Walker and Seagram’s advertisements and products were symbols of class and gender identity as consumers could drink and serve whisky to display they

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\(^{64}\) Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, ibid.


were cosmopolitan men, adept hostesses or composed professionals to others in their social circles.

Professor of communication studies, Joseph Turow argues that advertising, particularly market segmentation, perpetuates pre-existing tensions between groups within American society, and leads to increased divisiveness and fractures. He suggests that it has led to the exploitation of differences and the marginalization of some groups such as African Americans and Latinos.\(^6\) Market segmentation can potentially marginalize consumers but as the African American community strove for positive visible self-representation in advertising, the distillers slowly began to incorporate African American models into their campaigns. They mainly did this through specialized publications like *Ebony* in the 1950s and 1960s.

Lizabeth Cohen utilizes the phrase “Consumers’ Republic” to refer to the approach policymakers, business and labour leaders and civic groups implemented following World War II to position mass consumption at the heart of the strategy to rebuild the American economy and endorse values of democracy.\(^7\) This study builds on Cohen’s work by investigating how Seagram and Hiram Walker inspired a culture of mass consumption through the promotion of a drinking culture steeped in gracious living, luxury and affluence. It will also examine how African Americans adopted the ethos of mass consumerism as a means to achieve full membership in American society.

In the 1960s advertisers co-opted the youth and counterculture to increase profitability by tapping into the large youth market segment. Critics also accused advertisers of using it as a

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tactic to promote materialism.\textsuperscript{70} Many advertisers used bold, bright, psychedelic colours, young attractive models dressed in jeans or flamboyant clothing, and an irreverent tone to sell their wares. Thomas Frank offers a counter narrative to the cooptation theory by proposing that advertising men like Bill Bernbach used it as a way to express their distaste for the culture of conformity that had plagued the industry during the 1960s.\textsuperscript{71} Seagram and Hiram Walker, like most consumer goods advertisers filled their advertisements with images of youthful, beautiful, groomed men and women. However, they did not explicitly advertise to an actual youth segment until the 1970s, and the brand advertising surveyed in this dissertation did not include any countercultural material.

**Advertisements as Visual Culture**

Starting around the middle of the nineteenth century, and definitely by the twentieth century, consumers experienced a “frenzy of the visible” as they met with a prolific number of images via newspapers, magazines, photographs, advertisements, film and television. Visual images and their accompanying signs took on greater significance because they supplanted traditional meanings about social and geographic belonging with new ones.\textsuperscript{72} Physical appearance had become an indicator of one’s wealth and social status.\textsuperscript{73} Advertisers began using objects as signs in advertisements to confer meaning on consumer goods by associating them with symbolic value such as desire or personal satisfaction.\textsuperscript{74} In turn, consumers could purchase


\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 10.
commodities in an attempt to display their social and financial status, fulfill fantasies or recreate new identities for themselves.

To understand visual culture, in this case advertisements, one needs to consider that objects exist on two levels. They have a denotative or obvious, universal representation, easily recognized by a viewer regardless of one’s gender or social status, or cultural frame of reference. Objects function as signifiers to create a symbolic meaning, or what Roland Barthes describes as the signified.\(^{75}\) For example, a crystal decanter is used to store and serve liquor or wine. However, objects can have connotative, “surplus” or signified meaning that depends on the reader’s personal experiences and socio-cultural environment in which the image is created and viewed.\(^{76}\) Along with being a storage container, the decanter is a beautiful item that can decorate a table top, bar shelf or drink trolley, possibly hand blown, appreciated for its esthetic and monetary value. Alcohol advertisers often used decanters to symbolize gracious living, elegance, flair and wealth. This dissertation combines semiotics with a quantitative analysis to interpret, deconstruct and reveal the symbolic significance Seagram and Hiram Walker conferred on the act of drinking.

In regards to gender relations, anthropologist and sociologist Erving Goffman states that advertising infantilizes women in relation to the portrayal of male characters. He discusses the ritualization of subordination whereby advertisements consistently pose women at levels physically lower than men such as seated or lying on the floor.\(^{77}\) Similarly, this dissertation identifies the subordinate role women had in alcohol advertising. Overall, there were relatively


few women in the distillers’ advertisements but when they were present, they were submissive or passive, relying on men to approve of their drinking. In *Smoke Signals*, Penny Tinkler indicates that visual culture, of which advertising is a component, has contributed to the discourses framing women’s understanding of smoking.78 Like Tinkler, I will demonstrate that Seagram and Hiram Walker advertisements constructed notions and ideas about women’s appropriate alcohol use. In a period when more women were drinking than in the past, the distillers opted to portray women buying or serving liquor as opposed to enjoying a glass of whisky.

With this dissertation, I argue that Hiram Walker and Seagram were trying to improve the image of drinking and increase market share. They did this by carefully negotiating rather than transgressing social norms. Thus the African American male drinkers were upstanding professionals, and white, female models were rarely to be seen drinking. The distillers had more freedom with middle and upper class men as this groups’ drinking behaviour was not as frowned upon. Instead, they attempted to appeal to their masculinity by using images of sophistication, adventure and travel. The distillers were able to promote positive messages about alcohol consumption but their efforts were successful only because drinking had become a major component of middle class sociability.79

**Methodology**

There were two main sources for this dissertation: 1) the archives of the Seagram and Hiram Walker distilleries, and 2) a review of alcohol advertising in four magazines. Distillery

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sources included company correspondence, research surveys and reports, annual reports and employee magazines. While Seagram’s corporate archives were abundant and rich, Hiram Walker’s were comparatively sparse therefore I used employee magazines for both distilleries to fill gaps in the archival records. Seagram’s employee magazines were entitled *The Seagram Spotlight* and *Distillations*, and Hiram Walker’s was called *Round Table*. Published either monthly or bi-monthly for sales’ staff, the magazines offered them tips on selling techniques, improving merchandizing equipment at the retail level and general information on corporate development. While the employee magazines were informative, the distillers’ intentions need to be taken into context. Roland Marchand suggests that such publications were public relations’ initiatives intended to foster and boost employee morale, and bridge the communication gap between corporations and a large workforce.80 Like Marchand, Donica Belisle sees corporate magazines as a tool of paternalism, designed to create loyalty and sentiments of good will among employees in order to reduce workplace conflict between employers and employees.81 They often romanticized and aggrandized the beneficent nature of corporations, owners or management and often glorified or exaggerated their accomplishments. Nonetheless, the employee magazines revealed information about Seagram and Hiram Walker’s corporate culture, and the attitudes they wanted sales’ staff to project to clientele. Issues often contained information about new product releases and advertising campaigns. Other sources that were valuable to this dissertation were from the J. Walter Thompson Archives at Duke University and the Fairfax M. Cone Papers at the University of Chicago. Additional sources that illuminate the distilleries’ product development, advertising and marketing history were trade journals like

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In order to develop a concise understanding of, and to contextualize the distillers’ advertising strategies in relation to each other and their competitors, I conducted a quantitative analysis of Life, Sports Illustrated, Ebony and Gourmet magazines to expose patterns or trends in advertisements or campaigns over a twenty year period. The purpose was to track changes in the distilleries’ strategies over time, and their response to competition from other distillers, brewers and vintners. The magazine selection was based on several factors. Upon reviewing the companies’ archives, I chose publications in which I knew the distillers advertised because several publications did not accept alcohol advertisements. I selected magazines with varied circulation rates to determine if this had an impact on the quality, variety and quantity of the advertisements each distiller ran in each publication.\(^{82}\) It was important to locate magazines which ran the entire length of the period studied, and were available and accessible either on-line or in hard copy format on a continuous basis.

Laws limited the distilled spirits industry to advertising in print media, and magazines with their colourful and glossy pictures, high circulation rates and national reach made them ideal vehicles for advertising liquor. Between 1945 and 1962, the total number of magazine titles increased from 472 to 706.\(^{83}\) Magazine advertising achieved a higher degree of permanence than radio or television commercials because printed matter were physical and tangible that

\(^{82}\) See Appendix A-Table B: “Magazine Circulation Rates, 1950 to 1969”
could be left around indefinitely, to be picked up or dismissed at the reader’s will. According to English professor Nancy A. Walker, magazines in post-war America served multiple functions. For editors and owners, magazines were businesses intended to generate a profit, and a tool through which they could spread their philosophies to readers. To readers, magazines were a reservoir of advice, entertainment and information. Editorial staff of general interest magazines imagined a mass, homogeneous audience with shared consumer tastes and economic status. They defined “mass” as a white middle class audience which excluded significant groups of people. According to journalism professor Roland Wolseley, general interest magazines in the 1950s had a mandate to appeal to a broad audience. He defined readership as economically better off middle class Americans who were solid, independent, reliable and ambitious. General interest magazines were cheerful, optimistic, confident and conservative in tone. Magazine editors had to produce articles that would appeal to this segment, and if they became reactionary or radical, magazines ran the risk of losing readership. In her exploration of female visual stereotypes Carolyn Kitch argues, magazines were not a reflection of dominant societal values or reality. Rather, the mass media perpetuated certain ideals about womanhood because they were simple and recognisable instead of complex imagery that mirrored the realities of women’s lives. General interest magazines in particular reinforced and sustained mainstream values, along with a message of conformity in post-war America. Nancy Walker contends that large

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circulation general interest magazines intentionally defined their audience as middle class because this group was an ideal of “mainstream political rhetoric and immigrant aspiration.”

As a pervasive and dominant medium, general interest magazines upheld societal and cultural values but in a simplistic fashion.

Even though general interest magazines had higher circulation rates, special interest magazines vied for new audiences in the late 1950s. Editors of special interest publications targeted audiences based on their hobbies like photography, skiing or golf. By the late 1960s, general interest magazines had lost mass-marketing revenue to television, and specialized publications had grown in popularity due to Americans’ growing interest in leisure activities.

In the early 1970s, publication of enduring, popular general interest magazines like Saturday Evening Post, Look and Life ceased. As industries adopted market segmentation strategies to identify consumers by gender, age, race, socio-economic level or interests, special interest magazines were crucial in advertising specialized products to niche audiences. At the start of the 1950s, Hiram Walker and Seagram had yet to adopt widespread market segmentation initiatives but within a couple of years began to distinguish consumers based on their tastes and interests.

In 1959, Hiram Walker advertised in at least fifteen national magazines, many of which were general interest but some of which were specialized. Therefore, I chose publications to reflect the distilleries’ marketing and advertising strategies. Magazines like Life and Sports Illustrated had a national readership with mass audience appeal. Ebony was considered a general interest

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91 Abrahamson, “Reflecting and Shaping”.
92 *Life* reappeared intermittently in special issue format from 1972 to 1978. It was reprised as a monthly magazine from 1978 to 2008.
magazine and addressed a national African American readership as opposed to a white audience. *Gourmet* was a specialized publication which appealed to an exclusive audience keen on gourmet food preparation and travel.

As Walker mentions, magazine editors were capable of shaping readers’ opinions and attitudes but in many instances, advertisers influenced editorial content. The media had a reciprocal, if inequitable relationship with consumer goods manufacturers as it relied on their advertising to survive, and advertisers targeted consumers through the media. Few magazines were wealthy enough to be self-sustaining, and most magazines sold for less than the production cost.\(^{94}\) Revenue generated from circulation was insufficient, and editors relied on substantial contributions from advertisers to make up for the lack of funds. It was a challenge for magazine editors to maintain editorial independence because advertisers could exert pressure to omit, include or slant articles in their favour. For example, editors have sometimes blurred the line between advertising and editorial matter by formatting advertisements to look like articles.\(^ {95}\) In other instances, companies stopped advertising in publications that portrayed their industry, product or brand in an unfavourable manner. Pharmaceutical companies like Abbott Laboratories and Parke, Davis & Co. dropped *Life* from their advertising schedules in 1960 when it published an article about the industry overcharging consumers for medications.\(^ {96}\) Over the years, the tobacco industry has also withdrawn advertising from publications that have mentioned smoking’s adverse effects.\(^ {97}\) Rotskoff indicates that immediately after Prohibition

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\(^{96}\) Ibid.  
ended, *Life*'s advertisements and editorial content normalized drinking, and were a reflection of societal attitudes towards drinking. Advertisements were crucial to a magazine’s success and advertisers had the potential to shape their tone and content. Seagram and Hiram Walker spent millions of dollars each year to advertise their products. I have not discovered any specific examples of the distillers trying to infringe on editors’ decisions, but it is expected that they advertised in publications that espoused similar attitudes and values.

As well, I could have chosen other publications like *Holiday, Look, Playboy, Esquire, Town & Country, Newsweek* or *Time* instead of the ones I selected for the survey, as the distillers advertised in all of these magazines. *Look* would have been similar in scope and tone to *Life*, but it was not as accessible and had a smaller circulation. Having chosen *Sports Illustrated* and *Life*, I did not want to survey *Time* because it was also published by Luce. *Town & Country, Playboy, Travel* and *Esquire* were all specialized publications but thematically diverse which would have likely influenced my findings. I selected *Gourmet* because it had a low circulation rate of 130 000 to determine if this factored into the quality, quantity, theme or placement of the distillers’ advertisements. After a very early trip to Hiram Walker’s archives, I became interested in the “Restaurants of the World” Canadian Club campaign, and wanted to discover what associations the distiller made between food and whisky drinking in American society, and felt *Gourmet* might be a suitable choice. I also felt it would provide insight into the distillers’ advertising strategy to women consumers at a time when they were unable to use female models, and when many women’s magazines did not allow liquor advertisements. For the third magazine, I wanted one with broader popular appeal but one with a significant male readership. Therefore, I selected *Sports Illustrated* as opposed to *Playboy, Esquire* or hunting and angling publications. *Ebony*

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had the highest circulation rate among all publications dedicated to African American readers, and it would not have been possible to examine racial constructs in alcohol advertisements had I not chosen this publication. Overall, other magazines could have been chosen, but it was not possible to include all publications in a study of this size.

*Life*

Henry Luce introduced *Life* magazine in 1936 after building on his experience as the publisher of *Time* and *Fortune*. *Life* was a weekly general interest magazine that captured current events and issues through large format photography. Luce based *Life* on the illustrated weeklies he picked up in Europe, and drew inspiration from the worlds of cinema, advertising, photography and tabloid newspapers for its initial content.99 It was a lifestyle magazine that contained articles and large photographs about the accomplishments of national and world leaders, beauty pageant winners and celebrities. It covered current events, general interest stories and included regular columns entitled “sports”, “movies”, “medicine” and “theater”. Articles also touched on politics and world affairs. The magazine was an immediate success and inspired a series of imitations including *Look* and *Ebony*. In addition to the editorial content, *Life*’s pages were replete with advertisements for consumer goods like automobiles, home appliances, alcoholic beverages and packaged foods. In 1950, a single issue cost $0.20 and a yearly subscription was $6.00. Journalism and communications scholar Mary Sentman suggests that the magazine conjured a picture of reality for millions of Americans as *Life*’s photographers and writers captured and recounted routine and extraordinary events in the country and around the world.100 However, Luce was instrumental in shaping and molding this version of “reality”. A

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staunch Republican and defender of big business, Luce never failed to impress upon Life’s readers his opinions on controversial or polarizing issues. In June 1961, the magazine openly stated that it would champion America’s greatness and support the country in winning the Cold War, reflecting Luce’s opposition to the spread of communism. The same month, Life’s editors and designers revised its look and structure. They incorporated large blocks of advertisements separated by editorial matter, and moved a portion of advertising to the front of the magazine, to allow for more white space and larger pictures.

**Ebony**

Published in 1945 by John H. Johnson, Ebony was a general interest magazine intended for a middle class, African American audience. In its nascent stage, the magazine showcased the accomplishments of wealthy entrepreneurs and glamourized the lives of famous African American celebrities. At first, Johnson hoped to enthrall newsstand readers with Ebony’s glitz and sensationalism but within the first few months of publication the strategy proved counter-productive, as it alienated home subscribers. The magazine relied on steady subscribers to guarantee advertising revenue, so Johnson quickly toned down the sensationalism to pacify this group and improve circulation. In the early 1950s, a single issue was $0.30 which went up by five cents near the end of the decade. Throughout much of the 1950s, Ebony focused on current events, lifestyle, fashion, and celebrity news, and rarely addressed serious issues faced by

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African Americans like racism or social injustice. Advertising was comparable to that found in *Life* with glossy pictures of men and women’s wear, household appliances, cigarettes, cosmetics, distilled spirits and beer, soft drinks and pre-packaged foods. *Ebony*’s editorial staff reorganized the circulation system in 1957, and repositioned it as a publication for an elite African American audience. It wanted to show advertisers that a sizable African American middle-class existed capable of purchasing the advertised products. Even though *Ebony* promoted middle class ideals and exaggerated economic achievement, its emphasis on success, prosperity and beauty provided an alternative to mainstream and often racist imagery, and presented readers with images of tangible racial progress.

Throughout much of the 1950s, Johnson avoided publishing controversial topics in *Ebony* as he believed that periodicals like *Negro Digest*, another one of his magazines, dealt with race-related problems African Americans experienced. In the late 1940s, some readers accused the magazine of subscribing to an image of “whiteness” because it ignored darker skinned African Americans, and accepted a significant number of advertisements for hair straighteners and skin whitening creams. As the civil rights movement gained momentum in the early 1960s, *Ebony*’s editorial content gradually supported the cause by encouraging readers to take pride in African American achievements, organizations and institutions. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the magazine covered the movement in greater detail, and endorsed Martin

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106 Ibid., 61.
110 Jason Chambers, “Presenting the Black Middle Class”, 63.
Luther King Jr.’s vision of non-violence.\textsuperscript{111} Tony Atwater believes that the magazine was an advocate for the civil rights movement, yet Jason Chambers argues that critics held \textit{Ebony} accountable for insufficient and unsubstantial coverage of the issue. Chambers comments that with its advertisements for consumer goods and Johnson’s initiatives to tutor corporate executives and trade organizations about African American consumers, \textit{Ebony} was the handbook for the African American consumer citizen, not an expression of civil rights advocacy.\textsuperscript{112}

\textit{Sports Illustrated}

In 1954, Henry Luce introduced Americans to \textit{Sports Illustrated}. He hoped that upper-middle class, well-educated readers would gravitate to the magazine dedicated to “the wonderful world of sports.”\textsuperscript{113} Luce wanted to challenge Madison Avenue’s perception that only working-class audiences were keen on sporting events. To draw in upper class readers, Luce initially featured articles on skiing, yachting, fox hunting, polo and horse-back riding.\textsuperscript{114} Prior to this period, sports’ enthusiasts could pick up several sports magazines including \textit{Sports Afield} which began in 1887, and numerous other specialized titles like \textit{Yachting, American Lawn Tennis} and \textit{Surfing}.\textsuperscript{115} After its initial focus on upscale sporting events, \textit{Sports Illustrated} became the first sports magazine to provide national coverage of several spectator sports like baseball, boxing, basketball and football with extensive photographic content on a weekly basis.\textsuperscript{116} When it debuted, a single copy of the magazine cost $0.25 and a subscription was $7.50 per year, while

\begin{footnotes}
\item Tony Atwater, “Editorial Policy of \textit{Ebony} Before and After the Civil Rights Act of 1964” \textit{Journalism Quarterly} 59 (March 1, 1982): 90.
\item Chambers, “Presenting”, 56-60.
\item Theodore Peterson, \textit{Magazines}, 242.
\end{footnotes}
advertising cost $3150 per page. The majority of the writers were male, and wrote with a male readership in mind. At first, Luce selected the writers of *Sports Illustrated* from teams at *Life* and *Time*. These men had upper class tastes, and preferred leisure activities like golf, croquet and yachting to baseball or boxing. When this approach failed, Luce employed writers whose expertise ran to spectator sports, and narrowed his attention on suburban, middle class readers. Not an avid sports’ fan himself, Luce did not participate in the daily workings of *Sports Illustrated* as he did with *Life*, but hired Andre Laguerre as managing editor of the magazine in 1960. Laguerre, a sports’ enthusiast and *Time*’s European correspondent, revitalized *Sports Illustrated* by hiring a string of young writers, reorganizing editors based on sports’ specialty and raising the quality of copy. As well, Laguerre reduced the size of some departments such as travel, fashion and cooking, and expanded coverage of certain sports like fishing, basketball and professional and college football. Advertisements for various consumer products like sports equipment, men’s fashion, automobiles and beverage alcohol filled the pages of *Sports Illustrated*.

**Gourmet**

Launched by Earle R. MacAusland in 1941 for “well-to-do” audiences, *Gourmet* magazine celebrated the luxuries of fine dining, entertainment and food travel. *Gourmet* was not the first of its genre as food magazines such as *American Kitchen Magazine, New England Kitchen Magazine* and the *Boston Cooking School Magazine* dated from the latter part of the

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117 Ibid., 18.
119 Ibid., 117.
120 Ibid., 106, 124.
nineteenth century. At the cost of $0.35 per issue, *Gourmet*’s writers promoted foreign
cuisine, particularly French, food travel within Western Europe and offered its readers
complicated recipes for delicate multi-course meals. The magazine’s inception coincided with
what food historian Harvey Levenstein notes was Americans’ developing appreciation for
French haute cuisine and culture, exemplified by the rise in French restaurants in New York
City, and a greater number of tourists visiting France. Food historian Andrew F. Smith
asserts that *Gourmet*’s editors insisted that class, social status or income level were not
deterrents to being a “gourmet” but one could become one by cooking meals with love and
fresh ingredients, sharing it with company, and eliminating over-simplifications in recipes.
Jessamyn Neuhaus proposes that the magazine’s recipes rarely included simple cooking
instructions, and editorial content seldom offered advice for planning family meals or shortcuts
to ease the burden of daily food preparation. As most working and middle class women were
responsible for cooking three meals a day, and lacked time to dabble in elaborate preparations,
*Gourmet* would have been an aspirational read or as Neuhaus describes, a “fantasy world of
fulfillment, a glimpse into an exotic universe of luxuriant food and drink.”

According to David Strauss, *Gourmet* was built on the success of male-oriented, city-
based, gourmet dining societies in the 1920s and 1930s. Strauss suggests that when the
magazine debuted, it was intended for an upper-middle class audience and catered to the male

123 Andrew F. Smith, *Eating History*, 190-191.
cook even though women made up much of the readership during the war. Smith argues that the magazine was geared for people who wanted to impress others with their sophisticated knowledge of food, instead of for those who laboured to host their guests. It may have appealed to middle class women who either aspired to, or revelled in the fantasy and luxury conveyed by the publication. The magazine may have also interested a male or female readership who wished to appropriate an air of sophistication about travel and cuisine. Finally, *Gourmet* may have been suited to upper class individuals who could travel to foreign destinations and use the magazine as a guide to enjoy local culinary delights, or were able to direct a cooking staff adept at tedious food preparation. The magazine also produced massive cookbooks advertised at the cost of ten dollars in the early 1950s. Advertisements for the cookbooks suggested that even if one was unable to cook, reading recipes was sufficient entertainment, and encouraged readers that it was a suitable gift idea, with an option for personalization.

The purpose of the magazine survey was to provide data to compare against the companies’ archival records. It was intended to deliver insight on the frequency with which the distillers advertised in the aforementioned magazines, and whether or not they advertised identical products consistently across the different publications. It will help trace how often a specific advertisement or campaign appeared, and any apparent trends or discontinuities over a

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127 “Browsers welcome” *Gourmet* (September 1956), 53.
twenty year period. Although it is difficult to measure the degree to which readers were influenced by the advertisements, it is possible to note how frequently an advertisement for a specific product, category or distillery brand ran, and the potential impact this may have had on influencing ideas about drinking and entertaining.

As *Life* and *Sports Illustrated* were weekly publications, and *Ebony* and *Gourmet* were monthly, I chose to survey every issue of *Ebony* and *Gourmet*, and the first week’s issue of each month for *Life* and *Sports Illustrated* in order to have examined twelve issues for each magazine per year. I began the survey by reviewing every alcohol advertisement that appeared in the first issue of each month for *Life* magazine from January 1950 to December 1951. The purpose was to determine categories of products, themes and activities that appeared consistently and repeatedly across all the alcohol advertisements. After this initial survey, I created a database with a list of the product types, themes and activities to classify the Hiram Walker and Seagram advertisements. The database allowed me to quantify the number of advertisements per issue and the type of liquor category advertised such as: wine, tequila, whisky, vodka, rum, gin, brandy/cognac, liqueur/cordial/cocktail. Some advertisements ran multiple times, therefore I named each advertisement to determine its frequency of recurrence. As the dissertation deals with representations of gender and race, the purpose of the survey was to answer the following questions: 1) How often did men and women appear in the advertisements? 2) Could they be classified as white, African American or other? 3) How regularly did the distillers advertise each brand and category, and to which audience? 4) What type of imagery, activities and settings did the advertisements contain? 5) What type of messages did the advertising copy communicate about a product? 6) Were the previous factors consistent across all publications? I categorized models or characters as male or female, and then as white, African American or other. I used
“other” to enumerate subjects who did not appear to be white or African American. It was not constructive to break down “other” by specific race or ethnicity as only a few advertisements featured people who were neither white nor African American. “Other” pertained to secondary characters in the Canadian Club “Adventure Series” campaign from random and varied foreign countries, and did not offer any consistent patterns on race representation. I noted the following themes and activities in the advertisement: hospitality, domesticity, luxury/gracious living/elegance, leisure/travel/relaxation, sport/adventure, dining, tradition, quality/taste, gift and convenience. I treated similar themes or activities like “luxury/gracious living/elegance” and “leisure/travel/relaxation”, as single categories due to the overlapping nature of the activities, and to avoid overly-fragmented visual representations on the pie charts.

Hospitality was used to classify advertisements which showed men or women “treating” guests to alcoholic beverages either in the home or in public such as bars, taverns, hotels or restaurants. When women performed traditional gender specific roles like cooking, serving meals or decorating the home in the advertisements, I categorized such images under domesticity. For example, copy from a Hiram Walker Cordials advertisement addressed women with the phrase, “6 inspiring ways to become a famous hostess with Cordials by...Hiram Walker.” I placed this advertisement in the “hospitality” and “domesticity” categories as the copy and the imagery emphasized a woman’s traditional role as hostess. I combined luxury/gracious living/elegance into a single category because they are similar descriptors and used it when copy described alcoholic beverages or settings as such and when imagery evoked these themes. One such advertisement that fit into this category presented actor Lee Bowman dressed in a suit, being served Hiram Walker’s Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon on a silver tray by a

128 “6 Inspiring Ways to Become” Hiram Walker Cordial advertisement Life (2 March 1959), 106.
tuxedo-clad African American butler. The advertisement’s tagline stated, “7 years smooth…90.4 proof…elegant in taste.” Leisure/travel /relaxation was another single category used when copy promoted such activities, or when imagery depicted drinking in either a public or private social setting such as a party, beach, tavern, hotel, bar, patio or while on vacation. This differed from the previous category of “hospitality” because it did not involve the entertaining or “treating” of guests.

Sport/adventure was a combined theme for advertisements that linked drinking with all types of sport, including the extreme sports and adventures highlighted in Hiram Walker’s advertisements. Advertisements that featured people eating meals while consuming alcoholic beverages I categorized under dining. Tradition was a classification I used for advertisements that discussed the longevity, continuity or history of the distillery or product. Advertisements for Scotch whisky and Cognac often included historical figures like Shakespeare, Robert the Bruce or Napoleon, while those for bourbon tended to use figures from the American Civil War. The classification did not describe traditional forms of drinking. The category of gift was an identifier for advertisements that promoted the gifting of liquor. I included convenience to categorize all advertisements that claimed products could reduce the labour and time associated with serving or preparing drinks. Taste/quality applied to advertising copy that commented on the physical characteristics of the spirit through the use of superlatives such as the best, smoothest, lightest, tastiest, or most popular.

Most advertisements evoked more than one theme or a combination of themes. For example, an advertisement which highlighted a brand’s legacy, could have also promoted it as a

suitable Father’s Day gift. When this occurred, I categorized the advertisement under multiple categories. Finally, I focused my analysis on six brands in total: Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey, Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky, Hiram Walker’s Imperial Whiskey, Canadian Club Whisky, Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon, and Hiram Walker’s Liqueurs. I counted a total of 496 advertisements for Seagram and Calvert brands at the start of the survey, and 423 for Hiram Walker products including whisky, gin, rum and cordials. There were a total of 407 advertisements for Hiram Walker and 215 for Seagram considered for analysis. However, there were insufficient archival and industry sources to develop a solid analysis about all the categories or brands. Therefore, unless stated otherwise, the statistical data represents the five whisky brands and one liqueur category.

**Structure and Organization**

Chapter 1 examines Seagram’s advertising and marketing of two brands, Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey and Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky, and the construction of white middle class masculinity in relation to whisky drinking. It argues that Seagram’s primary objective was to align its brand image with respectability to improve the reputation of the company and the act of consuming alcohol. Key to this initiative was owner Sam Bronfman’s quest for personal respectability, and this chapter will look at how his aspirations shaped Seagram’s early advertising strategies. Seagram’s advertisements equated respectability with affluence, glamour and what Elizabeth Fraterrigo refers to as “the good life” to sell its products. In doing so,

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130 See Appendix A-Table C “Number of Magazine Advertisements by Company”

131 Fraterrigo discusses *Playboy* magazine’s and Hugh Hefner’s instrumental roles in the shaping of the image of the urbane male by glorifying bachelorthood, high living and sexual freedom all indicative of living the good life. *Elizabeth Fraterrigo, Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
Seagram encouraged a culture of leisure and relaxation to which alcohol consumption was essential.

Chapter 2 looks at Hiram Walker’s advertising campaigns for two of its prominent brands, Canadian Club Whisky and Imperial Whiskey. While glamour and affluence were common themes found in both Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising, this chapter demonstrates that fun, travel and adventure were integral in promoting alcohol consumption primarily as a homosocial activity. Somewhat less conservative than the Seagram distillery, Hiram Walker officials were willing to equate drinking with scenes of excitement, enjoyment and pleasure. This chapter provides a point of comparison and contrast to Seagram’s advertising messages, to indicate that promoting homosocial whisky consumption was a concurrent goal of the distilled spirits industry, even as it tried to domesticate and normalize the act as a heterosocial activity.

Chapter 3 will deal with the distillers’ approach to advertising to African American consumers. It will argue that while the distillers were eager to market to this segment of the population, their advertising strategies were inconsistent. Throughout much of the 1950s, the distillers regularly and consistently advertised in Ebony yet they used African American models occasionally. It was only in the late 1960s that the distilleries hired African American models to portray whisky consumption as an activity linked to middle class values of respectability and professional success.

Seagram and Hiram Walker were eager to diversify their consumer base, and women were a likely audience as advertising rules eventually permitted the inclusion of female models in distilled spirits advertising. Chapter 4 traces the varied roles distilled spirits advertising conferred on women, first as accessories, then as hostesses and cooks, and finally as imbibers of
cordials and whisky. It will look at some of the novel and innovative messages Hiram Walker, and Seagram to a lesser extent, used to appeal to white middle class female consumers.

By studying the advertising and marketing activities of Seagram and Hiram Walker, this dissertation will reveal how the distillers appealed to consumers based on constructs of gender, race and class in the 1950s and 1960s, and their desires for sophistication, excitement and pleasure. The distillers dedicated considerable resources to advertising and marketing their products, and this work will demonstrate how they contributed to the normalization of alcoholic beverage consumption, while also reinforcing racial and gender stereotypes. It will examine how Seagram and Hiram Walker adopted existing social mores about drinking in their advertising messages to reach middle class consumers with varying interests.
Chapter 1 “The Smooth Canadian”: Sophistication and Moderation in Seagram’s Whisk(e)y Advertisements

For decades, Americans equated whisky drinking with rough, unsavoury men tossing back harsh spirits in saloons and taverns. In the 1950s and 1960s, Seagram’s owner, Samuel Bronfman wanted to transform whisky’s reputation into a prestigious beverage, favoured by elite male consumers. In the aftermath of prohibition, Bronfman feared dry advocates would accuse the distilled spirits industry of endorsing excessive behaviours, and intemperate consumption could jeopardize Seagram’s plans for expansion. To fend off criticism, Seagram introduced its “Moderation Campaign” which advised men to treat liquor as a luxury, and to imbibe judiciously. Seagram’s underlying goal was to align its brand image and company identity with respectability and sophistication to improve the reputation of the company, the industry and the act of consuming beverage alcohol. This chapter explores Seagram’s advertising strategies over the 1950s and 1960s for two of its brands: Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey, its best-selling yet average priced brand, and Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky, its premium product. First, the


133 Brand image is defined as “a unique set of brand associations that the brand strategist aspires to create or maintain. These associations represent what the brand stands for and imply a promise to customers from the organization members.” in D.A. Aaker, Building Strong Brands (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 68.
chapter will provide a historiography on masculinity in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by an overview of Seagram’s corporate history. Next it will trace Samuel Bronfman’s involvement in the creation and promotion of the Moderation campaign in the 1930s which set the tone for Seagram’s future advertising campaigns. An analysis of the distillery’s brand advertising for Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey and Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky will follow. This chapter will explain how Seagram used advertising and marketing to tap into white male consumers’ class aspirations and gender identity to sell its whiskies, first as a product to be consumed “neat” or “on the rocks”, and then as an ideal mixer in cocktails. It argues that although Seagram conceptualized distinct advertising strategies for 7 Crown and V.O. over the twenty year span under study, messages of moderation and achieving “the good life”, and images of glamour and luxury were integral to the company’s advertising campaigns.\footnote{Fraterrigo discusses \textit{Playboy} magazine’s and Hugh Hefner’s instrumental roles in the shaping of the image of the urbane male by glorifying bachelorhood, high living and sexual freedom all indicative of living the good life. Elizabeth Fraterrigo, \textit{Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).} In doing so, Seagram conveyed that drinking was vital to a middle class male culture of leisure and relaxation.

\textbf{Competing Identities and Middle Class Manhood}

Multiple and often competing models of masculinity existed in the 1950s and 1960s. Men could adhere to prescribed gender ideals or rebel against societal convention. They could emulate the virtuous self-disciplined man, the domesticated man and companionate father, the existential hero and the pleasure seeker. The concept of domestic fatherhood that gained popularity in the 1950s, had its roots in the bread winner ideal that emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. Family dynamics underwent a transformation in these years as family sizes decreased, the work week shrank, and middle class Americans had more leisure time on their
hands. By the 1920s, men were able to spend more time with their families, but maintained their established and esteemed positions as breadwinners, while women laboured over the home and children.\textsuperscript{135} This was not the case in working class, African American or single parent families, where women also worked outside the home as providers while shouldering domestic responsibilities. By the 1930s, economic conditions of the Great Depression upturned the middle class breadwinner ideal as millions of men were unemployed, and incapable of fulfilling their responsibilities. Similarly, gender roles were modified again during World War II as more married, middle class women entered the work force as men left the home to join the army. Once the war ended, gender roles appeared to revert into place but tensions about normative gender roles lingered between middle class husbands and wives.

Introduced by child development experts, and reinforced by television shows like ‘The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet’, ‘Father Knows Best’ and ‘Leave it to Beaver’, domestic fatherhood developed in tangent to the “companionate family” in the 1950s. American fathers in the post-war era were supposed to be permissive, actively participate in their children’s daily lives, and share domestic duties with their wives.\textsuperscript{136} Stereotypically, family was at the centre of the domestic father’s existence as he served as a role model to his children.\textsuperscript{137} Fathers were also expected to be friends and companions to their children, and offer balance to their wives’ feminine parenting style.\textsuperscript{138} Men who participated in this form of “masculine domesticity” were actively involved and interested in their homes and property. They barbecued on weekends, maintained their lawns and engaged in hobbies like woodworking which contributed to a sense

\textsuperscript{135} Jessica Weiss, \textit{To Have and To Hold: Marriage, the Baby Boom and Social Change} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 85.
\textsuperscript{136} Robert Griswold \textit{Fatherhood in America} cited in James Gilbert, \textit{Men in the Middle}, 20-21.
\textsuperscript{137} Michael S. Kimmel, \textit{Manhood in America}, 161-164.
\textsuperscript{138} Jessica Weiss, \textit{To Have and To Hold}, 88.
A culture of conformity also began to dominate the workplace as middle-class men went to work in their stereotypical grey flannel suits to occupy an increasing number of white collar jobs. At the time, critics concluded employees experienced an erosion of autonomy and creativity because they worked in highly structured, meaningless positions that also contributed to feelings of alienation. In a sense, men such as these exerted self-control by dedicating their lives to the betterment of their families or careers, instead of seeking self-fulfillment or pleasure. The social and political rhetoric of the day implied that white, middle class men achieved respectability, and asserted their masculinity by conforming to normative gender ideals such as marriage, fatherhood and home ownership, basically living the American dream. Unlike their nineteenth century counterparts, middle class men in the 1950s and 1960s did not demonstrate self-restraint through frugality. Rather, men who conformed to the lifestyles of the domesticated father or the “man in the grey flannel suit” displayed their success, maturity and respectability through a culture of consumption. Whether it was the car they drove to work, or used to transport their children to baseball practice, or the new household appliances or tool set they purchased, Americans in the 1950s used consumer goods for multiple purposes. They bought in order to indulge their fantasies, identify as members of the middle class, for pragmatic reasons and to demonstrate they were modern American citizens. Gracious living was a way for middle class Americans to mimic affluent, upper class society, and to display their social success to their

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141 Ibid., 17-19.
peers. Spending on the home and family solidified the American way of life as opposed to luxury purchases which could lead to decadence.\textsuperscript{143}

Masculinity was a contested and complex concept in the 1950s and 1960s, and several scholars explore how American men and women confronted the dominant culture of conformity in these decades.\textsuperscript{144} Alan Petigny argues that Americans’ attitudes towards controversial issues like religion and addiction were loosening as early as the late 1940s. He indicates that challenges to normative gender ideals came from America’s more conservative institutions like the home and the church. Petigny suggests that the patriarchal structure of the family was starting to change in the 1950s so that men were no longer “heads” of the household. As more husbands and wives entered into equitable and democratic relationships, they started to create families based on partnerships.\textsuperscript{145} Some men regarded this shift in the balance of power as emasculating, and Gary Cross claims that many consciously rejected the breadwinner ideal.\textsuperscript{146} James Gilbert concurs with Cross’ assessment but notes that many men embraced family life and the role of provider.\textsuperscript{147} Jessica Weiss claims that even within the domestic fatherhood paradigm,

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 164-166.
Women’s experiences will be detailed in chapter 4.
\textsuperscript{146} Cross, \textit{Men to Boys}, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{147} Gilbert, \textit{Men in the Middle}, 8.
men struggled between being good providers versus companions to their children, and many refused to accept the physical tasks of childrearing.\textsuperscript{148}

A counter to the family oriented husband and father was the pleasure seeking middle class man who worked hard so he could pursue his passions such as dangerous sports, risky games or a taste for fine cars, clothes or food, after a long day.\textsuperscript{149} A rebellious version of the self-made man materialised out of an urban bachelor subculture in the late nineteenth century. American masculinity underwent transitions in the early 1920s, and the prosperity of the Jazz Age was the foundation for the development of a hedonistic male consumerism that eventually thrived in the 1950s and 1960s.\textsuperscript{150} New ideals of consumerism, personality, self-realization and inventiveness supplanted Victorian ideals of hard work, perseverance and self-control.\textsuperscript{151} Losing self-control once pertained to a man’s spending habits, and but in the 1920s, men were encouraged to indulge in purchases that would improve their physical appearance or status, as an outward display of success.\textsuperscript{152} Men could attain success by using prescribed products to vanquish body odour, purchasing a particular style of shirt, or eating the right brand of cereal. In the 1920s, advertisers and magazine editors measured masculinity by one’s physical appearance and lifestyle rather than one’s inner fortitude or moral character.\textsuperscript{153} During the 1950s and 1960s, this trend intensified as the quantity and variety of consumer goods exploded. The distilled spirits industry was quick to associate masculinity with lifestyle advertising so that companies

\textsuperscript{148} Jessica Weiss, \textit{To Have and To Hold}, 93-95.
\textsuperscript{149} Rotundo, \textit{American Manhood}, 286.
\textsuperscript{150} Osgerby, \textit{Playboys in Paradise}, 122-124.
\textsuperscript{152} Pendergast, \textit{Creating}, 145.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 261-263.
like Seagram and Hiram Walker depicted dashing men sipping whisky in luxurious surroundings.

In the post-war years, publications like *True*, *Esquire* and *Playboy* promoted a lifestyle of pleasure, status and sexual freedom equated with the single life.\textsuperscript{154} The magazines perpetuated a culture of consumption, and *Playboy* in particular glorified purchases of expensive cars, luxurious surroundings, fine foods and liquors, and sexually available women and sexual indulgence.\textsuperscript{155} The magazine promoted individuality, narcissistic display and sartorial masculinity based on “spectacular” or “dazzling” consumerism that celebrated men’s personal style and fashions.\textsuperscript{156} It was acceptable for men in the 1950s and 1960s to indulge their fantasies of self-fulfillment and pleasure in unprecedented ways, and popular media showed them how they could accomplish this through a culture of consumption. The men in Seagram’s advertisements found in the magazine survey were not playboys but neither were they of the companionate father variety. Seagram depicted middle class men as responsible drinkers, but they were also sophisticated and cultured, and surrounded themselves with luxury. Their behaviours were not dissipated or excessive but they promoted an individualistic style of consumption that had little to do with improving one’s family life. In effect, they were promoting the “good life” minus the women and sex. It was uncommon for Seagram to situate drinking in the home, and most of the advertisements were set in semi-private spaces but not bars or saloons. To an extent, the men in Seagram’s advertisements represented the loosening social mores of the 1950s and 1960s. Masculinity was a nuanced and complex trope, and the following analysis will show that the men in the advertisements did not fit neatly into any specific

\textsuperscript{155} Fraterrigo, *Playboy*, e-book location 89, 92 and 1167.
\textsuperscript{156} Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 128.
category. The advertisements promoted respectable manhood through moderate drinking, glamour and enjoyment but not an outright hedonistic lifestyle.

**Seagram’s Early Years**

In 1857, the Canadian distiller, Joseph Seagram established a distillery in Waterloo, Ontario with the goal to “make finer whiskies-[and] make them taste better.”157 During the nineteenth century Seagram sold his whiskies only in Canada, but began exporting them to the United States as early as 1914. The Bronfman family purchased the distillery from Seagram in 1928, and renamed it Distillers Corporation-Seagram Ltd. (DC-SL). DC-SL already owned a distilling plant in Ville LaSalle, outside Montreal, where it produced Canadian whiskies. Shortly after the purchase of Seagram, Bronfman visited the Distillers Company Limited in Scotland to improve his knowledge of whisky distilling. He sought help with devising brand names for his products, technical expertise and blending skills, as well as batches of Scotch whisky to blend with DC-SL’s Canadian whiskies.158 DC-SL deduced that Canadian consumers preferred Scotch whisky, and targeted the market based on these assumptions. Although Samuel Bronfman was interested in selling DC-SL’s whiskies to Canadian consumers, he saw opportunities for physical and economic expansion south of the border. The United States, with its proximity to Canada and exponentially larger population was the perfect choice for Bronfman to establish dominance in the distilled spirits industry. The distillery had been exporting whisky to American consumers since the 1910s but its activities were small in scope compared to what would happen in the years after prohibition.

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158 “History: Distillers Corporation-Seagrams Limited” Ibid.
In 1933, DC-SL entered the American market with the purchase of the Rossville Distillery Company in Lawrenceburg, Indiana followed by the Calvert distillery in Relay, Maryland in 1934. The sprawling Lawrenceburg plant had the capacity to produce 50,000 proof gallons of beverage spirits per day on its thirteen bottling lines, and employed between 1500 to 2000 people.\textsuperscript{159} DC-SL touted the distillery as an “ultra-modern” facility with the ability to utilize all by-products of the manufacturing process. It could convert grain used in the mashing process to cattle feed, and escaping gases from its vats into dry ice.\textsuperscript{160} In an attempt to foster pride in the company, and soothe employees’ insecurities about its Canadian ownership, Seagram stressed it would be producing “whiskies of the American type, made from American grains in American plants by American labor, supervised by Seagram’s skilled craftsmen.”\textsuperscript{161} In 1936, DC-SL constructed another distillery in Louisville, Kentucky which produced over 25,000 proof gallons of whisky daily and forty five tons of distillers feeds destined for the cattle industry.\textsuperscript{162} The Louisville plant sported new technologies to improve distilling techniques such as bronze propellers to mix and agitate the whisky mash, temperature controlled and hermetically sealed yeast rooms, jacketed yeasts tubs which eliminated the use of copper piping which had been difficult to clean, and tile-lined fermenting vats which were acid-resistant.\textsuperscript{163} Company officials threw open its doors to about 10,000 visitors yearly, both from the distilled spirits industry and the public, to show off its technologically advanced and modern facilities. By

\begin{footnotes}
\item[160] “Boom on in Lawrenceburg: Seagram’s Vast Plant Aids in Bringing National Fame and Wealth to Indiana Town” \textit{The Seagram Spotlight} (December 1936), 6.
\item[161] Ibid.
\item[162] “Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.: Louisville, Kentucky”, Box 56 File: Louisville, KY Fact Sheets, 1963. SMC Hagley Museum.
\item[163] “Seagram’s Newest Distillery” \textit{The Seagram Spotlight} (December 1936), 4.
\end{footnotes}
constructing new distilleries in the United States, DC-SL had access to an extensive market where it could produce whiskies aimed at American consumers. Building plant in the United States guaranteed Seagram would not have to pay export tariffs on its blended American whiskies. Seagram’s American distilleries collectively operated under the name, Joseph Seagram & Sons Ltd., and manufactured and distributed products such as Seagram’s 5 Crown and Seagram’s 7 Crown Blended Whiskies to American consumers, while the Canadian branch remained as DC-SL. Seagram also sold and distributed spirits under the Calvert, Four Roses, Julius Kessler, Carstairs and Park Avenue brands independent of the Seagram image.

**Moderation: The Essence of Sam Bronfman’s Vision**

Seagram introduced its “Moderation Campaign” in 1934, in the midst of a bleak economic climate, and a year after prohibition ended. Compared to the brand advertising Seagram disseminated in the post-World War II period, these advertisements were black and white, did not show product or the act of drinking, and delivered serious messages warning male consumers to drink in moderation. Seagram’s moderation advertisements frowned on fathers who neglected family responsibilities, and discouraged drinking and driving. According to Pamela Pennock, members of the distilled spirits industry produced public relations campaigns to avoid recrimination from “dry” advocates. In this respect, Seagram was no different from its competitors. Along with the desire to thwart prohibitionists, Bronfman headed the Moderation

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165 From here on, I will use Seagram to refer to the American subsidiary Joseph Seagram & Sons Ltd., and DCSL (Distillers Corporation Seagram Limited) for the Canadian branch of the company.
campaign in a quest to achieve personal credibility. Bronfman spent much of his life trying to alter his reputation which had been plagued by allegations of bootlegging during the prohibition era. Headlines and images of Jewish and Italian bootleggers dominated the mass media in the 1920s. Marni Davis argues that Bronfman and Schenley’s Lewis Rosenstiel engaged in philanthropy to circumvent the negative attention brought about by such allegations, and improve their personal and professional status.\(^{168}\) In 1936, DC-SL paid $1.5 million in duties to the U.S. Treasury on liquor purportedly trafficked into the United States during prohibition, although the company never admitted to engaging in any nefarious activities.\(^{169}\) In the spring of 1950, Senator Estes Kefauver set up the Kefauver Committee to investigate organized criminal activity, particularly illegal gambling but also bootlegging, in the United States. Historian Michael Marrus claims that Bronfman was mortified to have his name raised over the course of these hearings, although he was never charged with any crime.\(^{170}\) Biographer Peter Newman argues that the socially ambitious Bronfman was determined to win approval from the Canadian Establishment, illustrated by his desire to be appointed as a governor of McGill University in Montreal and a member of the Canadian Senate.\(^{171}\) Bronfman’s decision to promote temperate drinking was twofold. He simultaneously wanted to enhance Seagram’s reputation and acquire legitimacy within the business elite and his social peers.

Internal correspondence from Seagram’s archives indicates that Bronfman’s personal dislike for intemperance guided his marketing and advertising vision. After seeing men and women over-indulging in beverage alcohol while at lunch, Bronfman declared, “This disturbed

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169 “Seagram in the Chips” *Fortune* (September 1948), 99.
170 Michael Marrus, *Samuel Bronfman: The Life and Times of Seagram’s Mr. Sam*, (Hanover: University Press of New England for Brandeis University), 348-351.
me greatly. As distillers, I felt that we should issue a warning. Accordingly I asked the advertising agency to prepare an advertisement, the heading of which was to state, ‘We who make whiskey say Drink moderately’. Seagram issued its first moderation advertisement in 1934 and another in 1935. The public responded favourably to the campaign by sending thousands of letters complimenting Seagram on its efforts to curb intemperate drinking. Some critics, possibly “dry” proponents, refused to be swayed by the advertisements’ “altruistic” tone.

In response, H.I. Peffer, Chairman of the Board for Seagram revealed that when the campaign was created, the distilled spirits industry faced a precarious future, and that it was in the company’s best interests to advise consumers to consume in moderation. Discordant with whisky’s poor reputation, Bronfman set out to challenge North Americans’ attitudes about the drink. Bronfman wanted to persuade consumers that whisky was a beverage that could be “sipped in the quiet dignity of a London men’s club by cultured gentlemen”, and chose to align it with respectability, responsibility and personal success.

Seagram’s “Moderation Campaign” set the tone for the type of consumer the distillery wished to create and target but it was equally self-serving. Rhetoric from the distilled spirits industry implied the state of repeal was uncertain, and intemperate consumption could lead to a return to prohibition. As mentioned in the introduction, the threat of prohibition was muted rather than palpable but industry leaders like Seagram chose to advertise drinking with caution. Even a hint of impropriety or advocating excessive behaviour would have been detrimental to Seagram’s success and progress. Therefore Bronfman and Peffer were keen to preserve Seagram’s reputation, and their advertising messages conveyed a semblance of concern for

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173 Ibid., 2.
174 Marrus, Samuel Bronfman, 196-197.
consumers’ well-being. However, the distillery did not define “moderate” consumption by any quantifiable means. Seagram addressed the issue of consumption by volume only in the early 1980s when it tried to convince the state, consumers and competitors from the wine and beer industry that an ounce of distilled spirits, a ten ounce glass of beer, and a three ounce glass of wine were equal in alcohol content.\textsuperscript{175} Seagram implored men to exert self-restraint when they drank, and assumed a benevolent façade to ward off critics, but left it up to the customer to determine when he had his fill.

The “Moderation Campaign” drew firm associations between masculinity and moderate consumption, especially definitions of fatherhood. During the Great Depression, moderation advertisements categorized whisky as a luxury. An example of a moderation advertisement from February 1938 contained a close shot of a pair of male hands removing change from a coin purse. A huge caption below the image stated, “Pay your Bills First”, followed by copy, “No person should spend a cent for liquor until the necessities of living are provided-and paid for. Bills for groceries…clothes…shoes…rent…light…heat…doctors’ bills such as these have the first call on America’s payroll.”\textsuperscript{176} It stressed, “Whiskey is a luxury and it should be treated as such. Fine whiskey can play a pleasing part in the scheme of gracious living…but only when taken in moderation and only after the bills are paid.”\textsuperscript{177} The statement acknowledged drinking was a pleasurable activity yet denounced immoderate consumption. It had a dual purpose: to inform consumers that Seagram cared about their welfare yet simultaneously encouraged them to drink whisky. The advertisement revealed respectability stemmed from a man’s ability to meet

\textsuperscript{175} Internal Correspondence-Equivalency Campaign. Box 85 File: Advertising-Alcohol Equivalency Campaign 1985-1987) SMC, Hagley Museum.
\textsuperscript{176} Pay Your Bills First advertisement, Ibid, 5.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.
familial responsibilities. Seagram wished to acquire consumers who were financially and socially responsible, and clearly stated they were not pursuing those who were destitute.

Seagram’s Moderation advertisements consistently promoted family responsibility. In June 1938, Seagram released its first moderation advertisement commemorating Father’s Day. The advertisement referenced filial bonds, and inferred that paternal moderation was essential for raising the next generation of temperate consumers. A black and white sketch of a father dressed in hat and suit, smoking a pipe and holding a walking stick, with his arm around his son’s shoulder was accompanied by the caption, “You’re a Hero..To Your Son”.178 Playing on readers’ emotions, the advertisement referenced a son’s idolization of his father, “Nothing is quite so disillusioning to the clear eyes of a youngster as the sight of a man-his own father who has used liquor unwisely.”179 The copy continued, “The coming generation will be less apt to use liquor intemperately if older people will regard it as a luxury and treat it as a contribution to gracious living-to be enjoyed in moderation.”180 Like the previous advertisement, Seagram condoned drinking if it was done within limits, an activity the company linked to paternal responsibility and gracious living. Individual fathers were obligated to teach their sons respectable and responsible drinking habits thereby absolving Seagram of its own responsibilities. On the one hand, Seagram’s Moderation advertisements cautioned customers to be judicious when drinking but its brand advertising communicated that it was a desirable activity.

**Seagram Goes to War**

During the 1940s, Seagram temporarily halted alcoholic beverage production and released advertisements that were patriotic in tone and content. The onset of World War II

178 You’re a Hero To Your Son advertisement, Ibid., 6.
179 Ibid.
180 Ibid.
interrupted Seagram’s foray into the American market as DC-SL in Canada converted to war production in 1940. In 1941, even before the United States declared war, Seagram constructed a butadiene plant for the manufacture of synthetic rubber and produced industrial grade alcohol to assist the American government’s war efforts. According to the Distilled Spirits Institute, all distillers ceased production of beverage alcohol for the duration of World War II but supplied customers by rationing existing stocks.\textsuperscript{181} On the advertising side, Seagram reduced its brand promotion for the duration of the war, but did not retreat from public view. Some of the distillery’s advertisements read like public service announcements as Seagram alerted consumers against careless talk and spreading rumours for fear enemy spies would eavesdrop. Other advertisements urged consumers to purchase Defense Bonds, and publicized Seagram’s participation in the war as a manufacturer of industrial alcohol.\textsuperscript{182} Some of the advertisements were humorous like the ones of an animated man attacking a caricature of Hitler as he tried to plant a victory garden or lead a carpool. Unlike the serious advertisements which did not contain product or mention drinking, a bottle of Seagram’s 5 Crown and the slogan “Seagram Keeps the TOUGHNESS OUT and the PLEASURE IN” appeared in the corner of the page. The bottle bore a neck tag with the words, “In the Famous Host Bottle”.\textsuperscript{183} In the midst of a war, Seagram was demonstrating its patriotism but also reminding consumers that drinking was pleasurable, and that its whisky was suitable for entertaining.\textsuperscript{184} The alcoholic beverage industry had to contend with a resurgence in prohibitionist sentiment as dry proponents argued in favour of full-fledged wartime prohibition, citing alcohol as the cause for soldiers’ moral weakness. In 1941,

\textsuperscript{181} H.V. Kaltenborn “A Report to the Nation” \textit{Life} (22 February 1943), 75.
\textsuperscript{182} “Seagram Advertising in Wartime” Box 110 File: Seagram Institutional Advertising-Wartime c. 1943 SMC Hagley Museum.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{184} There were five humorous war-time advertisements found in the archives, but there was no information about the campaign or the individual advertisements.
Senator Morris Sheppard proposed Senate Bill S860 to ban alcohol from military training camps, although it was defeated by Congress due to the dry advocates’ use of maternal rhetoric, and lack of support from military officials.\(^{185}\) It was only by the 1950s that the distilled spirits industry could cast off some of the impediments that curtailed production, and embark on extensive brand advertising.

In the 1940s and 1950s, moderation was not Seagram’s main advertising strategy but it reprised the theme on occasion. The distillery incorporated the slogan, “Men who think of tomorrow practice Moderation today” into Canadian advertisements which ran in “small-circulation, miscellaneous magazines” that did not permit brand promotion.\(^{186}\) In the United States, Seagram issued a Moderation advertisement annually on Father’s Day, and often around New Year’s Eve. Advertising copy implored fathers to model moderate drinking behaviour because they were responsible for nurturing the next generation of virtuous and successful Americans.\(^{187}\) In one advertisement, a boy was dressed in a checkered shirt, seated outdoors with his hands clasped around his knees. His face was tilted slightly upwards as he gazed ahead, possibly contemplating his future.\(^{188}\) The advertisement encouraged fathers to act with reason and moderation in all matters, but especially when drinking, “We of the House of Seagram, we who make fine whiskies, believe that reasonableness and moderation in your use of liquor will help your boy and his dream. We believe that if you are moderate, your son will respect you and


\(^{186}\) Outline and Background of Seagram Advertising (Vickers & Benson Ltd., May 1958), Box 110 File: Outline and Background of Seagram Advertising, 1958 SMC Hagley Museum.


\(^{188}\) “Beyond Fashion, Beyond Fad: Moderation and the Seagram Company” The Fifth Freedom….The Freedom to Dream Advertisement June 1954. Ibid.
the things you stand for.” The remainder of the copy was patriotic in tone and juxtaposed the freedom and opportunities afforded American children versus those in unspecified nations, hindered by iron curtains and “thought police”, alluding to the United States’ involvement in the Cold War with the former U.S.S.R.

An advertisement from June 1956 showed a side-profile of a man wearing glasses, reading the newspaper and the phrase, “‘Not Now Son…I’m busy.’” When a father fails to take the time to listen to his son’s problems, he is inviting serious consequences”. The copy instructed, “…a good father teaches by example. He lives the way he wishes his son to live in the future…a reliable, respected man-fulfilling his duties as a good neighbor and a responsible citizen…exercising self-restraint and moderation in all things.” The advertisement warned fathers not to neglect their sons, and of the need to mold them into exemplary citizens. Almost twenty years since its original moderation advertisement, Seagram was still preaching the maxim that fathers who embraced temperate drinking were the paragons of respectable masculinity.

Respectability rooted in fatherhood was central to the moderation campaign, and it was only in the late 1960s that Seagram’s advertisements acknowledged that lessons about temperate consumption could apply to daughters. Up until this point, the campaign implied only men had to concern themselves with issues of moderate consumption and over-indulgence, and fathers offered moral guidance. Seagram equated fatherhood and masculinity with reliability, responsibility and most significantly moderation, making men with such characteristics ideal consumers of its products. Advertisements from the campaign were overtly didactic as copy instructed fathers to set good examples for their sons. Other moderation advertisements

189 Ibid.
190 “Beyond Fashion, Beyond Fad” Not Now Son…I’m busy Advertisement June 1956, Ibid.
discouraged hunters from drinking while in the field and recommended men who had the proclivity to over-indulge, to abstain from drinking. Advertising copy suggested most men exert restraint, and advised a few to abstain. The distillery was in the business of selling beverage alcohol, and its success relied on normalizing, and increasing drinking. It would have been against Seagram’s best interests to quantify or define moderation. In an era when more middle class Americans were starting to accept alcohol’s symbolic and physical centrality to leisure and pleasure, defining moderation would have been detrimental to Seagram’s expansion and success. The distillery adopted the middle class virtue of self-discipline in the Moderation advertisements to define appropriate masculine drinking behaviour. Moderation was a pretense, a missive Seagram embraced to absolve itself from moral responsibility, though this was the motto it expounded. Seagram hoped to convince audiences of its stellar reputation as a responsible leader in an industry that sold a product with potentially damaging financial, health and social consequences to consumers. When the *Saturday Evening Post* finally decided to accept alcohol advertisements in October 1958, Seagram introduced itself with a moderation advertisement that stated, “We believe that fine whisky enhances the good life. It is a luxury to be enjoyed in one way and in one way only-wisely, in moderation.”\(^{191}\) Consumers were exposed to a disproportionate number of messages celebrating drinking in relaxing and at times opulent settings, compared with those promoting moderation. Consumers were responsible for moderating and regulating their drinking behaviour, with limited assistance from Seagram.

Despite the self-serving quality of the Moderation advertisements, readers responded with compliments. Housewives, teachers and directors at alcohol treatment centres wrote to congratulate the distillery on its Father’s Day advertisement from June 1965. The advertisement

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was sparse with a small inset of one male hand putting a set of keys into an outstretched palm. A bold caption stated, “Be careful son…” followed by the caveat, “They’re words you say almost automatically. Yet they can be empty words…unless your actions stand behind them.”¹⁹² The rest of the copy reminded fathers to set an example for their sons by sensibly consuming Seagram’s products. Mrs. Edward Spehar, a housewife from Michigan, took time out of her busy evening to say, “Please accept my congratulations. Not many companies have the courage to acknowledge the fact that their product could be potentially dangerous…In your efforts to sell whiskey, it is good to know there is a restraining force which advocates good sense and the power of good example.”¹⁹³ Harry E. Shelley, Co-ordinator of Alcoholism Programs with the Baltimore City Health Department, wrote “Just a note to congratulate you on your fine piece of advertising…We need more of this type of advertising rather than the usual variety that one sees in the daily papers.”¹⁹⁴ Other responses were emotive such as this one from self-described mother of two children Mrs. Dorothy Grimes of New York. She conveyed to Seagram “[I] saw your ad [and] was deeply moved. Without a doubt-this is the finest advertisement I have ever read. Not only did it carry dignity, thoughtfulness-it showed that a company of its size still cares about youth and the public.”¹⁹⁵ Internal correspondence from the 1970s and 1980s containing accolades from government leaders, clergy, law enforcement officials and education specialists was ongoing, as respondents applauded Seagram for the Moderation advertisements.¹⁹⁶ Based on the positive responses, the moderation campaign was a public relations success. It is possible

¹⁹⁴ Letter from Harry E. Shelley to Seagram (June 17, 1965) ibid.
¹⁹⁵ Letter from Mrs. Dorothy Grimes to Seagram (June 1965), ibid.
¹⁹⁶ Internal correspondence for distribution among Seagram staff (June 1983), ibid.
that some may have thought Seagram’s advertisements were duplicitous or hypocritical, but no such evidence was noted in the company’s archives. The moderation campaign captured Seagram’s official corporate attitude towards alcohol consumption and its recognition of social responsibility. It also provided a stark contrast to Seagram’s brand advertising that espoused the overarching themes of gracious living, luxury and the “good life”. Finally, Sam Bronfman’s vision fostered a brand image that extended to several products introduced by Seagram, and the acknowledgement of social responsibility, though self-serving, remained an underlying message in future advertisements.

**Seagram’s Crowning Glory: Seagram’s 7 Crown Blended Whiskey**

In 1934, Seagram introduced Seagram’s 7 Crown, a blended whisky, to American consumers. Company sources credited Samuel Bronfman as the product’s innovator. Bronfman believed that blending whiskies resulted in a superior drink with improved and consistent taste compared to straight whiskies. Before launching 7 Crown in 1934, Seagram executives including Bronfman sampled twenty four whisky blends daily over the course of several months. They numbered each sample consecutively, and the tasters selected sample number seven as the best blend. Unwise to market a brand as “sample number seven”, Bronfman added “crown” after the seven, and settled on Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey. Seagram’s 7 Crown trademark consisted of a golden crown which sat on top of a massive red seven, and the whisky was meant to be the distillery’s “crowning product.” By utilizing seven in the name, Seagram may have wanted customers to inadvertently believe that it aged the whisky seven years, a distinction of quality. The crown reflected Sam Bronfman’s predilection for symbols and imagery that evoked

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monarchical and aristocratic themes, a bias which influenced the creation and launch of several products under the Calvert and Seagram brand names. From the mid-1930s until the early 1960s, Samuel Bronfman maintained exacting control over the Seagram brand name in North America and overseas. It is important to note that Seagram’s archives did not identify if and when Bronfman had developed campaigns and advertisements. With the exception of the Moderation campaign, and the use of monarchical symbolism, evidence suggests that advertising agencies created much of the distillery’s product advertising.

Throughout the time period examined in this study, the Warwick and Legler advertising agency oversaw the 7 Crown account, and created its primary slogan, “Say Seagram’s and Be Sure.” Along with Seagram, the small agency had other prominent clients like Pabst, Equitable Insurance Company, and the Democratic National Committee. Warwick and Legler released numerous print advertising campaigns that appeared in regional and national newspapers and magazines. Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, “Say Seagram’s and Be Sure” endured as the 7 Crown slogan for the product’s print advertising. The distillery conceptualized the slogan to reassure consumers they would find quality and satisfaction in the Seagram brand name. Stressing the brand’s quality may have also been Seagram’s way of distinguishing its product from the illicit liquor occasionally peddled by bootleggers. Distillers were conscious of their ill-repute and struggled to disassociate themselves from the “unscrupulous” elements that troubled the industry once prohibition ended. In 1934, Seagram, Hiram Walker, Schenley and Laird & Co. stood behind a proposal put before the Federal Alcohol Control Commission by Harry Schwarzschild, publisher of Spirits Magazine, which intended to place bottle manufacturing

199 Marrus, Samuel Bronfman, 199.
under government control. One suggestion was to blow or mold a license number or distillery insignia into each bottle to prevent bootleggers from affixing fake labels and re-filling brand name bottles with illicit liquor.\textsuperscript{202} Two years later, federal agents interrupted an operation in New York that was using counterfeit labels to pass off bootlegged liquor as genuine bottles of Seagram’s, Canadian Club, Teacher’s and Dewar’s brands.\textsuperscript{203} In 1951, Seagram sponsored the Seagram Family Achievement Association which was designed to educate liquor distributors and their families about the trade. Seagram’s president, Victor A. Fischel mentioned its mission was to encourage tradesmen to improve the reputation of the industry by participating in community and charitable events, and by taking the initiative to prevent “bad liquor situation[s]” from arising.\textsuperscript{204} Fischel did not specify what he meant, but Seagram expected its distributors to represent the distillery and industry with integrity.

The distilled spirits industry categorized Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey as a “prime” blend under the “A” blend price level of whiskies.\textsuperscript{205} In 1953 a fifth of a gallon of Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey (approximately 26 oz. or 755 ml) retailed for between $3.45 and $4.87.\textsuperscript{206} Generally, the average price of a blended whiskey ranged between $4.25-$4.50 for a fifth of a gallon, which put Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey on par with its competitors. In 1953, approximately 48% of American families had incomes of $60 or less per week, 33% earned between $60-100 and 20% had over $100 in a given week.\textsuperscript{207} For almost 50% of all Americans, a bottle of 7 Crown could cost in excess of 7% of their weekly income. Imported whiskies like Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky and Haig & Haig 5 Star Scotch Whisky were about two dollars higher in price, while

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{202} “Federal Marking of Bottles Sought as Bootleg Curb” \textit{The New York Times} (June 2, 1934), 1.
\item \textsuperscript{203} “22 Seized as Aides in Big Bootleg Ring” \textit{The New York Times} (March 3, 1936), 16.
\item \textsuperscript{204} “Liquor Men Start Drive for Respect” \textit{The New York Times} (14 November 1951), 62.
\item \textsuperscript{205} “Liquor Price Structure”, \textit{The Liquor Handbook} (1954), 19.
\item \textsuperscript{206} Ibid., 15.
\item \textsuperscript{207} “Consumer Characteristics” \textit{The Liquor Handbook} (1953), 27.
\end{itemize}
domestic straight and bonded whiskies like Early Times and Old Forester Bourbon cost consumers $4.50 and $6.50 respectively. “Prime” whiskies fell in the mid to upper-mid price range, sitting below the “prime plus” category and above “secondary” and “tertiary” brands. Company sources classified Seagram, Calvert and Four Roses as the distillery’s premium brands, and described the Kessler and Carstairs brands as its second tier products. Seagram advertised and marketed 7 Crown as a high quality whisky, and stressed the product’s “mixability” yet it was not a luxury brand. Seagram wanted the whisky to appeal to a variety of consumers, and from the late 1940s until the 1980s, advertised to a wide demographic of adult drinkers who were between 18 to 49 years old. Crown Royal Whisky and Chivas Regal Scotch Whisky were Seagram’s luxury brands. Seagram’s 7 Crown consistently outsold both blended and straight whiskies by almost five thousand cases. A total of 112 Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements were counted in the survey, and they only appeared in *Life* and *Ebony*. Except for *Ebony* magazine, none of the Seagram advertisements appearing in the other publications contained African American models. In the twenty year period under study, the nearest competitors to Seagram’s 7 Crown were often one of Hiram Walker’s brands, or Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky. Overall, the distillery’s major competitors were Hiram Walker, Schenley, National Distillers and Fleischmann. Seagram specialized in “blended” whiskies both American and Canadian, but also produced or imported spirits like gin, rum and vodka.

From the start, Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements contained bold, brightly coloured images with a moderate amount of copy. Since the creation of the brand in 1934, advertisements


209 “Background” Box 792 File: Public Relations Marketing and Economic Analysis-Overview- 7 Crown JES, Hagley Museum.
featured a red seven as part of the product’s name. By the fall of 1946, an enormous seven was a regular component of 7 Crown’s print advertising, and dominated many of the images. Over-sized sevens loomed over bottles and highballs of whisky in many of the 7 Crown advertisements. Seagram introduced the gigantic red seven as a brand symbol; one it hoped would “have instant recognition value” and become synonymous with the Seagram name. A maxim of the advertising industry, repetition was necessary for brand recognition. Brand recognition can be defined as “The first stage of brand loyalty; situation whereby a firm has developed enough publicity for a brand that its name is familiar to consumers.” Seagram’s inclusion of the prominent gigantic sevens, often topped with red and gold crowns, indicated that it was trying to create a brand image and recognition for the product. Between 1948 and the early 1970s, 7 Crown was the highest selling liquor brand, measured in volume, across the United States. Seagram used this fact to bolster its proposition that 7 Crown was America’s favourite whisky. Sam Bronfman created a brand identity for Seagram, and believed each advertisement had to fulfill two roles: sell the product and promote Seagram’s principles and values. Throughout the period covered by this study, Seagram adopted a fairly conservative advertising strategy for Seagram’s 7 Crown. Even by the late 1960s, Seagram did not subscribe to “with-it” advertising geared at the youth market, and executives maintained that while younger consumers were important, they aimed for “across-the-board” appeal. With the exception of advertisements for its Chivas Regal Scotch Whisky and Calvert Pre-Mixed Cocktails, the company steered away from the irreverent, sharp and witty advertising associated

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210 “The Story of the Seagram 7” The Seagram Spotlight (September-October 1951), 19-20.
211 “News and Views” The Seagram Spotlight (September-October 1951), 2.
215 Marrus, Samuel Bronfman, 235.
with “hip consumerism” in the 1960s. Seagram avoided “current slang” and using “youthful models in mod get-ups” in its consumer brand advertising, and maintained advertisements had to be believable, and a reflection of the care and meticulousness Seagram exhibited for its products.217

**Natural Tranquility**

At the start of the 1950s, Seagram introduced an advertising campaign for 7 Crown with the red seven set amidst nature scenes. Advertisers positioned the red seven, along with a bottle of whisky in front of crashing waves, alongside serene lakes, or emerging from patches of verdant grass or spring flowers. One such advertisement appeared in the 5 June 1950 edition of *Life* magazine, and ran in the August 1950 issue of *Ebony*.218 A big highball with whisky and ice sat in the foreground, with an oversized red seven to its left and a bottle of Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey at the back. Each item jutted out of a circular patch of grass surrounded by colourful flowers, and with white space as the background. The caption read, “For perfect days-no other month like June. For perfect drinks-no other whiskey like Seagram’s 7 Crown. Its magnificent taste makes even a June day more perfect. Say Seagram’s and be Sure” (Figure 1.1).219 While the flowers evoked freshness, the copy lauded the quality, taste and superiority of the whisky. The advertisement did not portray individuals drinking but subtly implied 7 Crown enhanced one’s pleasure, and contributed to feelings of contentment and self-satisfaction on a pleasant spring or summer day. Distilled spirits advertisements often propagated liquor was a reward or

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217 Ibid., 2.
218 It was odd to find a reference to June in an August issue of *Ebony*. However, a couple of other advertisements counted in the survey that advertised holiday gifts were found in January and February issues. Magazines are often released a month ahead of the date of issue, and *Ebony* may have been a couple of months ahead of the norm.
219 “For perfect days” Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement *Life* (5 June 1950), 71. For all Figures for Chapter 1 See Appendix D.
restorative to the consumer.\textsuperscript{220} Seagram employed this strategy on occasion, but it was a standard theme in Hiram Walker’s Canadian Club Whisky advertisements.

In another advertisement taken from the 6 November 1950 issue of \textit{Life}, a sizable red seven and a comparatively smaller bottle of Seagram’s 7 Crown sat on a white cloud against a clear blue sky, above a green landscape. Copy beneath the seven read, “Praised to the Skies No amount of ‘blue sky’ claims can make a whiskey great. The only true test is-taste it. Then you’ll know why Seagram’s 7 Crown is always…praised to the skies! \textit{Say Seagram’s and be Sure.}”\textsuperscript{221} The advertisement also ran in the December 1950 issue of \textit{Ebony}. Again, the copy highlighted the taste of the whisky and reassured the consumer 7 Crown was the ultimate choice of alcoholic beverage. The phrase, “The only true test is-taste it”, beckoned consumers to try the product without explicitly portraying individuals enjoying the whisky. Throughout the 1950s, Warwick and Legler produced similar advertisements for 7 Crown and characterized the beverage as superior to its competitors. Both imagery and copy implied the whiskey was fresh, pure and by associating it with flowing rivers, green valleys and clear lakes, possibly a novel alternative to the other choices on the market.

In another advertisement, a gigantic red seven sat to the left of a Seagram’s 7 Crown whisky bottle, both were set against snow-capped mountains surrounded by evergreens, with a chalet or cottage in the background. The body of water in the foreground reflected the bottle and seven, with the phrases “Reflection …of Perfection” on the bottom left and “Say Seagram’s and be Sure” appearing on the bottom right, in the narrow white border outlining the scene. Archival sources indicate the Warwick and Legler designed the advertisement to captivate readers’

\textsuperscript{220} “State of the Art: Liquor Advertising” \textit{Advertising Techniques} Hartman Center Archives (October 1971), 11.  
\textsuperscript{221} “Praised to the Skies” Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement \textit{Life} 6 November 1950, 100.
attention with its “sheer beauty”. It was “well-received” by readers but the source failed to specify the number of readers it might have reached, or readers’ reactions to the brand, imagery or message.222 Characteristic of 7 Crown advertisements in the early 1950s were clichés like “Reflection of Perfection”, “As SURE as new brooms sweep clean, Seagram’s 7 Crown makes perfect drinks” and “As Sure as ‘Business comes before pleasure,’ This famous brand puts the Sure in ‘leisure’.”223 The original version of this advertisement ran in Life and Collier’s in 1950, while a reprised image ran twice in the May and September issues of Ebony in 1960. The updated version lacked the snow-capped mountains and the chalet. This campaign which set the giant red seven and bottles of Seagram’s 7 Crown against natural backgrounds, and evoked an aura of freshness, was intended to cultivate brand recognition in readers’ minds, and possibly inspire new associations about whisky consumption. The campaign may have been trying to convey that whisky drinking was a pleasurable leisure activity, one could achieve the “perfect” leisure experience by drinking 7 Crown or that it was a refreshing choice.

Imagery in these early advertisements contrasted with much of Seagram’s other whisky advertising, and those of its competitors like Old Grand-Dad Kentucky Straight Bourbon, Schenley Reserve Blended Whiskey, Hiram Walker’s Imperial Whiskey, and Ancient Age Kentucky Bourbon. Advertisements for these brands often promoted old-fashioned gentility and tradition, striking juxtapositions to the clean, fresh and revitalizing associations alluded to in the 7 Crown advertisements. Scenes of grey-haired men sipping whisky and smoking pipes in libraries or dens, men dressed in formal tuxedos, barbershop quartets performing in Victorian-era costume or heroes of the American Revolution repeatedly showed up in the print advertisements.

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222 "Which Had Greater Readership?” The Seagram Spotlight (January-February 1951), 23.
223 Seagram hired poet and copywriter Margaret Fishback to create rhyming couplets, puns using the word “sure” and clichés to advertise 7 Crown. Margaret Fishback Papers: Box 35, File: Seagram’s (1 May 1951) n.p., Duke University.
for competitors’ products. Advertisements for Old Crow Bourbon Whiskey containing illustrations of famous Americans like Mark Twain, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson and Sam Houston projected Southern hospitality. The Old Crow Distillery’s advertisements alleged some of the personalities visited the company and remarked on the taste of its whiskies. Advertisements for a popular Scotch whisky, Black & White, usually contained images of a black Scottish terrier and a white West Highland terrier, frolicking beside a bottle of the product. Brand advertising for other Scotch whiskies like Martin’s Original Blended Scotch and Dewar’s Scotch whiskies celebrated their Scottish heritage with images of stereotypical highlanders decked in kilts, tam o’shanters and sporrans, raising glasses of the product. I.W. Harper Bourbon whiskey advertisements had a “Harper” man dressed in top hat and tails trying to bestow class and refinement to a product that came from the “hill country”. Distilled spirits manufacturers frequently employed symbols like Black & White’s terriers, the “Harper” man and Seagram’s 7 Crown to establish brand identity and foster brand awareness and continuity in consumers’ minds. Seagram’s 7 Crown “nature” campaign distanced the product from the traditional images of older gentlemen drinking in homosocial groups found in some competitors’ advertisements. Scenes of male bonding and camaraderie, signifiers of maturity and rugged masculinity, prevailed in liquor and some beer advertisements but were notably absent from most of the Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements noted in the magazine survey.

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226 Advertisements for Hiram Walker’s Imperial Whiskey in the early 1950s included scenes of grey-haired gentlemen smoking cigars and drinking whisky in libraries, dens and studies. Other advertisements for the same product featured four Victorian caricatures with bowler hats, long sideburns and moustaches singing rhyming melodies about the benefits of the whiskey.
In fact, only 21% of the 7 Crown advertisements contained human models, with the remaining 79% percent consisting of “glass and bottle shots” set against various backgrounds. Alcoholic beverage producers employed “glass and bottle shots” to dampen criticism because the advertisements seldom made associations between status and liquor consumption, but created thirst or appetite appeal.228 Glasses filled with ice cubes, dripping with condensation were supposed to make drinks look cool, tasty and refreshing. Competitors’ advertisements for products like Ancient Age Kentucky Bourbon or Fleischmann’s Blended Whiskey also included “glass and bottle shots” but contained plainer backgrounds than the ones for 7 Crown.229 Generally devoid of human characters, the advertisements were not overt reflections of a specific consumer lifestyle, but images of horizons, crashing waves, ice floes and green landscapes did offer some clues about the distillery’s intentions. Scenes of lakes, ice-capped mountains and sunsets were a lot like beer advertisements, which advertising professionals derided for being sedate and bland in 1963.230 While advertisers intended that picturesque scenery capture readers’ attention and develop brand recognition, freshness and purity could have been used to entice the novice consumer unfamiliar with whisky, or one who avoided it because of its presumed harsh taste and strong flavour. The advertisers may have been using “freshness” to attract younger consumers who might have thought whisky was a beverage preferred by older men. More likely, Seagram was trying to draw parallels between 7 Crown and beer, both in regards to taste and reputation. Beer was milder in taste, and less intoxicating than distilled spirits, and critics were not as hostile towards the brewing industry. Seagram may have wanted to project an innocuous image, and relay to consumers that whisky was a mild, refreshing and crisp tasting beverage.

228 “State of the Art:”, 9.
229 Ancient Age Kentucky Bourbon advertisement Life (6 February 1960), 121 and
America’s Favourite Whisky

Intermittently, Seagram’s advertisements announced to consumers that 7 Crown was “America’s favorite whiskey”. In the mid-1950s, Seagram released an advertising campaign celebrating this theme, and with it, proclaimed the product had the highest sales out of three thousand competitors. Scenes of road trips, beaches and urban skylines like New York City and San Francisco were popular in the campaign. Liquor advertisements often defended the quality and taste of the products advertised in an attempt to build consumer confidence and retain their loyalty. Seagram’s claims were justified as 7 Crown not only led the whisky category, but outsold all other distilled spirits including vodka, gin and rum. Sales of the brand surpassed its competitors by approximately four to five thousand cases in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Even though Seagram had been selling distilled spirits in the United States for almost fifteen years by the 1950s, its American competitors were resentful of Seagram’s dominance of the industry. Seagram’s initiative to advertise 7 Crown as “America’s” favourite whisky may have been a tactic to assuage consumers’ concerns that it was a foreign held company. Canadian distillers like Seagram and Hiram Walker who sold Canadian whiskies benefitted from a tariff reduction in 1936, when rates fell from $5.00 to $2.50 to compensate for a shortage of aged American whiskies. In 1948, the federal government halved export tariffs from $2.50 to $1.25. In 1955, the National Committee of United States Distillers accused Seagram and Hiram Walker of manipulating American consumers because they did not reduce whisky prices in keeping with the tariff reduction. The Committee alleged Seagram temporarily dropped prices only to raise

231 “All Roads Lead to AMERICA’S FAVORITE SEVEN” Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement New York Times (15 September 1950), 43.
them within a few months.\textsuperscript{234} Three years later, Schenley filed a brief with the Tariff
Commission charging the two distillers with accumulating $64 million because of the tariff
reduction and stated, “the Canadian companies, operating through their own import companies
pocketed the extra profits which provided them with a war chest of impressive dimensions to use
against United States distillers in diverse ways”.\textsuperscript{235} Seagram responded that Schenley’s estimates
were speculative while Hiram Walker declined to comment. Advertising 7 Crown as a distinctly
American whisky was Seagram’s way to create a brand identity independent of the company’s
Canadian origins, and diffuse the negative attention it received from competitors.

The decision to brand 7 Crown as an American favourite may have also been a reaction
to some American distillers’ disapproval of Seagram’s development and promotion of blended
whiskies. As producers of mainly blended whiskies, and imported Canadians, Seagram and
Hiram Walker did not have to adhere to the Bottled-in-Bond Act established in 1897. “Bottled
in bond” laws required American distillers of straight whiskies like bourbon or rye to bottle their
whiskies at 100 proof in bonded warehouses where it remained in bond under government
supervision until the end of the stipulated aging process. Once the bonding period ended,
distillers were prohibited from adding neutral spirits to compensate for the “angel’s share” lost to
natural evaporation, whereas distillers in Canada could do so or add water.\textsuperscript{236} Bourbon distillers
often felt Canadian distillers had undue advantage, and profited because of the act. Julian Van
Winkle, maker of Old Fitzgerald Kentucky bourbon, regarded blended whiskies as compounds,
and Seagram and other distillers who sold such whiskies as “chemists”.\textsuperscript{237} With blended

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\textsuperscript{236} “Interesting Facts About Bonded Whiskey” n.d., n.p. Box 767 File-Martkeing Services: Liquor Industry
\textsuperscript{237} “Seagram in the Chips”, 99-100.
\end{flushleft}
whiskies, distillers often added substances to batches to neutralize or stabilize impurities produced during distillation, or mixed a whisky with neutral spirits to produce a consistent and standardized flavour. Bronfman professed the blending process loaned itself to a superior product, a point distillers of straight whiskies found dubious. Also, until the Forand Bill was passed in 1958, American distillers had to pay federal excise taxes of $10.50 per gallon for whisky inventories stored or aged past eight years. Conversely, distillers in Canada could store or age whisky inventories indefinitely without penalty, a fact that many American distillers felt was unfair.

Alongside the advertisements that promoted brand recognition, Seagram at times advertised Seagram’s 7 Crown as a mood and lifestyle enhancer. The colossal red sevens and bottles of whisky were a constant in these advertisements but copy indicated that drinking Seagram’s 7 Crown could help one relax, provide refreshment on a sweltering day and even improve one’s ability to make friends. In an advertisement from 1959, a giant red seven and glass full of whisky sat beside a coloured globe with the caption, “In a changing world relax…and count on the pleasure of the world’s most respected whiskey” (Figure 1.2). The advertisement promised consumers living in a fast-paced world that they could find satisfaction in a glass of 7 Crown.

**Make it a ‘7&7’: Cocktails and 7 Crown**

An advertisement from the June 1952 edition of *Ebony* assured readers that serving Seagram’s 7 Crown was guaranteed to win them friends. A chess board containing a variety of

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drinks made with 7 Crown as substitutes for the chess pieces occupied the page. Copy stated, “Object of the game is to win friends. May be played with any number of guests. ... When a guest’s eyes light up at the superb 7 Crown Manhattan for example, move it quickly towards him. You will capture his friendship immediately.” Other advertisements highlighted 7 Crown’s versatility by including an assortment of cocktails, each in a specialized glass, along with the signature red seven and bottle of 7 Crown. They reminded consumers 7 Crown was perfect for combining with mixes to produce drinks like an old-fashioned or a whisky sour, or it could be served simply “on-the-rocks”. As the country’s favourite whisky, advertising copy announced it was ideal for entertaining guests in one’s home, and emphasized hospitality and relaxation. The advertisement reassured consumers that when they purchased 7 Crown, they acquired a superior product, the ability to attract friends and opportunities for relaxation and leisure. It was one of the few examples to promote an outright cocktail culture, and was an example of Seagram’s efforts to domesticate drinking. Consumers could show off to their talents and resources to their friends by stocking their bars with a range of products, and mixing complicated cocktails to celebrate a culture of middle class heterosociability linked to leisure and hospitality.

Seagram’s endorsement of 7 Crown as the base ingredient in cocktails and mixed drinks was as much about promoting domestic drinking as it was about trying to compete with sales of white spirits like vodka, gin and white rum. In 1958 Seagram noted a “do-it-yourself craze” was sweeping across the country, and capitalized on Americans’ fascination with homemade cocktails by introducing “mix-it-yourself” martinis. Seagram partnered with hotels in Washington D.C. and Boston to offer guests a chance to mix their own martinis at their tables.

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240 “Chess & 7” Seagram advertisement, Ebony (June 1952), 117.
using a miniature bottle of Seagram’s Golden Gin, large bottle of vermouth, an atomizer and onions or olives.\(^{241}\) The approach was geared to increase sales because selling a greater volume of vermouth with a miniature bottle of gin urged customers to purchase additional bottles of gin to finish off the vermouth left over after mixing the first drink. Two years later, Seagram expanded the promotion with “Mix your own Cocktail” packages fashioned for motels and hotels without bars on site. Seagram supplied average priced and budget friendly hotels and motels with pre-packaged kits, in cities in Illinois, Missouri and Wisconsin. Guests could order kits containing either a pint or fifth-sized bottle of Seagram’s Extra-Dry Gin, V.O. or 7 Crown whiskies to mix martinis or manhattans from the establishment’s room service menu.\(^{242}\) Hospitality management set prices in cooperation with Seagram to make certain the kits were cost effective, and the distillery alleged a 35-65% price reduction to the guest versus purchasing multiple drinks at a bar or through traditional room service.\(^{243}\) The goal was for the hotel or motel to augment revenue by selling liquor to guests who otherwise might have left the premises to patronize a bar or purchase liquor at a retail store which they would then consume in their rooms. It was not evident if Seagram manufactured these kits for at-home use or if they were distributed exclusively to the hospitality industry.

By the end of the 1950s, distillers acknowledged a “feminine taste in the popularity gains of such ‘mixing’ liquors as rum and vodka, and a consumer preference for lower proof spirits”.\(^{244}\) Advertisements for Smirnoff vodka made repeated references to its versatility and clean taste. Smirnoff vodka advertisements also tended to be flippant in tone and less pretentious than most whisky advertisements. Advertisements for Puerto Rican rums contained images of

\(^{241}\) “Manger Hotels Feature the Do-It-Yourself Martini” *The Seagram Spotlight*, (September 1958), 32.
\(^{243}\) Ibid., 10.
brightly coloured drinks garnished with fruit slices, maraschino cherries and paper umbrellas. The colourful mixes, dainty decorations, the neutral taste of vodka and the sweetness of rum would have likely appealed to drinkers who did not enjoy whisky’s sharp bite. In 1962, an article from Business Week mentioned that consumers favoured rum and bottled cocktails at the cost of whisky’s domination of the distilled spirits market. It cited younger couples, who after tasting drinks like the “Rum Swizzle” while on vacation in tropical places like Puerto Rico and Bermuda, were willing to experiment with cocktail recipes for guests back home.245 Serving cocktails to friends and neighbours was a way for consumers to assert their status within a middle class culture of leisure. They could show their peers they were adept at mixing cocktails they learned how to make on an exotic and expensive vacation. With consumer’s changing tastes towards whisky, and changing attitudes about drinking, companies like Seagram had to adapt some of their advertising strategies to account for these shifts.

As sales of white spirits began to rise in the mid-1960s, Edgar Bronfman Sr. recalled that Seagram chose to position 7 Crown as the “best mixer”, and initiated a slew of advertisements and sales promotions pairing 7 Crown with 7-Up to introduce the “7&7”.246 Seagram did not invent the concoction but declared it was the “largest called-for mixer drink”, enjoyed by young adult men and women because of its “refreshing taste”.247 With the “7&7” mixture, Seagram was hoping to appeal to female consumers and those of a younger demographic. Upon approval from 7-Up, Seagram launched point-of-sale promotions with signage displaying the 7 Crown and 7-Up logos, print and outdoor advertisements nation-wide in 1964.248 Seagram’s implementation of the alliterative and repetitive “7&7” was not just a catchy phrase, but a clever marketing decision

246 Leadership, n.p.
247 (Almost) Everyone Knows its Nickname” Seagram Spotlight (June 1964), 38.
248 Ibid., 39.
as 7-Up’s advertising campaigns referenced the countercultural movement, non-conformity and
defiance in the late 1960s, and 1970s, making it the perfect mixer for younger drinkers.\footnote{249}
However, Seagram’s 7 Crown advertising from the era found in the magazine survey did not
reflect the youthful imagery or content of 7-Up’s advertising. Industry members observed
America was undergoing a “taste revolution”, as consumers showed a preference for “smoother,
mellower drinks with less alcoholic ‘kick’”.\footnote{250} Other articles characterized young consumers as a
market with “unformed tastes”, and emphasized approximately 10 million Americans would
reach the legal drinking age by 1970.\footnote{251} It stated distillers were increasingly addressing this
malleable segment. In 1972, Seagram created a “7&7” campaign geared at “under 34” drinkers,
with the hope of benefitting from several states’ attempts to reduce the drinking age to 18 on 1
January 1973. The distillery worried that it would face strong competition from the “pop wine”
and beer categories, but the new advertisements placed in specialized magazines, like
\textit{Cosmopolitan, Hot Rod, Glamour, Mademoiselle} and \textit{Playboy}, which had a younger readership,
would make Seagram a serious contender.\footnote{252} Seagram wanted to impress on consumers, 7 Crown
with its light, clean taste was an appropriate substitute for rum or vodka.

By the mid-1960s, Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements from the magazine survey
included human characters, and showed them engaging in leisure activities. One such example
appeared in \textit{Life} on 4 June 1965, and consisted of five panels. The first panel contained a man
dressed in tennis whites wielding a racquet. Another showed a couple dining with the man
dressed in a white tuxedo with a glass of whisky in his hand, and his female companion seated

\footnote{249} Frank, \textit{The Conquest of Cool}, 164-7.
\footnote{251} “Liquor men uncork a new sales mix” \textit{Business Week} (20 February 1965), 49.
\footnote{252} C.R. Coffey, “Inter-Office Correspondence” (26 December 1972) Box719 File: Marketing Services-Sales,
across from him in an evening gown with her back to the camera. The next panel featured a
couple dressed in raincoats aboard a yacht, followed by a man golfing and an angler wearing hip-
waders casting a rod. All the models were white and none of the men or women seemed to have
greying hair or visibly aged features. The photographs surrounded a bottle of Seagram’s 7
Crown, and two glasses sat in the lower left side of the advertisement. Absent from the
advertisement was the enormous red seven that had graced much of the 7 Crown advertising up
to this point. Copy stated, “Wherever summer takes you, you’ll find The Sure One Seagram’s 7
Crown is far and away America’s first choice because it has better taste that makes good drinks
great” (Figure 1.3).\footnote{\textit{“Sports and 7”} Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement \textit{Life} (4 June 1965), 53.} As in the case of the previous advertisements, the copy stressed the quality
of the whisky, but imagery affiliated 7 Crown with people who imitated a specific lifestyle. The
models participated in upper class leisure activities like golf and sailing, whereas the couple who
was dining was dressed in formal eveningwear, which suggested elegance and sophistication.
The advertisement implied affluent, refined consumers drank 7 Crown. By drinking the whisky,
one could appropriate a similar lifestyle. Considering 7 Crown’s average price point, and that it
was intended to appeal to a wide demographic, advertisements alluded to, rather than reflected a
life of luxury and exclusivity. Wealthy consumers may have purchased this product, but
Seagram aimed its advertising at the average American for whom the lifestyle was likely
aspirational. Middle class Americans participated in a culture of gracious living to achieve
credibility among their peers, aspire to loftier standards, as a source of enjoyment, and a way to
live out their personal fantasies and desires.
Beyond Advertising: Promotional Material and Merchandising

The distillery used the 7 Crown insignia to develop brand recognition and corporate image not just in advertisements, but also in the merchandising material supplied to retailers and the hospitality industry. Seagram distributed its signature red foam sevens to retailers for display in their windows and on shop floors. Known as point-of-purchase sales aids, Seagram’s promotional division spent millions on an annual basis, to splay its name on window and merchandiser signage with the belief that it yielded profits for the Seagram’s sales force and retailers alike. To level the competition, and prevent distillers from bribing retailers, laws limited distillers from investing excessively at individual establishments. For example, the total cost of a window display could not exceed fifteen dollars, and interior display units could not cost in excess of thirty. Displays had to be cost effective and in 1955, Seagram tested a “do-it-yourself” merchandising display unit with its California sales team. Seagram trained its salesmen to deliver, assemble and install interior units in an effort to improve efficiency. Salesmen could install merchandisers whenever they called on retailers, instead of having to arrange for installation by a third party, saving both time and money. Per unit, merchandisers had to be attractive but inexpensive and pliable so salesmen could transport them with ease, and replace parts that got damaged. Marketers and advertisers designed point-of-purchase or point-of-sale advertising to promote or increase impulse purchases. In an article in The Seagram Spotlight, William Mee, Director of the Point of Purchase Advertising Institute, pressed sales staff to “vigorously merchandise to [their] retailers the excellent point-of-purchase material” because it could yield greater profits for the retailer, and Seagram. In 1958, Seagram

255 Bretzfield, Liquor Marketing, 171.
256 “The Point of Purchase Partnership” The Seagram Spotlight (March 1959), 20.
introduced half-pint and pint sized, flask shaped bottles for Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin and V.O. Whisky with special, compact, self-display shipping cartons, to increase sales in the “small-size business”. “Designed For Your Convenience” ran along the bottom of the display, and placement near a sales register, flat shape and small size meant they were perfect for prompting impulse purchases.  

In addition to signage, distillers were allowed to supply retailers with “consumer advertising specialities” such as ashtrays, key chains and recipe booklets, as long they did not compensate retailers for dispensing the objects to patrons. Seagram distributed token items like key chains, pencil holders, swizzle sticks, pourers and the “Seagram’s Sports Almanac” to on-premise vendors, like bars and restaurants, and off-premise establishments like retail stores. Released in 1955, the pocket-sized reference book was crammed with sports trivia to be utilized by bartenders to resolve any sports related disputes between patrons. Seagram’s salesmen distributed the guides to their accounts as a tool for bartenders to build rapport with customers. Promotional items aided salesmen to nurture relationships with bartenders and retailers who they relied on to sell Seagram’s products. Window and interior displays, and kitsch replete with the Seagram brand were additional tools to ensure consumers recognized and remembered the Seagram name.

The “Smooth Canadian”: Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky

In 1914, Seagram launched V.O. Canadian Whisky in Canada and in 1934 in the United States. In the 1950s and 1960s, V.O. was Seagram’s second best-selling distilled spirit.

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258 Bretzfield, Liquor Marketing, 171.
259 “Recognize this Situation” The Seagram Spotlight 1956, 40-41.
260 Ibid.
Whereas American whiskies were often made from corn or rye, wheat was the main grain used in the distillation of Canadian whiskies although they were often characterized as “rye” whiskies. Like Seagram’s 7 Crown, V.O. was made from a blend of whiskies, each aged for a minimum of six years. In 1952 Seagram sold 1.2 million cases of Seagram’s V.O., 2.3 million cases in 1960 and approximately 4.1 million in 1969. Around the mid-point of this study in 1959, Seagram’s V.O. was the best-selling Canadian whisky in the American and Canadian markets. V.O. generally maintained its status as the best-selling Canadian whisky throughout the 1950s and 1960s, annually outselling its closest competitor, Canadian Club by about 250,000 cases. Seagram executive Walter Haimann commented that Canadian whiskies had an awkward position in the American market in the 1960s. American consumers were of the impression that Canadian whiskies were superior in quality to American blends because they were imported, yet they were not completely convinced of their “imported” status since they came across the border.

At the start of the 1950s, Seagram celebrated V.O.’s Canadian heritage in its Canadian and international print advertisements. The advertisements captured slices of Canada’s abundant landscape, traditions and customs, and informed readers about the country’s natural resources such as raw minerals, precious metals, agricultural products, and events like the Calgary Stampede and the International Tuna Fishing Tournament held in Nova Scotia. Seagram ran the advertisements in Canada, South America, Asia, Europe and Africa. Sam Bronfman

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264 Distillations (Seagram, Winter 1985), 11.
envisioned Canada as a nation bounteous in resources, and felt Canadians needed to share this information with the world.\textsuperscript{266} These advertisements mirrored Bronfman’s patriotism, and his desire to educate others about Canada’s attributes. One campaign highlighted Canadian foods like Habitant pea soup, maple syrup, Oka cheese from Quebec and Atlantic salmon. The advertisements spoke of the products’ freshness, age, taste or fragrance, much like the characteristics of a good quality whisky. Bronfman may have also issued the campaigns as a means to ingratiate himself with Canada’s business and political leaders in order to prove his dedication to the country, and his status as an upstanding citizen. However, the Canadian themes were not part of Seagram’s advertising strategy in the United States.

Seagram’s American print advertising for V.O. Canadian whisky differed considerably from its Canadian and international campaigns. In addition to the magazines surveyed in this study, Seagram advertised the product in an extensive number of publications including \textit{Time}, \textit{Collier’s}, \textit{Esquire} and \textit{Fortune} along with regional newspapers. There were a total of 104 V.O. advertisements found in the magazine survey, of which 77 were unique, and 59\% percent contained human figures or models. Looking at both Seagram brands, and all the magazines surveyed, the advertisements contained a higher percentage of men than women.\textsuperscript{267} In terms of themes, quality and leisure had the highest values across all the publications.\textsuperscript{268} There were between eight to ten distinct campaigns found within the four publications for Seagram’s V.O. during the twenty year period in question. However, Seagram’s archives did not contain extensive information about the individual campaigns. Unlike Seagram’s 7 Crown which the distillery advertised predominantly as a brand identifier, advertisements for Seagram’s V.O.

\textsuperscript{266} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{267} See Appendix B-Tables 1.1-1.4.
\textsuperscript{268} See Appendix B-Tables 1.5-1.8.
tended to be “lifestyle” oriented as advertisements associated the brand with specific leisure activities and social status. An article from *The Seagram Spotlight* in 1954 stated all V.O. promotional material should be “in keeping with the Tiffany-like dignity that has been so carefully created through the years.”

Presumably, “Tiffany” referred to the luxury-brand jeweller renowned for its prestigious silverware and jewellery. Seagram’s V.O. window displays were often superior in quality than those for 7 Crown, and included miniature collectibles like vintage model cars, ships and pistols. Seagram regarded V.O. as a “quality drink—a drink for those with discriminating tastes.”

In the late 1950s, the distillery felt luxury items like V.O., which a decade ago were accessible to a small elite market, were now available to the top strata of American society which had expanded after the war. According to Seagram, the fact that V.O. was “imported” automatically enhanced the product’s prestige. Seagram’s use of V.O. resembled the initials found on French cognac bottles where abbreviations like “v.s.o.p.” and “x.o.” have been used for centuries to communicate information like the origin, age and quality of a product. With the exception of the holiday advertisements which emphasized the product’s quality and gift-giving suitability, and a couple of advertisements that ran in *Ebony* which focused solely on taste and quality, most of the Seagram’s V.O. advertisements made a direct link between the brand and lifestyle. At around $6.00 for a fifth of a gallon, V.O. was in a higher price bracket than 7 Crown, but four to five dollars cheaper than French cognacs and liqueurs, champagne and premium Scotch whiskies.

The brand’s primary slogan was, “Known by the Company it Keeps” and appeared at the bottom of every advertisement. It was likely both a nod and appeal to Americans’ desire for

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270 “V.O. and the Class” *The Seagram Spotlight* (March 1959), 29.
271 Ibid.
social mobility through gracious living and competition with one’s neighbours. In the early 1950s, Seagram’s V.O. advertisements were characterised by bright, colourful, expansive illustrations with limited copy. Bernard Fuchs, an artist from Detroit, captured “classic events of the American scene” like the Masters Golf Tournament, the Kentucky Derby, Mardi Gras in New Orleans and the North American Ski Championships. Fuchs was an accomplished artist, and illustrated for numerous publications like *Cosmopolitan, Sports Illustrated* and *The New Yorker*. He was known for his scenes of athletes and sporting events, as well as portraits of American celebrities and politicians. As part of its public relations efforts, Seagram executives often presented Fuchs’ original oil paintings, like the Mardi Gras scene examined later in the chapter, to organizing committees or hosts of the various events. In 1956, V.O.’s advertising agency, Roy S. Durstine, conducted a series of tests that showed photographs in newspaper advertisements gained greater readership than artwork. By the early 1960s, Seagram switched from using illustrations to photographs in its V.O. magazine advertising, but maintained the format of limited copy and page-length imagery.

V.O. advertisements from the early 1950s, recorded in the survey, did not contain human characters or models. Instead, a standard advertisement included an immense bottle of Seagram’s V.O. accompanied by two glasses of whisky with ice. Bottle and glass shots were staged in a range of settings like on top of a table inside a cruise ship’s cabin, an actor’s dressing room or on a silver tray beside sheet music and a violin. The advertisements implied V.O belonged in graceful and luxurious surroundings. Advertising tableaux equated V.O. with exclusivity and class as cruise travel, backstage access and classical music were the privilege of a

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273 “V.O. and the Class” *The Seagram Spotlight* (March 1959), 33.
275 “Illustrations for V.O. newspaper advertising” *The Seagram Spotlight* (December 1956), 38.
select few. Even the slogan, “Known by the Company it Keeps” hinted that an exclusive set of consumers drank V.O. Seagram’s red and gold crest, and “Seagram’s” in “Old English Text” font, as presented on the V.O. labels, accompanied the slogan in these advertisements representative of Sam Bronfman’s penchant for royal motifs.

Towards the late 1950s, Seagram used human characters, along with themes of leisure and gracious living to advertise V.O. Canadian Whisky. Lori Rotskoff suggests that through its advertising practices, members of the alcoholic beverage industry set out to normalize and domesticate alcohol consumption within American society with the hope that it would improve the reputation of their products and trade. Undoubtedly, this was the case when examining Seagram’s wider strategies but advertisements for Seagram’s V.O. aligned drinking with a luxurious and glamorous definition of leisure instead of one marked by middle class domesticity. The advertisements portrayed men, not women drinking, and may have been aspirational to middle class, male drinkers. White, middle class men may have drank as a symbol of conformity, and the advertisements showed this segment of consumers how to behave, dress and socialize in affluent surroundings. Seagram’s V.O. advertisements associated the whisky with lavish environments like ballrooms, riding parties, and palatial mansions. The version of masculinity put forth by Seagram in the Moderation advertisements clashed with the images of manhood in the V.O. advertisements as drinking represented sophistication, material success, and possibly a way to compete and fit in with one’s peers. However, moderation remained an implicit message as the men in the advertisements embodied a sophisticated masculinity centred on respectability and not hedonistic consumerism or uncontrolled drinking. The advertisements

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were representative of Seagram’s desire to convey that drinking was a respectable act, and the changing meanings of appropriate drinking behaviour in the 1950s and 1960s.

An advertisement from February 1959 which ran in *Life* and *Sports Illustrated* featured four grey-haired men dressed in black tuxedos standing on a balcony, overlooking a Mardi Gras float in New Orleans. The illustration offered a side profile of the men’s faces, and they held glasses of whisky and cigarettes in their hands. Though dressed in formal attire, the men were relaxed and casually lounged along the balcony with smiles on their faces, as they took in the scene of celebrators below. One man leaned forward as his gleaming shoe and hand rested on the balcony railing, trying to catch a closer glimpse of the festivities. The caption at the top read, “The Festive Spirit of Mardi Gras” followed by copy at the bottom that said, “A gala occasion calls for a festive spirit, and amid the gaiety and glitter of Mardi Gras, V.O. joins the celebration. In New Orleans, as throughout the world, this classic whisky proves once again to be the undisputed international favorite” (Figure 1.4).²⁷⁷ “Known by the company it keeps” appeared below the imagery in bold blue letters. Neither the copy nor the imagery hinted at responsibility, moderation or fatherhood. Instead, the phrase “festive spirits” was a pun which referred to the whisky itself, and the aftereffects of the alcohol on the revellers’ moods. These men seemed to be sophisticated, cosmopolitan and carefree, in possession of the time and funds to enjoy the parade from a coveted spot separated from the crowds on the street. The advertisement defined leisure through upper class luxury that enabled the men in the advertisement to celebrate in an enviable fashion. They were physically and metaphorically elevated from the average Mardi Gras participant, exemplified by their fine clothing, enviable accommodations and choice of

²⁷⁷ “Mardi Gras in New Orleans VO” Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky Advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (2 February 1959), 75.
alcoholic beverage. The advertisement promoted an urbane form of leisure centred on one’s ability to consume beverage alcohol in a homosocial environment, temporarily free from the burdens of familial responsibility. It reinforced the notion that alcohol consumption was central to male homosocial leisure activity but it did not give the men permission to indulge irresponsibly. Middle class readers could emulate these men and their drinking behaviour because they were respectable, cultured and in control of their behaviour.

Generally, advertisements for Seagram’s V.O. depicted scenes of heterosocial not homosocial leisure and alcohol consumption. Men were usually portrayed in the company of women in rich and opulent surroundings. Taken from the July 1960 issue of *Ebony*, a Seagram’s V.O. advertisement featured two men and two women occupying a terrace or deck that overlooked the sea. A yacht and small boat were visible in the near distance with small hills set in the background. One of the men stood with his leg bent at the knee as his foot rested on top of an unoccupied seat, turned towards the seated man and women. He wore a black jacket with a white floral pattern, white piping and light coloured pants, and held a glass of whisky in his hand. Leaning over the seated party, his pose was confident yet relaxed and his clothing had a nautical flair. The two women wore summer dresses, one an orange halter-style and the other in a strapless floral pink, that fell to their calves. Both of the women placed their left arms on the banister and right arms in their laps, as they smiled brightly at the man on their right. The woman in pink leaned slightly forward towards the man seated on their right. With his face turned away from the camera but facing the group, the seated man held a glass of whisky in his left hand. He wore a light blue shirt and white pants, and a gold coloured watch on his wrist. The bright colours, light fabrics and stylish yet casual cut of the characters’ clothing implied they were on vacation in a warm climate. In front of the group sat a small round table with a bottle of
V.O. and two highball glasses that presumably belonged to the women. Imagery occupied about three-quarters of the page with about a quarter of white space at the bottom which held sparse copy, “Throughout the World Known By The Company It Keeps, Seagram’s VO Imported Canadian Whisky” and a bottle of whisky in the right hand corner. The characters’ relaxed body language and smiling faces implied they were enjoying themselves. Overlooking an expanse of blue ocean with palm fronds below the deck, the group could have been on vacation in a warm, sunny location. The phrase “Throughout the World” implied that the characters were overseas, possibly somewhere along the Mediterranean or at a Caribbean resort. They were physically and ideologically distanced from a domestic environment. The characters were able to afford a luxurious holiday, and the men possessed sufficient youth, charm and appeal to attract the attention of women. This setting was far removed from the cozy middle class suburban neighbourhoods where Americans socialized in their homes. The individuals in the scene were all white, even though the advertisement ran in *Ebony*, a periodical dedicated to African American popular culture. The scene was distinct from beer advertisements in which women frequently served men glasses of the frothy beverage which they sipped in the comfort of their living rooms, while barbequing in their backyards or relaxing with family members.

An advertisement from the 3 March 1961 issue of *Life*, was bisected to show two separate rooms of an art gallery. Attendees socialized in both rooms, and there was bright artwork on the walls, and sculptures along the periphery. The imagery dominated the advertisement, with a single line of copy at the bottom that read, “Private showing-and V.O. enhances the occasion with its flawless flavor and genuine talent for pleasing particular people”, followed by the Seagram’s V.O. slogan (Figure 1.5).278 The scene consisted of six men and four women, and

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with the exception of one woman and the waiter who had white or grey hair, the patrons were young but mature. All the men in the scene held drinks in their hands, and wore black tuxedos with the exception of the waiter who was dressed in a white suit. The women wore knee-length dresses in a range of colours and had pairs of white gloves in their possession or on their hands. The attendees’ clothing signified they were at a formal, elegant event where even the service staff was dressed in formal uniform. “Private showing” indicated the guests were at a special event, accessible to an elite group, likely only by invitation. Guests were free to roam the gallery and appreciate the artwork up close without the confines of roped barriers or scrutiny of security guards. The women’s white gloves denoted that the attendees were at a “white glove tour” where they were permitted to handle the paintings, all acts forbidden to the average individual visiting an art gallery on a regular day. “Particular people” implied an exclusive class of people, or people with cultured tastes drank V.O. Released in 1961, the women were bystanders, while the men held drinks in their hands. It was rare to find a grey-haired woman in a whisky advertisement, and the woman in the second panel may have represented the stereotypical older art patron and philanthropist, or philanthropist’s wife. Set in an art gallery, with stylish guests, and a grey-haired, female patron, the advertisement situated whisky consumption as the epitome of respectability and gracious living.

By the mid-1960s, Seagram introduced a new V.O. campaign and with an altered format and the added phrase, “Smooth Canadian”. The advertisements featured many familiar themes or events, but with the whisky in the middle of the page, surrounded by glasses set against white space. Previously, large images of social scenes occupied the majority of the advertisement but in the current version, they were placed in the upper right or left corner of the page. By positioning bottles of V.O. at the centre of each advertisement, Seagram was trying to lionize the
brand. A photograph of six diners filled the small inset of a V.O. advertisement which appeared in the 4 November 1966 issue of *Life*. The table was set with an abundance of gold rimmed china, crystal water goblets, a floral centre piece and silver toned candlesticks with white tapers, all indicators of gracious living, wealth and fine taste. Two of the men wore black tuxedos while one man and most of the women’s attire were obscured from view. A couple of the women seem to have been wearing pearl jewellery. The characters’ attire indicated they were attending a formal dinner, possibly guests of an affluent host, or a middle class one who aspired to loftier standards. There were also a couple of highballs filled with whisky on the table. Below the inset were the words, “You’re a little bit richer when you switch to the Smooth Canadian.” Outside the inset, set against white space, a man’s manicured hands tilted a bottle of V.O., on the brink of being poured. A tumbler and two highballs filled with whisky and ice, and one shot glass containing only whisky surrounded the bottle. To the left of this image were the words in small print, “Now that you can afford to think of great whisky first, price later, drink this in: Seagram’s V.O. does what no other whisky can. It defines smooth once and for all. Light? Of course. Lucky you” (Figure 1.6).²⁷⁹ These words were a direct appeal to consumers’ real and imagined social status. The copy suggested that one had “arrived” because it was possible to prioritize quality ahead of price. A middle class American could purchase this premium product to impress his or her guests. Pairing whisky with dining, Seagram presented male and female consumers with an example of appropriate heterosocial drinking behaviour. The scene substituted wine with whisky and promoted respectable, moderate heterosocial drinking. “Smooth” no doubt described the whisky’s quality but could have also applied to one’s physical transformation after sipping the whisky. The whisky was a social lubricant intended to relax the

drinker and facilitate enjoyment, in what might have been a formal situation. One was not just “richer” for switching to Seagram’s V.O., but the whisky also enriched one’s ability to socialize and have a good time. It made the host and drinker, socially desirable. Seagram’s V.O. in this case, and in other similar advertisements from this campaign, was a mood and status enhancer.

There were just two V.O. advertisements counted in the survey that veered in theme and content from the advertisements discussed above. The advertisements ran in spring issues of *Life* from 1957. One pictured two men on horseback, dressed like cowboys, riding through a shallow stream with a vast mountainous landscape and trees in the background (Figure 1.7). A big bottle of Seagram’s V.O. with two glasses of whisky sat on a silver coloured tray in the foreground. The men’s hats cast a shadow over their faces, and were not visible to the reader. The slogan at the bottom read, “Known by the Company it Keeps”. In a similar advertisement, a man dressed in a red jacket and matching cap stood in front of small waterfall, his feet immersed in shallow waters, surrounded by dense trees. He wore a wicker basket over his left shoulder and held a fishing rod in his right hand. He held a stick in his left hand which may have been the handle of a net but it was hidden from view by a wooden log with a large bottle of V.O. and two glasses of whisky and ice. The bottle and glasses were disproportionately bigger than the man and sat in the foreground implying they were separate yet a component of the natural setting. What distinguished these advertisements from previous ones were the themes, environments and the representations of the male characters.

Absent from these two advertisements were themes of gracious living, luxury or affluence, rather they validated an informal, relaxed version of leisure. At odds with the other

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281 “Angler V.O.” Seagram’s V.O. advertisement *Life* (6 May 1957), 16.
advertisements were their portrayals of masculinity. The men in these advertisements embodied a casual, rugged masculinity, attuned with nature rather than yachting, art galleries and black-tie events. This was a clear contrast to the form of masculinity male characters personified in the other V.O. campaigns in which men were sophisticated, cultured and stylish. As well, the advertisements did not invoke the aura of prestige Seagram had created for V.O.’s product image. Not apparent in Seagram’s mainstream advertising, the distillery had set its sights on sportsmen, mainly anglers and hunters, since the late 1930s. These advertisements may have been a cross over from other publications. Seagram advertised in specialized publications like Field and Stream, Sports Afield and Outdoor Field, and valued this market segment because of its increasing size, affluence and receptivity.\textsuperscript{282} Sportsmen were lucrative consumers who spent $4 billion annually on equipment, food and lodging, earned substantial salaries, and were of a median age of thirty six.\textsuperscript{283} Seagram envisioned outdoorsmen relaxing with a glass of whisky after a day spent chasing game or fishing. In addition to brand advertising, Seagram created wild-life themed window and merchandising displays, calendars, and moderation advertisements warning sportsmen against the use of liquor when in the field. The distillery’s salesmen also showed sports’ club members fishing and hunting films, interspersed with commercials for Seagram’s products. The advertisement was also a reflection of the confused nature of masculinity in this era, and the shifting attitudes about drinking and respectability. Heterosexual men in the 1950s and 1960s were asserting their masculinity in a variety of ways, and some representations were more acceptable than others. Seagram suggested that drinking fit naturally

\textsuperscript{282} “The Responsive Sportsman” Seagram Spotlight (June 1963), 28.
\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 29.
with all forms of leisure, from elegant settings to rugged ones, as long as men drank knowing they were responsible for their actions.

Advertisements for V.O. overwhelmingly appeared in publications created for the middle classes, and in some specialized magazines so that they targeted both middle and upper class readers. As such, the advertisements were likely both aspirational and reflective of readers’ desires and actual lifestyles. In the 1950s and 1960s, Seagram separated its Moderation campaigns from its brand advertising but implied that respectability and moderate drinking were compatible. By advertising in middle and upper class publications, Seagram’s V.O. advertisements conferred that drinking was the privilege of a certain class of people. The advertisements portrayed drinking as a leisure activity befitting those who were wealthy, sophisticated and poised, or aspired to those qualities. Intemperate alcohol consumption was long presumed to be an affliction of immigrants, the working classes and poor.284 Therefore Seagram was indirectly encouraging drinkers to imitate the composed, debonair men in its V.O. advertisements by promoting whisky drinking as a middle or upper class pleasure. In doing so, Seagram also helped to dispel the negative connotations surrounding distilled spirits consumption. The V.O. advertisements appealed either to consumers who were upper-class and sophisticated or those who tried to assume such pretenses. They alluded to the idea that anyone who purchased this whisky also purchased the “good life” associated with the product. A segment of consumers may have been able to achieve the lifestyle portrayed in V.O. advertisements. However, it was plausible that for middle class consumers, these advertisements were mere fantasies. Thoroughbred horses, yachts and parties held on expansive lawns teeming with waiters and glamorous guests were likely out of reach for the average middle class

284 Tracy, Alcoholism, 68-9. Heron, Booze, 121-123.
consumer. In such situations, consumers could still experience a sliver of this lifestyle, and share it with his guests, by purchasing and serving Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky. Seagram’s V.O. advertisements promoted a culture of “pleasurable consumption”, very much in keeping with advertisements for other consumer goods in this period. In 1959, Seagram officials suggested that V.O. advertisements rated among the highest in retention value based on surveys conducted on magazine readers but did not define any of the values. The distillery may have attempted to improve the status and consumption of whisky by promoting Seagram’s V.O. as a beverage suited for the upper classes but it is not possible to measure public reception of the advertisements. Sales figures suggest that this was Seagram’s second best-selling whisky at the time and the distillery devoted considerable resources towards its advertising and marketing campaigns.

Seagram’s V.O. advertisements portrayed male drinkers as sophisticated, upper class and stylish, who straddled boundaries between the private and public. The advertisements rarely showed them drinking in their own homes, and they were neither the embodiment of Hugh Hefner’s playboy or the suburbanite father. Masculinity was in a state of flux in the 1950s and 1960s, and Seagram suggested that men could drink and have a good time, but had to maintain respectable and responsible demeanours. Seagram’s male characters were in part a reflection of the complex male identities of the era. They showed middle class American men how to negotiate changing social attitudes to make drinking an essential aspect of their sociability. In advertisements for the entire twenty year period, male characters were repeatedly clad in formal, dark coloured tuxedos, a notable contrast to the business suits, and casual Madras plaids and

285 Ehrenreich, The Hearts of Men, 44.
286 “V.O. The product image” The Seagram Spotlight (March 1959), 33.
Bermuda shorts middle class men wore to work or on weekends. Their clothing was also unlike the peacock fashion of the mid to late 1960s which popularized turtlenecks, printed fabrics in flamboyant prints, Nehru jackets and longer hairstyles. An element of the counterculture movement, and first adopted by American youth, mainstream retailers began selling subdued variations of peacock fashion to white and black middle class men by the end of the decade. Men and women in the advertisements attended elegant occasions, and even when they participated in sports or activities that were casual, they were always upper-class activities equated with exclusivity and affluence. Advertisements showed men attending the Winter Olympics, playing golf, yachting, horse riding or dining at a fine restaurant, distinct from the bread winning, responsible fathers contained in the Moderation campaigns. Heterosexual interaction defined alcohol consumption in these advertisements where men and women attended upscale functions or participated in upper-class events. Seagram’s V.O. advertisements perpetuated drinking behaviour that included women, but away from the home and distinct from the form of domesticity found in beer, or even Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements. Glamour, luxury and prestige characterized drinking in these advertisements as the men and women engaged in lifestyles that epitomized sophistication, refinement and style.

Clearly, Samuel Bronfman attempted to improve the reputation of the distilled spirits industry but more significantly, the Seagram brand and products. Early Moderation campaigns of the 1930s encouraged consumers to drink in a cautious, responsible and respectable manner so that their sons would emulate their behaviour. Bronfman dedicated his career to portraying whisky drinking as a dignified activity, and his advertisements conveyed that integrity,

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respectability and moderation were the qualities of a responsible male drinker. As the years progressed, the distillery chose varied strategies to advertise its whiskies. With 7 Crown, Seagram focused on brand advertising, but promoting the “good life” was essential to the value of the V.O. brand. 7 Crown advertisements were placid and serene, and presented whisky as a mild, refreshing beverage, one that could be mixed with other beverages just like vodka or rum. Seagram’s representations of masculinity also changed in the 1950s and 1960s as it supplanted the righteous breadwinner with the suave, refined male drinker. Rather than espousing frugality, the V.O. advertisements celebrated ostentation, affluence and glamour. Seagram may have indirectly been trying to promote moderation by advertising to middle and upper class Americans versus poorer consumers, but it no longer instructed them to spend with caution. These advertisements were designed to appeal to men who desired an elegant lifestyle, and who wanted to display their success to their social peers. The accumulation, display and use of consumer goods in this period was an indication of a man’s success. By communicating his attitudes about drinking, Bronfman left his mark on the Seagram distillery and the distilled spirits industry. Seagram’s advertisements celebrated its whiskies as superior products, mild in taste, dignified in character and refined in quality. They were also attributes transferred to the consumer who chose to purchase and serve Seagram’s 7 Crown and V.O. whiskies. The distillery showed American consumers that drinking whisky could be a sophisticated, elegant affair, and that men who chose the drink were composed, suave individuals who appreciated the finer things in life.
Chapter 2 Shark Riding and Osso Bucco: Adventure, Travel and Masculinity in Hiram Walker’s Whisky Advertisements

The post-World War II era brought about significant changes for Canadian and American distillers alike. As family incomes surged, the nation’s manufacturers and advertisers targeted middle class consumers. The Hiram Walker distillery, head-quartered in Windsor, Ontario, was ready to capitalize on the decades’ prosperous economic conditions by aiming its advertising at American consumers. The distillery marketed and sold three principal products under the Hiram Walker brand: Canadian Club Whisky, Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon Whiskey and Imperial Whiskey. Hiram Walker’s advertisements delineated whisky drinking as a masculine activity although representations of masculinity vacillated between the rugged yet bumbling, macho adventurer and the sophisticated, suave gentleman. In some campaigns, the distillery linked its whiskies with gracious living and luxury, while in others travel and adventure were prominent themes. This chapter will explore Hiram Walker’s marketing and advertising strategies which aligned masculinity with themes like hospitality, sophistication and adventure to appeal to consumers and normalize alcohol consumption. First, it will explore the competing constructs of masculinity in the 1950s, as it pertains to this chapter. Second it will document Hiram Walker’s corporate history. Third, it will offer an analysis of the distillery’s Canadian Club Whisky advertising, followed by an examination of its brand advertising for Imperial Blended Whiskey. Hiram Walker’s officials felt it was important to appease critics, and promoted whisky consumption as a sophisticated and respectable act. However, unlike Seagram’s Samuel Bronfman, they were equally comfortable with advertising whisky drinking as light-hearted and fun. This chapter argues that travel and adventure were at the centre of Hiram Walker’s whisky
advertising, and scenes of enjoyment, excitement and gastronomical pleasure were as important to brand identity as respectability and prestige.

A Challenge to Conformity: Primitive Masculinity versus Bumbling Fatherhood

As was discussed in chapter one, not all men desired or could adhere to the breadwinner ideal that prevailed in the 1950s. In addition, articles in popular magazines like *Look* and *Cosmopolitan*, and a range of authors and social commentators like Vance Packard, Sloan Wilson, Daniel Bell and Philip Wylie began to criticize the breadwinner ideal, and its complementary culture of conformity.289 The 1950s and 1960s were paradoxical decades characterized by a strong drive for conformity as gender and racial tensions simmered beneath the surface. Some men sought alternative forms of masculinity, choosing to live vicariously through the versions of manhood circulated by popular culture including the debonair sophisticate described in chapter one, the bumbling father and the rugged, macho hero. Hiram Walker’s advertisements showcased these three competing forms of masculinity to sell its products, and educate white, upper and middle class men about whisky drinking.

In the 1950s, the “existential hero”, a standard character in Western films, cigarette advertisements, novels and ‘true-adventure’ pulp magazines, was a solitary figure, suspicious of women, disillusioned with corrupt civilization, and believed true masculinity was incompatible with modern society.290 Celebrities like John Wayne, Humphrey Bogart, Ernest Hemingway and the Marlboro man personified the existential hero. American men appreciated the macho cowboy’s independence and simplistic existence where he battled “Indians” and vindicated evil.

290 Osgerby, *Playboys*, 76.
Although the characters were fictitious, heroic masculinity with its promise of excitement, adventure and rebellion, offered middle class men the chance to escape from their daily, mundane lives.\textsuperscript{291} Movies of the period also popularized car racing culture and delinquency. Hobbies like car building or racing offered men a temporary chance to immerse themselves in a form of childhood rebellion against the expectations of parenthood, maturity and responsibility.\textsuperscript{292}

Undoubtedly, middle class suburban men would have been hard pressed to imitate über-masculine heroes in their daily lives but television sitcoms offered men another brand of masculinity that was more accessible and realistic. James Gilbert analyzes the lead male character, Ozzie Nelson who was the father in the popular television sitcom, “The Adventures of Ozzie & Harriet”. As the family patriarch, Ozzie’s repeated foibles and incompetence provided male viewers with another form of contested masculinity. Ozzie’s comedic capers were funny, but they were also self-deprecatory tools to help men cope with the evolving gender ideals that threatened their masculine identity.\textsuperscript{293} Men who watched the show could take comfort in Ozzie’s bumbling and awkward version of companionate fatherhood as he confronted the changing gender roles of the 1950s and the 1960s. Ozzie Nelson showed white, middle class men that it was alright for them to laugh at their failures as they tried to juggle domestic chores, provide for their families and fulfill roles of gentle and loving fathers and husbands. Nelson was a source of comfort and humour to middle class male audiences who could likely recognize themselves in him. Hiram Walker used this incompetent interpretation of masculinity in its Canadian Club.

\textsuperscript{291} Cross, \textit{Men to Boys}, 25-33.
\textsuperscript{292} Cross, \textit{Men to Boys}, 77-92.
Adventure Series campaign to appeal to male consumers’ sense of humour, and the stress of having to negotiate new gender roles.

**Canadian Club: A Brand is Born**

Troubled by murmurings in the Michigan legislature about prohibition, Detroit merchant Hiram Walker built a distillery and flour mill across the river in Walkerville, Ontario in 1857. Walker began distilling whisky in 1858 and competed against distilleries in Toronto like Gooderham & Worts and Corby. In these early years, Walker sold his products, known for their light-bodied taste, in Canada and the United States. By the 1880s, Hiram Walker registered “Club” as a trademark brand, and around 1889 added “Canadian” to the whisky’s name to comply with American federal regulations that stipulated distillers had to identify the origins of imported whiskies. In 1890, the distillery changed the whisky’s name to “Canada Club”, and modified it to “Canadian Club” in 1893, the brand name currently used. Members of the Walker family oversaw the company until Harry C. Hatch purchased the Hiram Walker Distillery in 1926.

Harry C. Hatch held various positions in the distilled spirits industry, first as owner of a liquor store in Whitby, Ontario in the 1910s, then as operator of a mail order liquor business in Montreal until 1921. Hatch became president of the Gooderham & Worts Distillery in Toronto after he purchased it for $1.5 million in 1923. In 1926, Hatch acquired the Hiram Walker Distillery for $14 million, and a year later merged it with the Gooderham & Worts distillery to form Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts. Shortly after the repeal of Prohibition in the United States, Harry C. Hatch expanded the business with the purchase of the Corby distillery in

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Toronto, and the construction of a distillery in Peoria, Illinois. The Canadian parent company was known as Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts while the American subsidiary was called Hiram Walker Incorporated. Hatch’s reach extended beyond the boundaries of North America as he bought distilleries in Scotland in 1937 and in Argentina in 1943. He headed the company until his death in 1946, when Sidney J. Hamilton became president of the Hiram Walker distillery in the United States. Hamilton had worked at the advertising firm LaRoche and Ellis where he was in charge of Hiram Walker advertising from 1934 to 1939 before joining the distillery. Harry Hatch’s son H. Clifford Hatch, who had been working in the distillery’s merchandising department since 1937, took over as CEO and chairman of the Canadian parent company in 1964, while Roy W. Stevens concurrently served as president of the American subsidiary. Industry commentators credited H. Clifford Hatch for guiding both branches of the company in its sales, marketing and production endeavours in the 1960s.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Hiram Walker distillery had the fourth highest sales per volume after Seagram, Schenley and National Distillers but often had the highest profit margin. The Peoria distillery had a production capacity of 122 000 gallons of spirits, and bottling capacity of 25 000 cases per day. In the late 1930s, the distillery sold over seventy products but in 1948 reduced its line to four spirits: Canadian Club Whisky, Imperial Whiskey, Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon and Hiram Walker’s Gin. The purpose was to concentrate on developing and nurturing brand identity for a select line of products. The distillery produced and sold a complete line of cordials throughout this time, and began producing vodka in the mid-1950s. Hiram Walker implemented this strategy to sell a few brands at higher prices rather than sell a

295 I will refer to the American subsidiary as the Hiram Walker distillery for the sake of brevity, and to distinguish it from the Canadian company, Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts.
296 “The Hiram Walker Story” Beverage Media (September 1975), 96.
larger volume of lower priced products to increase profit. H. Clifford Hatch commented that higher prices raised the profile of Hiram Walker’s products out of the “cheap” category of whiskies. Clifford Hatch viewed marketing success and brand building as a continuous process, one that relied on a combination of stability, consistency and quality, and not solely on large expenditures of money.

Canadian Club whisky was Hiram Walker’s signature product, and from the early 1950s until the mid-1960s was the fifth best-selling whisky by volume, and the second best-selling Canadian whisky after Seagram’s V.O. In the late 1950s, Hiram Walker added three bourbon whiskies to its product line-up named Ten High, Private Cellar and Little Brown Jug to compete in the straight category. Hiram Walker also sold products under the Corby and Ballantine’s brands, and through its affiliate W.A. Taylor and Co., imported foreign liqueurs and spirits. The distillery distributed some well-known and top-tier imports like Drambuie, a Scotch based liqueur, Tia Maria a coffee flavoured liqueur and Courvoisier Cognac but marketed and advertised them independent of the Hiram Walker brand. Competitors in the industry branded Hiram Walker as a “conservative” company, which referred to the distillery’s proclivity for eschewing quantity in favour of quality. Clifford Hatch denied such characterizations and argued Hiram Walker was the first foreign distillery to “invade” South America, it owned the largest distillery in the United States in the 1930s, and was willing to pay in excess of $6 million to acquire an unnamed French cognac, very likely Courvoisier, and American whisky brands.

In 1955, a fifth of a gallon of Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon sold for $5.53 and the same sized bottle

298 “The Hiram Walker Story” Beverage Media (September 1975), 96-98.
300 “The Hiram Walker”, 98.
of Canadian Club cost consumers $6.17.\textsuperscript{301} Hiram Walker was secretive about its advertising expenditures, and officially refused to disclose figures for fear of giving other distilleries a competitive advantage.\textsuperscript{302} Nonetheless, data from Advertising Age reveals that of the $9.5 million Hiram Walker spent on print advertising in 1962, it designated approximately 52\% for magazines and 37\% for newspapers.\textsuperscript{303} Within the liquor industry, Hiram Walker had the fourth highest advertising expenditures after Seagram, National Distillers and Schenley, and ranked sixty fourth out of one hundred national consumer goods advertisers.

The Adventure Begins

In the 1930s, the Hiram Walker distillery introduced what would become one of its most recognizable advertising campaigns, the “Adventure Series”. Over the decades, Hiram Walker reprised and reinvented the campaign time and again to advertise Canadian Club Whisky, and it was a source of inspiration for the distillery’s other brand advertising. While at lunch in an unnamed restaurant in Chicago in 1934, Harry C. Hatch became fascinated with its motto that it could serve, “the most famous dinner of any country in the world”.\textsuperscript{304} Hatch was equally captivated by the collection of world renowned hotel labels that covered the back of the menu. Hatch returned to Canada with a copy of the menu in hand, and passed it on to the Fletcher and Ellis Advertising Agency in 1936 where copywriters created the slogan, “Best In The House” in 87 lands.\textsuperscript{305} In 1937, Hiram Walker printed the slogan on table tent cards and back bar signs to convince tavern patrons that Canadian Club was a superior whisky.\textsuperscript{306} The slogan remained an

\textsuperscript{301} Bretzfield, Liquor Marketing, 109-110.  
\textsuperscript{302} “Trend of Hiram Walker’s Outlay for Straight Bourbon Advertising and P.O.S.” RoundTable (August-September 1959), 7.  
\textsuperscript{303} “How Their Advertising Expenditures Compared in 1962” Advertising Age (26 August 1963), 45.  
\textsuperscript{304} Donal J. O’Brien, “Canadian Club’s Adventure Series Is Oldest Continuous Advertising Campaign” Markets of America (1967), 1 Hiram Walker Archives.  
\textsuperscript{305} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{306} “New Trade Advertising Program to Stress The Best in the House” RoundTable (January-February, 1959), 2.
essential part of the whisky’s brand identity and Hiram Walker used it as a major theme to advertise to bartenders and servers in the hospitality industry in 1959. Hiram Walker included the slogan in most Canadian Club print advertisements throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Numerous copywriters worked on the Adventure Series advertisements but Donal J. O’Brien, Vice President and Director of Advertising at Hiram Walker, credited Carleton Healy for conceptualizing the initial style and format. Healy was an advertising manager for Eastman Kodak in the early 1930s, and then a general manager at the J. Stirling Getchell advertising agency before joining Hiram Walker’s staff. He was responsible for the first-person narratives used by the “heroes” or “friends” in the Adventure Series advertisements that went to print in the mid-1930s. The “American friend” or simply “friend” of Canadian Club was a stock character in the Canadian Club whisky “Adventure Series” advertisements. Each advertisement featured a friend, played by different individuals, visiting a foreign land where his host served Canadian Club Whisky. This scenario set the tone for hundreds of Adventure Series advertisements starting in the 1930s. Advertisers often created and inserted stock characters in advertisements to cultivate familiarity and brand recognition. In the 1950s, David Ogilvy, renowned advertising man, was known for developing stock characters like “the man in the Hathaway shirt” who advertised the eponymous men’s shirts and Commander Whitehead, the Schweppes Tonic Water icon. Aunt Jemima, Betty Crocker, the Marlborough Man, and Uncle Ben were equally recognizable advertising icons in the 1950s and 1960s. Likewise, Hiram Walker hoped readers would be able to identify with and relate to the friend of Canadian Club.

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307 Ibid.
The first Adventure Series advertisements from the early 1930s made limited references to adventure, but drew attention to foreign travel. The first three Canadian Club Adventure Series advertisements were close-up, photographs of the American “friend” conversing with a local couple. In the scenes, the American friend was dressed in a tuxedo while the locals wore traditional attire. Set in the Netherlands, India and Spain, the advertisements emphasized clichés about the depicted destination. For example, in the advertisement where the friend visited Rotterdam, the models stood before a lush tulip field and windmill. The friend described to the reader that he expected to find dikes, skates, tulips and windmills on arriving in the city. He was happy to see the clichéd motifs, but stunned to find Canadian Club Whisky in a country so far from home. To enhance the foreign appeal of the advertisement, the Dutch couple, whose images dominated most of the page, wore what was meant to be authentic Dutch clothing including the woman’s pointed, lace bonnet. The Dutch man held a tray containing two highballs of Canadian Club which he offered to the friend. In another advertisement, American friend M.R. Taft travelled to Bombay, India from Chicago, and was overwhelmed by the cultural differences he encountered including the people, their customs and attire. However, his concerns were put to rest when he realized that the whisky “everyone liked best was ‘Canadian Club’”(Figure 2.1). There were fewer props than in the advertisement set in Rotterdam, but a structure, similar in style to the Taj Mahal appeared behind Taft and an Indian couple. Taft was clean shaven which was a noticeable contrast to the Indian man’s pointy moustache and thick beard. He wore a tuxedo whereas the Indian man was wrapped in embroidered cloth, two strands of pearls and had a feathered and jewel encrusted turban on his head.

310 “to find it in Bombay of all places!” Hiram Walker Archives c. 1935-1936. For all Figures for Chapter 2 see Appendix E
head. The woman wore what might have been the end of a red and gold sari draped around her head, a red bindhi on her forehead and some chunky metallic jewellery. The image was a large close-up of the characters’ faces, and the couples’ outfits were not entirely visible. Hiram Walker’s archives refer to the advertisement as the one with the “Indian princess”, so it is possible that the couple were portraying Indian royalty. A waiter’s hands held a tray with a single highball of whisky towards Taft, which implied only he was drinking, setting him apart from his guests. Although the couples were dressed in “traditional” apparel, the advertisements were shot in professional photographers’ studios in the United States, and it is unlikely that they were ethnically Dutch or Indian people. Their physical appearance demarcated them as novel yet fascinating contrasts to the American friend. Hiram Walker ran these early advertisements to inform consumers about Canadian Club’s global availability and quality. Their foreign and exotic characters were meant to kindle readers’ interest in the whisky. The advertisements romanticized and exoticized the cultures and people represented which became a recurrent theme throughout the life of the Adventure Series campaign. Consumers who drank Canadian Club could be as cosmopolitan and sophisticated as the friend, without having to travel farther than the neighbourhood liquor store or bar.

Of consequence were the prominent positions female models had in these early Canadian Club whisky advertisements. In addition to the preceding advertisements with the Dutch and Indian couples, the distillery ran another one with what sources described as a “Spanish girl”. Situated in the centre of the advertisements with their faces in full view of the camera lens, women were the primary subjects of the first three Canadian Club advertisements. The women

311 “35-Year Adventure in Advertising” Round Table (November-December 1970), 3.
were flanked on one side by their companions and on the opposite sides by the Canadian Club friends. Hiram Walker’s use of “foreign” women dressed in exotic costumes may have been alluring to male readers. Americans had a long-standing fascination with exoticism and the splendour, opulence, costumes, personas and artifacts from the Middle East and South Asia. At a time when it was unusual to find women in spirit advertisements, such portrayals could have been a strategy to capture male consumers’ attention, and simultaneously align Canadian Club whisky with sophistication entrenched in travel and adventure. The women’s presence also symbolized heterosexual sociability centred on alcohol consumption that had emerged in the 1920s, even though they did not drink in the advertisements. However, the presence of women was fleeting as Hiram Walker entered into the “gentlemen’s agreement” in 1937 that saw members of the distilled spirits industry ban the images of women from print advertisements. As will be explained in chapter four, the distillery addressed female consumers with its cordial advertisements in the early 1950s, and this segment became essential to Hiram Walker’s product development and increase in market share over the next few decades. The distillery explicitly addressed women as whisky drinkers only at the end of the 1960s, and merely hinted at women drinking spirits before these years.

During the mid-1930s, travel was a prominent theme in several Canadian Club advertisements. Storylines followed the activities of American men who travelled to exotic locations such as Chile, Colombia and Siam, presently known as Thailand. They were intrigued by the numerous tourist sites they visited but their vacations were made exceptional by the availability of Canadian Club Whisky in these distant locations. At first, the advertisements

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consisted of a single brightly coloured photograph with men relaxing over glasses of whisky, or participating in or observing some local customs. Between the late 1930s and early 1940s, the advertising agency altered the advertisements’ layout to a multi-panelled storyboard format, documenting the American hero’s extensive adventures. The friends competed against their male hosts in extreme sports or adventures like whirling upside-down from a Maypole in Mexico or spinnaker riding, an activity akin to parachuting, in the Grenadines.

A degree of confusion prevails over the friends’ identities, and authenticity of the places mentioned in the Adventure Series advertisements. O’Brien claimed that Hiram Walker stopped using studio shots in the Adventure Series advertising around 1942. Instead, Hiram Walker’s records disclose that staff at the distillery and at advertising agency LaRoche, McCaffrey and McCall interviewed world travellers, and corresponded with officials at American embassies, consulates and ministries worldwide to determine when local events, festivals or celebrations would occur. Hiram Walker retained a dozen or so professional photographers to capture vivid, candid pictures at these impromptu events, and swiftly send the film back to the advertising agency onboard an airplane. One such individual was artist Maxwell Frederic Coplan, well known for his paintings of circus scenes. Later, he was a freelance photographer, and shot scenes for Esquire magazine. Eventually, Coplan worked with Pan American World Airways, and photographed scenes for the Canadian Club Adventure Series. Hiram Walker created a promotional tie-in with the airline, and in select advertisements, a friend of Canadian Club advertised Pan American’s flight route to the specific destination. Hiram Walker’s sources state that the friend of Canadian Club, who lingered over a glass of Canadian Club in the final

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315 Ibid., 3.
316 “Photographer by Accident” Life (21 May 1945), 84.
scene of every advertisement, attended and participated in an adventure or activity in its entirety. Personnel at the C.J. LaRoche advertising agency noted a 2% increase in readership once the friend transitioned from being a spectator to ‘participant’. However, a closer look at several advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s reveals that the friend mostly appeared in the first and final scenes, and raises questions about claims of candid footage. Even when the friend was present in most of the images, his face was often obscured, out of focus, out of sight or they were photographed from a distance, calling into question the adventure’s authenticity.

A *New York Times* interview from 1962 with John S. Graetzer, Canadian Club account supervisor at C.J. La Roche advertising agency, dismissed O’Brien’s earlier claims of veracity and authenticity. Graetzer confirmed that early scenes were photographed against painted backdrops inside Manhattan studios. While engaged readers wrote numerous letters to the Hiram Walker distillery to offer suggestions for potential advertisements, C.J. LaRoche rarely used their ideas. Copywriters either devised their own storylines or accepted proposals from free-lance photographers stationed overseas. If the agency was pleased with the proposals, it sent the photographer a sketch, at which point the photographer had to hunt down the necessary models and props to shoot the advertisement. It also accounted for the blurry or hidden images of the friends’ faces. In fact, the American friends of Canadian Club were seldom real thrill seekers or explorers, they were usually local residents hired by the photographers. Graetzer, himself who had never travelled outside the United States, pointed out that the advertisements were popular among male readers who appreciated travel and adventure.

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317 “C.J. LaRoche Talk” (28 April 1955), 4. Hiram Walker Archives
318 C.J. LaRoche became LaRoche, McCaffrey & McCall in 1966.
320 Ibid.
Constructed or not, readers reacted with varying degrees of enthusiasm to the advertisements. Numbers of excited readers wrote to express their pleasure with the campaign or share stories about visiting the same places as the Canadian Club “friends”. A few readers wrote to notify the distillery about errors, while others wrote angry letters of complaint. Rather than addressing the criticism, O’Brien dismissed respondents’ complaints as letters from lonely and bored individuals who sought pen-pals to cope with their problems.\textsuperscript{321} Distillery sources disclose that readers wrote impassioned letters about the use or portrayal of firearms in the Adventure Series advertisements, and were swift to question any misinformation. Hiram Walker started consulting the Abercrombie & Fitch gun company in the late 1960s to avoid making mistakes in upcoming advertisements.\textsuperscript{322} It was not possible to verify the amount of correspondence the distillery received or readers’ specific comments but their letters also remarked on local customs, geographic details and historical references mentioned in the advertisements.\textsuperscript{323} Reader response must have been positive because Hiram Walker used the Adventure Series campaign for over twenty years, and every few years introduced new variations based on the original. The distillery invested approximately $40 million to advertise and market Canadian Club’s Adventure theme from 1935 until 1970.\textsuperscript{324}

**Flying High with Pan American Airways**

In the 1940s, Hiram Walker collaborated with Pan American World Airways and TWA to send photographers to document sporting events in countries like Portugal, Brazil and Mexico. The release of the advertisements coincided with the rise of commercial aviation and the gradual

\textsuperscript{321} O’Brien, “Canadian Club’s”, 3.
\textsuperscript{322} “35-Year Adventure in Advertising”, 3.
\textsuperscript{323} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid., 12.
evolution of a culture of mass tourism in the United States. In the 1920s, passenger planes started carrying mail for the United States postal service which defrayed the cost of airfares. In these early years, airplanes primarily facilitated mail delivery, and businessmen’s intercity travel. Initially, passengers were scared of flying and thought of it as a stunt or spectacle which was expected given that airplanes were noisy, relatively unsafe, slow and turbulent. Historian Harvey Levenstein indicates that upper class Americans who chose to travel overseas preferred the luxury and security offered by steamships. However, this did not prevent the aviation industry from trying to attract affluent, upper class customers and businessmen in the 1930s and 1940s. The aviation industry introduced incentives to develop a customer base and circumvent problems with the goal of creating a culture of mass tourism. According to historian Kathleen Barry, airlines in the 1930s employed attractive, charming and graceful, white middle class women, many of whom were nurses to cosset wealthy, predominantly male passengers and make them feel comfortable.

Several forces converged to present American consumers with a composition of narratives about travel and leisure. In The Holiday Makers, Richard Popp notes that the travel boom of the 1940s and 1950s emerged from three confluent narratives. The narratives proposed that Americans possessed an insatiable wanderlust inherited from their pioneering ancestors, and were influenced by the concept of manifest destiny. Modern technology increased efficiency and reduced time and space to transform American society from a work oriented culture to one that was amusement centred, which gave middle and working class Americans the opportunity to

relax and pursue leisure activities.\textsuperscript{328} During World War II, the federal government invested funds to improve the commercial airline industry and increase the number of airports. Crowds of people were eager to visit airports where they could watch planes as they took flight and landed. Flying was not yet accessible to all Americans but it was a thrilling experience that brought one soaring to the clouds, on the brink of danger.\textsuperscript{329}

In the 1940s, executives in the commercial aviation industry and at advertising agencies portrayed flying as a viable yet romantic option for middle class consumers.\textsuperscript{330} In 1942, Pan American Airways released a public relations campaign with testimonials from several international and American diplomats and public figures describing their expectations for “the world of tomorrow” once the war ended. Pan Am’s “world of tomorrow” represented endless opportunities symbolizing freedom and modernity. The airlines assimilated commentary from individuals like William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, philosopher Dr. John Dewey, author and economist Stephen Leacock and Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Oswaldo Aranha. Pan American Airways added a blurb at the end of each testimonial informing readers that once peace resumed, airfares would be “brought within the reach of common men”, geographical barriers would vanish and “foreigners” would be as familiar as someone in a nearby town.\textsuperscript{331} The airline educated customers about the merits of air travel, spoke of dedicating its fleet to the United States military, and numerous destinations that would be available to passengers after the war ended. The aviation industry advertised in specialized publications like \textit{Gourmet, Holiday} and \textit{Sports Illustrated} to reach white upper class and upper-middle class

\textsuperscript{329} Jakle, \textit{The Tourist}, 183.
\textsuperscript{330} Popp, \textit{The Holiday Makers}, 60-64.
readers. Douglas Karsner adds that by the 1950s and 1960s, more Americans were educated and better off than in the past which made flying an attractive and affordable way to arrive at vacation destinations.\textsuperscript{332} The introduction of faster, smoother jet flights in 1958 improved passengers’ travel experience, and increased the number of people that could be transported on a single trip.\textsuperscript{333} A sizable number of middle class Americans opted to fly as competition intensified, airfares decreased and airlines began offering gourmet meals, free alcohol and screened movies to entice potential fliers.\textsuperscript{334} As well, the travel industry implemented credit schemes and savings plans to allay the financial costs of an expensive vacation. They advertised the affordability of package tours to passengers who could get flight, accommodation and ground transport all bundled at a low rate.\textsuperscript{335}

Airlines also used images of attractive flight attendants in their advertising, often in mini-skirts and hot pants, to grab the interest of male consumers.\textsuperscript{336} In the postwar years, airlines no longer required flight attendants to have nursing degrees, but applicants still had to be white, slim, good-looking and charming.\textsuperscript{337} Airlines hired single, beautiful women to add to the allure of a glamorous and luxurious industry, one that symbolized freedom. In the 1950s and 1960s, airlines like TWA held promotional seminars at women’s clubs and associations teaching women how to organize trips and pack one’s luggage so as to have the correct wardrobe while travelling.\textsuperscript{338} Travel sections in women’s magazines encouraged readers to visit destinations that

\textsuperscript{333} Ibid., 185-186.
\textsuperscript{335} Karsner, ” ‘Now Hawaii’“, 183.
\textsuperscript{336} Lyth., 11.
\textsuperscript{337} Barry, 36-7.
\textsuperscript{338} Karsner, 184.
required them to fly rather than drive. The magazines implied that flying made friends and neighbours envious, and that it was the height of gracious living.339

Hiram Walker’s advertisements from the early to mid-1940s referenced Pan American Airways’ travel routes on board Clipper crafts. In one advertisement, an American friend of Canadian Club commented on the infrastructural changes within Brazil’s Amazon rainforest, Improvements such as health services and roads would make the destination “safe as Ontario” to the tourist once the war was over (Figure 2.2). His testimonial applauded Brazil and Pan American Airways for their assistance with the war, and informed the reader that the country was an affordable vacation destination. The friend also reminded readers that Hiram Walker was distilling “war alcohol” but once the war was over, it would be possible to find alcohol in Latin America where one could use it for “toasting all the ‘good neighbors’ [one’ll] be meeting there.”340 In another advertisement entitled, “Chant of the Aztecs” photographs showed passengers disembarking from a Pan American flight (Figure 2.3). New flight routes made the San Juan Valley and Mexico City accessible sites for American investment and tourism.341

Latin America and Caribbean countries like Cuba, Mexico and Puerto Rico were some of American tourists’ favoured destinations in the 1920s. During Prohibition, wealthy Americans treated Cuba as their playground because of its free-flowing rum, pristine beaches, country clubs and sprawling golf courses. The Cuban government deliberately attracted tourists to the island, and backed local entrepreneurs and foreign investors who invested in casinos, hotels and

339 Ibid.
340 “Adventures on the Amazon”, Hiram Walker Archives, c. 1940-1945.
341 “Chant of the Aztecs” Hiram Walker Archives, c. 1943-1945.
resorts. Solitary American explorers and expansionists gravitated deeper into Mexico to experience and conquer Mexico’s pristine wilderness, while American intellectuals and artists were inspired by the country’s folk culture, political activists and offer of “authentic” Mayan and Aztec culture. In the midst of World War II, the United States government and Hollywood produced propaganda and entertainment films set in several Latin American countries to establish hemispheric solidarity, and persuade Americans that the region needed defending in case of enemy attack. President Roosevelt used soft power to secure America’s position of supremacy in Latin America, and drive out European competition once peace returned. Chosen by Roosevelt to head the office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Nelson A. Rockefeller set up a commission to study postwar economic opportunities in twenty countries in 1943. As part of its report, the Inter-American Development Commission recommended Latin American countries develop tourism infrastructure by constructing airports, roads and ports to facilitate mass travel.

The same year, Roosevelt contacted Juan T. Trippe, the president of Pan American Airways to guarantee the company’s assistance in solidifying America’s postwar economy. The United States was in need of a viable market to absorb the mass of consumer goods its manufacturers churned out daily, and Latin America with its close proximity and healthy economy proved an alternative to war ravaged Europe. Roosevelt thought if American

343 Merrill, Negotiating Paradise, 36-40.
344 Ibid., 41-50.
345 Schwartz, 106.
346 Ibid., 107.
entrepreneurs and tourists could pump resources into Latin America, Latin Americans would be able to afford American products.\textsuperscript{347} Canadian Club’s tie-in advertisements with Pan American Airways stressed countries like Columbia, Haiti, Brazil and South Africa were rich in natural resources like gold, rubber, silver, coffee, bauxite and copper. The appeals read like tourist brochures, documenting the friends’ tours of mines, rubber or coffee plantations and attendance at remote and exotic local festivals. They beckoned readers to explore these regions which were fit and ready for American economic investment.

In an advertisement set in South Africa descriptions like, “Jungle natives, in war regalia, were doing a blood-curdling dance”, and “The weird music from the primitive flute called the \textit{ipayipi}” implied that these countries were frightening and mysterious, with strange inhabitants.\textsuperscript{348} Conversely, given references to “good neighbours”, and “as safe as Ontario”\textsuperscript{349} and “the skill of an experienced hand in Butte, Montana”\textsuperscript{350}, the advertisements alerted readers to the idea that these native inhabitants and foreign locales were not as foreboding as they might have presumed. Similarly, advertisements by Cuba and Mexico’s tourist boards promised Americans the safe and familiar yet a much desired foreign experience, free from the banal restraints of everyday life.\textsuperscript{351} Hiram Walker’s advertisements urged Americans to reacquaint themselves with the delights and romance of travel, adventure and familiar destinations. With their wealth of resources, unique customs, colourfully dressed locals, and accessibility via Pan American Airways, Hiram Walker hoped to captivate readers’ interest with the pleasures of these distant places, and those offered in a bottle of Canadian Club Whisky. A fan of Canadian Club

\textsuperscript{347} Ibid and Merrill,\textit{ Negotiating Paradise}, 96-99.
\textsuperscript{348} “Swing Shift at an African Copper Mine”, Hiram Walker Archives, c. 1940-1945.
\textsuperscript{349} “Adventure on the Amazon”
\textsuperscript{350} “Swing Shift”
\textsuperscript{351} Merrill,\textit{ Negotiating Paradise}, 128-133.
could potentially share in each friend’s adventure and excitement by simply purchasing the whisky, even if he did not want to embark on a trip.

In the 1930s, makers of consumer goods, including distillers, evoked air travel’s romanticism and exoticism to appeal to customers. Larry Weirather states, “Drinking that brand of spirits would indicate you were partaking of life’s rewards enjoyed by the rich, sophisticated set that could afford to travel during the Depression.” Weirather specifically acknowledges an advertisement for Four Roses Whiskey, a Seagram brand, but does not mention Hiram Walker’s Adventure Series advertisements. Gerber’s Baby Foods, Heinz Ketchup, the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Company and Nabisco’s Shredded Wheat also created tie-in advertisements with the airline industry in the 1930s and 1940s. Gerber highlighted that it provided special baby kits to Pan American Airlines, TWA, American and United Airways. Heinz 57 Ketchup advertisements mentioned the product’s availability on Pan American Airways, and an advertisement for Liggett & Meyer showed a Clipper dropping off packages of Chesterfield cigarettes at the Pan American Airway’s Hotel on Wake Island. Hiram Walker offered passengers prepared cocktails aboard the airline’s flights from Miami and New York destined for Central and South America. In these early years, beverage alcohol had its practical use as a sedative that could quell passengers’ fears, and help them cope with the noise and turbulence. In fact, Hiram Walker not only partnered with Pan American Airways but also with TWA so that flight attendants served passengers Hiram Walker’s pre-mixed

353 Ibid., 185.
354 Ibid., 186-187.
355 “Hiram Walker Cocktails Served on PAA Flights” *Round Table* (August 1951), 14.
356 Harvey Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have Paris*, 107.
martinis and manhattans, cordials and Canadian Club and Walker’s DeLuxe whiskies.\footnote{“TWA ‘Ambassador Service’ Features Hiram Walker Brands” \textit{Round Table} (Oct-Nov-Dec 1959) 13:2, 18.}

Consumer goods manufacturers wanted customers to know that they were technologically advanced corporations, and their products were modern and convenient, just like the airlines industry. They were trying to associate their products and companies with the thrill, adventure and excitement of flying. For distillers, nothing was as glamorous as suggesting that one could relax aboard a flight while sipping a concoction of spirits, personally mixed and served to you by a striking flight attendant.

**The Adventure Continues: Canadian Club Whisky in the 1950s and 1960s**

As Seagram stepped up its advertising expenditure and increased the number of V.O. Canadian Whisky advertisements it released, the C.J. LaRoche agency advised Hiram Walker officials to “go on the offensive” and think of Canadian Club “as a MASS, not a CLASS product in 1959.”\footnote{“C.J. LaRoche Talk”, 3.} However, the agency dissuaded Hiram Walker from lowering the price of Canadian Club Whisky from its $6.00 mark. It felt that its slightly elevated cost signified its fine quality but would not hinder its mass appeal because an increasing number of consumers were making more money.\footnote{Ibid.} In the 1950s and 1960s, Hiram Walker ran at least three concurrent magazine campaigns to advertise Canadian Club: “The Adventure Series”, “The Restaurants of the World” and “In 87 lands, ‘The Best in the House’”. C.J. LaRoche preserved the characteristic storyboard style and format for the Adventure Series campaign that was developed in earlier years. Each photograph captured vivid images of the American friend as he befriended local adventurers on his travels. Unlike most other liquor advertisements from this period which consisted of single, large photographs accompanied by a slogan or phrase, the Adventure Series advertisements
contained dense, elaborate commentary relayed from the friend’s perspective. One exception was an advertisement for Schenley Reserve Whiskey found in the 5 November 1951 issue of *Life*. Italian opera singer, Ezio Pinza, provided testimonial about Schenley Reserve’s fine taste and quality, across a series of brightly coloured panels. The advertisement’s format resembled the Adventure Series advertisements but content focused on Pinza’s celebrity and career, not an adventure theme. The Adventure Series advertisements’ multi-panelled format and verbose copy were more like advertisements for packaged foods, women’s cosmetics, household appliances or medications. One specific example was from the makers of Carnation Evaporated Milk.

In a typical Adventure Series advertisement from the 1950s and 1960s, a friend of Canadian Club was the primary character, surrounded by a team of men usually dressed in the national costume or uniform of the specific country visited. Compared to advertisements from previous decades, the friends of Canadian Club were participants in the Adventure Series advertisements rather than spectators. The switch was intended to give armchair adventurers “greater vicarious participation.” Another notable variation was that scenes were humorous as the American friends competed in events at which they lacked skill. Like Ozzie Nelson, the friends exhibited a bumbling form of masculinity as they accepted invitations to compete against local experts, and best them at what they identified as indigenous or rare feats of strength or skill. Enthusiastic to beat the expert hosts, the American friends clamoured to participate in activities that were beyond their levels of expertise. Competitions consistently ended in innocuous disasters as the friends grappled to regain their dignity after tumbling into rivers, falling off skis.

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360 Schenley advertisement see *Life* (5 November 1951), 169.
361 Carnation Evaporated Milk advertisement see *Ebony* (June 1960), 131.
or needing a local to save them from a rampaging animal. When put up against the men in Seagram’s advertisements, these explorers shed all pretenses in the adventure shots, and their ridiculous antics made them laughingstocks rather than heroes of the scenes. They were a clear contrast to the serious, dignified and poised male characters evident in most spirit advertisements.

It is not possible to discern how readers responded to Hiram Walker’s appeals but one can assume several possibilities. Average middle class men could have identified with the advertisements’ satirical tone and the friends’ inept adventures in a period where many men had to deal with competing ideas about acceptable forms of masculinity. The friends of Canadian Club gave white middle class men living in suburban American, the permission and opportunity to laugh at themselves in the face of competing gender ideals. Perhaps for middle class male readers, who either felt trapped because of, or identified with masculine domesticity, the friends were a welcome alternative to the cosmopolitan self-assured men, rugged cowboys and perfect husbands and fathers found in other forms of popular media. Hiram Walker was not above aligning whisky drinking with humour and light hearted fun, and indicated it could be a normal, routine leisure activity for the ordinary American man. Its whisky also functioned as a stress reliever and mood enhancer. Simultaneously, Canadian Club, like all other liquors that represented luxurious living or the good life, was a status symbol. Men who purchased, served and consumed Canadian Club likely aspired to a specific lifestyle. The whisky was emblematic of man’s ability to drink like a man which meant Canadian Club fans drank for pleasure but they did not get drunk. By buying Canadian Club, men wanted others to perceive them as having discerning tastes, being able to afford a decent quality imported whisky, and that they were good-natured, relaxed individuals who liked to have a good time.
Failed attempts to “best” one’s host, and his requisite assistance in each advertisement may have also been reflective of the United States’ and Americans’ shifting attitudes about Western supremacy and colonialism in the post-war era. Americans’ fascination with the foreign was not entirely new, and dated to around the mid-nineteenth century exemplified by the explosion in popularity of art and artifacts from the Orient. American women began filling their homes with Japanese vases, Turkish rugs and Chinese screens, often in corners dedicated as the “Oriental lounging room”.363 Between 1945 and 1965 several countries like Indonesia, India, Burma, Egypt, Algeria, Jamaica, Kenya, and Zimbabwe attained independence from European colonizers like Great Britain, France and the Netherlands. Unlike their European counterparts, Americans were reputed for being anti-colonialists.364 Prominent Americans like President Roosevelt, journalist Walter Lippman and author Pearl Buck iterated that colonialism was an outmoded concept.365 However, America’s use of soft power in the Caribbean and Latin America indicates otherwise.

What distinguished the postwar period from earlier times was that air travel made it possible for a greater number of upper middle and middle class American consumers to visit overseas destinations, an idea reinforced by the media. Starting in the late 1940s, Life magazine frequently ran articles about cultural and religious practices around the world, with brightly coloured photographs intended to show readers authentic culture and celebrations in a chosen

region. *Life* hired photojournalists like Eliot Eliofson to capture life in South American, Asian and African countries like Chile, Japan, Egypt, the Congo and Cambodia likely because of their exotic appeal, along with Americans’ growing interest in travel. In the 1950s, Puerto Rico’s Office of Tourism pitched advertising campaigns at American citizens focusing on the island’s natural beauty, climate and convenience.\(^{366}\) Hiram Walker’s representation of American travellers as relaxed, self-deprecating, adventurous and tolerant of new and foreign countries was likely indicative of changes occurring within the American mindset. Americans were less insular than in the past, and some possibly empathized with nations struggling to achieve political autonomy. Americans began to look outward, and took greater interest in foreign countries, and their cultures and people. Rather than adopting superior attitudes when visiting a foreign host, the Canadian Club friends were admittedly incompetent, vulnerable to ridicule and amenable to instruction. Hiram Walker conveyed that drinking was a pleasurable activity embraced by cosmopolitan, adventurous and laid-back consumers.

Casting the United States as anti-colonialist belies the reality of its historical reputation for economic and political interference, along with military intervention in Latin and South American countries in the nineteenth century.\(^{367}\) President McKinley believed the United States had a “civilizing mission” in the Philippines, and implemented a policy of “benevolent assimilation”, so that it could provide uplift to areas of the world it felt were morally and intellectually inferior.\(^{368}\) American politicians expressed that the United States was acting out of selflessness as opposed to European nations’ need for domination and greed.\(^{369}\) As was discussed

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\(^{366}\) Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise*, 195-197.


\(^{368}\) David Brody, *Visualizing American Empire*, 2.

\(^{369}\) Ibid.
earlier, Roosevelt played a pivotal role in the 1940s to ensure the United States’ dominance of Latin American markets. Ian Tyrrell explains that the United States did not institute consistent colonial policies, and that many Americans viewed the acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico and Hawaii as an aberration.\textsuperscript{370} Yet, he contends that the United States was uncontestably a colonial power that controlled, influenced and established a presence in other nations.\textsuperscript{371} Scholars Kent and Homan argue that the United States government supported de-colonization whenever it worked in its political and economic favour. Kent points out that when African countries vied for independence, American officials encouraged European countries to delay because Africans were “backward and primitive”, incapable of self-rule and susceptible to Communist influences.\textsuperscript{372} Homan notes that while American officials believed colonialism was not ideal in places like Indonesia, it could not demand that European Allies weaken their status by liberating colonized nations rich in natural resources which were vital to American technological and economic development.\textsuperscript{373} Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Adventure Series advertisements were fraught with contradictions about race and ethnicity much like America’s wavering attitudes towards colonialism in Asia and Africa.

Results from the magazine survey indicated that during the 1950s and 1960s, Hiram Walker ran 171 advertisements for Canadian Club Whisky in the four publications under consideration. There were a total of fifty-six Canadian Club Adventure Series advertisements, of which forty-five were different. Out of the distinct advertisements, thirty-four appeared in \textit{Life}, six in \textit{Sports Illustrated}, five in \textit{Ebony} and zero in \textit{Gourmet}. There were more male than female

\textsuperscript{371} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{372} Kent, “United States Reaction”, 204.
\textsuperscript{373} Homan, “The United States and the Netherlands”, 437.
characters in Hiram Walker’s advertisements versus Seagram’s. Quality, leisure/relaxation/travel and hospitality were predominant themes noted in the survey, with sport/adventure appearing more often in the Hiram Walker advertisements than those from Seagram, likely due to the Adventure Series campaign. With forty-five unique Adventure Series advertisements counted in this survey alone, it reveals that Hiram Walker dedicated substantial resources to produce the campaign, and it was important to the distillery’s overall brand advertising strategy. Hiram Walker constantly reminded readers that consumers around the world drank Canadian Club, and referenced the connection between travel and drinking in many of its other campaigns. For example, the Canadian Club whisky advertisements accessed in Gourmet coaxed readers to travel, but instead of promoting manic adventure, they tempted readers with succulent, rich foods found only in exclusive establishments across Europe. The friends of Canadian Club were all white men, specifically American, while the host characters were from a range of countries but none of them were women. Most of the advertisements identified the friends of Canadian Club by name but some referred to the lead male characters as “American friends of Canadian Club.” They were not celebrities or well-known personalities, and would have been unrecognizable to readers. Identifying characters by name may have been Hiram Walker’s way of creating a sense of familiarity with the reader while using the generic, “American friend of Canadian Club” might have allowed readers to envision themselves as the lead characters.

From the fifty-six Adventure Series advertisements counted in the magazine survey, I have analyzed five in chronological order to highlight changes in style and content over the two

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374 See Appendices B and C-Tables 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.
375 See Appendices B and C-Tables 1.5-1.8 and 2.5-2.8.
decades. The first Adventure Series advertisement recorded in the survey appeared in the 5 June 1950 edition of *Life*. Errol Prince, an American friend of Canadian Club visited Lake Victoria in Kenya to photograph the area (Figure 2.4). In the main panel of the advertisement, Prince stood along the edge of a small fishing boat photographing Kavirondo fishermen combing their nets for minnows, his back to the reader with a camera in his hands. Dressed in a white t-shirt, light blue shorts, white canvas shoes and a knife on his belt, Prince was a glaring contrast to the Kenyan fishermen dressed only in loin cloths. His attire, white skin and camera identified him as modern and “civilized”, unlike the dark skinned fishermen who were partly naked, employed a “crude sieve” and nets made from dried papyrus stalks to pull in their catch. A large crocodile was the source of adventure and excitement at Prince’s photography session but he was unable to snap an image of the animal. Subsequent panels showed the fishermen’s net, the men emptying their catch into baskets, and Prince sitting around a camp fire with two other companions. One of the companions was a blond haired man who wore a tan coloured jacket, blue jeans and brown boots. The other companion was a balding man with grey hair, dressed in a safari suit. Prince sat between the two white men, in a white shirt, green sweater and khaki trousers while a Kenyan man dressed in a khaki uniform and large hat, shaped like a Fez, filled their glasses. For the most part, the men’s clothing in this last scene, including the Kenyan server’s, was similar in style. However, the Kenyan man’s hat and his status as server denoted him as “other”, a socially unacceptable candidate for fraternization. Also, the Kenyan server and fishermen were distinct because of their race. None of the scenes showed Prince interacting with the fishermen or server, and he referred to them as “natives”. Prince was willing to explore an unknown, dangerous territory like Kenya, but followed colonial convention, and avoided socializing with the locals on an equal level. Punctuated with exclamation marks and peppered with comments about the
crocodile, Prince’s story tried to relay the excitement and urgency of the dangerous situation. In the final blurb, Prince concluded that Canadian Club was his treat of choice instead of the fried minnows preferred by the Kavirondo fishermen, again demarcating his distinct status. On finding Canadian Club, Prince stated, “We’d run across a bottle in Nairobi, where Canadian Club is a great favorite…just as it is almost everywhere I’ve been”. The advertisement ended with a description of the whisky, “Canadian Club is light as scotch, rich as rye, satisfying as bourbon. You can stay with it all evening long…in cocktails before dinner and tall ones after. That’s what made Canadian Club the largest-selling imported whisky in the United States.”

In another advertisement that was set on the beaches of De Panne, Belgium, American Clarence Hewitt raced along the coast to Dunkerque, France in a “sand yacht” with his Belgium host William Froehlich. In the first scene of the advertisement, Hewitt and Froehlich both sat in their individual yachts (Figure 2.5). Froehlich wore a royal blue shirt and red cravat, and his head was turned towards Hewitt who sat in the yacht behind him. Hewitt, dressed in a salmon pink shirt smiled at Froehlich with his hands positioned on the yacht’s wheel. The next scene showed Hewitt’s yacht tilted on its side, the result of a miscalculation on his part, and required Froehlich’s rescuing. In the third panel, Froehlich donned a black beret and boots up to his knees, as he assisted Hewitt out of the sand. Like the Kenyan server and fishermen, Froehlich’s clothing distinguished him from Hewitt, as the cravat and beret added an European flair to his outfit. In the fourth scene, Hewitt and Froehlich settled down to glasses of Canadian Club whisky poured by Hewitt, after an exciting day at the beach. Although foreign, Froehlich’s race made him a suitable companion, and Hewitt was able to drink with this local unlike the Kenyan

376 “In these Waters a Fisherman is Crocodile Bait” Canadian Club Advertisement Life (5 June 1950), 129.
377 Ibid.
men in the previous advertisement. Both white and presumably middle class, it was socially acceptable for Hewitt and Froehlich to commiserate over a glass of whisky. Hewitt’s last commentary noted sand yachting’s imminent popularity but it could not compete with Canadian Club’s notoriety and availability in distant and inaccessible locations around the world. The remainder of the copy was identical to the description of Canadian Club provided in the earlier advertisement. Canadian Club was a social lubricant that dissolved any cultural or linguistic boundaries between the men.

American friend Don Kees’ adventure originated at the Santa Maria bull ring in Bogota, Colombia. As a thrilled spectator at a “bull vaulting” competition, Kees decided to try his hand at the activity while staying with his host at the Rancho Vista Hermosa in the Adventure Series advertisement from the 2 March 1959 edition of Sports Illustrated (Figure 2.6). A seasoned pole vault athlete, Kees assumed he could transfer his existing skills to bull vaulting. Calm during his practice session, Kees became flustered once he faced the charging bull. The advertisement consisted of four panels. The first panel showed a man vaulting over a bull with two cape-wielding men on either side whose job it was to distract the animal. It was impossible to identify whether or not the man was Kees because his face was blurred. The next image contained Kees vaulting over a mechanical bull wheeled by one of the distractors who wore dark pants, black hat, chaps and a blue shirt. Kees was dressed in a red sweater, white shirt and blue jeans. As in the first panel, Kees’ face was unidentifiable blocked from readers’ views by his hand. In the third image, Kees, face blurred, stood behind his pole while the distractor waved a red cape at the rampaging bull. Kees managed a successful jump but his composure was shaken

379 “It’s a Leap or Your Life in this South American Bull Ring” Canadian Club Advertisement Sports Illustrated (2 March 1959), 79.
as he told the reader, “Repeat performance? Not me. Those long horns had dampened my enthusiasm.”380 In the last scene Kees enjoyed a glass of Canadian Club with his Colombian host who wore a nondescript suit. There was little in Kees’ or his host’s appearance to set the men apart and the host lacked the traditional costumes or props found in older and subsequent Adventure Series advertisements. Kees was not surprised to learn that the whisky was Canadian Club because it tasted familiar to his palate. Copy which described the whisky’s taste and quality in the last paragraph was the same as that found in the aforementioned advertisements.

While searching for a clearer copy of the same advertisement, I found an altered variation in the 23 March 1959 edition of *Life.*381 I decided to include it as part of the analysis even though it was not part of the survey because its style and structure differed from the older advertisements. The first photograph was the same image used in the *Sports Illustrated* version but with all the copy positioned below it, as opposed to sections of copy placed under each panel. A caption below stated it was Kees in the first image even though his face was blurred as in the previous version of the advertisement. The advertisement also contained an additional photograph of Kees landing on his posterior. Instead of extensive copy below each picture, short captions like “Bull Session: Why fight bulls when you can drink Canadian Club?” appeared underneath the shot of Kees drinking with his host, who was identified in this advertisement as ranch owner, Senor Jaime Garcia. When asked if he was willing to challenge the bull a second time, Garcia saved Kees from further embarrassment by offering everyone highballs of Canadian Club. Unlike prior advertisements, this one credited Kees as the author and Wendy Hilty for the photography. While other Adventure Series advertisements did not explicitly identify authors

380 Ibid.
381 “It’s a Leap or Your Life” *Life* 23 March 1959, 56.
and photographers, the American friend’s first-person narrative inferred the characters were relaying their experiences to the reader. The advertisement was cleaner and sharper in appearance with copy printed in lighter font, mostly condensed to a single page with a greater amount of white space as the background. The two-page advertisement looked fresh and modern because the photographs were much larger, muted in colour, and mimicked a magazine spread.

Shot against the plains of Tanganyika, a present-day region of Tanzania, an advertisement from the January 1962 issue of *Ebony* framed American friend, Don Higley’s attempts to photograph a rhinoceros. Dramatic phrases from Higley like, “You never know how fast you can run…until a rhino breathes down your neck…Like a battering ram, he thundered down on us…Cameras flapping, we ran as though our lives depended on it” relayed his fear and imminent risk (Figure 2.7). A photograph of Higley and his Tanganyikan companion backing away from a large rhinoceros formed the first panel of the advertisement. In the next shot, a rhinoceros chased the two men, and in the following scene, Higley and his companion jumped or fell into a nearby gully. In the final panel, Higley sat on a cloth-covered platform above his companion with a glass of Canadian Club in his hand. There was a full glass and bottle of Canadian Club Whisky in the foreground of the photograph that hid the Tanganyikan man’s hands from the reader. Higley wore an orange polo shirt, wide brimmed brown hat and navy Bermuda shorts. His African companion wore dark brown pants, tan coloured jacket and a large black tam on his head. Higley’s outfit was colourful and crisp which stood out in the images. His guide’s outfit was unremarkable and drab, and almost camouflaged with the setting. Other than the large tam, the guide wore no distinctive articles of clothing denoting him as exotic or foreign with the exception of his skin colour. After his ordeal with the rhinoceros, Higley was

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relieved to see the familiar bottle of Canadian Club once he returned to camp. He did not address the Tanganyikan man as his “host”, and neither did the man hold a glass of the whisky but their direct interaction broke the racial boundaries evident in the Adventure Series advertisement set in Kenya. The advertisement ended with the lines, “Why this whisky’s universal popularity? Canadian Club has a flavor so distinctive, no other whisky tastes like it. What’s more, it’s the lightest whisky in the world. You can stay with it all evening long-in short ones before dinner, tall ones after. Try Canadian Club tonight.” The description drew attention to the whisky’s light taste, unique flavour and versatility but also claimed Canadian Club had global appeal. It ran in the 6 October 1961 issue of Life and in the January 1962 edition of Ebony. Even though Hiram Walker redesigned the bull-vaulting advertisement found in the 23 March 1959 edition of Life, the modifications may have been temporary. With the exception of the finer font and muted colours, the McCaffrey and McCall agency reverted to using the storyboard in the rhinoceros chasing advertisement.

By 1965, Canadian Club Adventure Series advertisements sported a new look. Instead of shots taken from a distance, the first image of the “Ride a Shark in the Bahamas” advertisement presented a close-up photograph of American friend, Roscoe W. Thompson with a diving mask on his face, as he clutched the fins of a grey coloured shark, the species unidentified. The first scene occupied almost half of the page with a short paragraph of copy below. Copy now appeared above, below and to the left or right of the four scenes. Thompson described his adventure in vivid detail, “The shark’s slashing teeth were only inches from my face…Its sandpaper-rough hide scraped my skin painfully. Holding on desperately to the slippery fins, I

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wondered how the Bahama natives made shark-riding look like fun.” (Figure 2.8)

In the second picture, Thompson had his face in the water as he lunged on top of the shark. Only a pair of human legs and the shark’s back and dorsal fin was visible in the next shot. As in other Canadian Club Adventure Series advertisements, Thompson required the assistance of Bahamian “natives” to haul him out of the water after slipping off the shark’s back. After his harrowing bout with the shark, Thompson and his Bahamian friend headed to a local hotel to sip his favourite whisky, Canadian Club. Like the bull-vaulting advertisement from 1959, this one had more white space, less copy adjacent to some of the images as opposed to below, and was lighter in colour. The advertisement ran twice in *Ebony*, in the December 1964 and August 1965 issues, and in the 5 February 1965 issue of *Life*. A racially integrated advertisement such as this one was unusual, especially for Hiram Walker and particularly when compared to other Adventure Series advertisements. Thompson acknowledged friendship with the Bahamian man, unlike the Tanganyikan guide and Kenyan waiter in the previous advertisements. When Hiram Walker included visible minorities like African Americans, Asians and Africans in its advertising, they usually performed servile functions like making and pouring drinks, and rarely consumed the distillery’s products. A scene suggesting a racially equitable interaction was rare for Hiram Walker, but because the advertisement appeared in the mid-1960s when advertisers started to include positive images of black people, and the setting was the Bahamas, not the United States, the distillery might have been willing to test consumers’ reactions. There were no distinguishing features about the Bahamian man’s attire, but Hiram Walker did not drop its stereotypical portrayal of non-Americans in its Adventure Series advertisements. Even in the late 1960s the advertisements continued to show residents dressed up in national costume, or an outfit.

384 “If You Like to Look Danger in the Teeth” Canadian Club Advertisement *Ebony* (August 1965), 179.
resembling regional dress, in countries like Greece and Portugal, both European countries where Western attire was likely the norm.

The Adventure Series advertisements glorified a complex vision of masculinity. It was simultaneously rugged yet ridiculous and self-deprecating. The characters promoted competitive camaraderie, extreme adventure through travel, and hospitality exemplified through a form of homosocial interaction that culminated in commiserating over a drink. Whisky was an antidote to the travails and misadventures of a long and embarrassing encounter. The Adventure Series advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s presented a unique rendition of masculinity compared to those in other Canadian Club campaigns, advertisements for Hiram Walker’s additional products, and Seagram’s whisky advertisements. Seagram’s advertising campaigns defined masculinity by stressing a variety of themes, most notably respectability, sophistication, glamour and luxury. Upper class leisure activities, pleasure and enjoyment were at the centre of Seagram’s advertisements, and the men were composed and reserved. The men in the Adventure Series advertisements transgressed the Seagram ideal, as well as those in other Hiram Walker advertisements beyond this campaign. They were animated, gregarious and quite often foolish. In many liquor advertisements, male and female models attended country clubs and balls or were spectators at tennis tournaments or horse races. The Adventure Series advertisements were set in rugged, harsh and foreign worlds, against backdrops of snowy mountains, vast deserts and dense jungles, unlike the conventional decadence of most spirits’ advertisements. The creators used satire to humble the friends, and their follies made them appealing to the average male reader. Men were the principal characters in the Adventure Series advertisements who enjoyed their spirits amidst the company of male friends or acquaintances.
The Adventure Series campaign was a conduit for aligning the Canadian Club brand with masculinity, excitement and adventure, a world that middle class men trying to cope with the trope of masculine domesticity likely envied. Men treated each other to glasses of whisky in every final scene of an Adventure Series advertisement. The Hiram Walker distillery did not preach moderation in the same manner as Seagram, but characterizing alcohol as a deserved “reward” bore the message that whisky was a treat to be relished after a challenging day. Canadian Club friends may have been outrageous but they were not excessive drinkers. Adventure Series advertisements affirmed whisky was a man’s drink suited for sharing with male friends and acquaintances in bars, restaurants and hotels around the world. Treating friends outside the home especially in higher end establishments might have also been a means for men to flaunt their success. Lingering over glasses of Canadian Club Whisky also facilitated cordial relations between the American friends and their foreign hosts. Camaraderie, homosocial interaction and treating one’s male guest to a glass of Canadian Club Whisky were prerequisites to the kind of male-oriented sociability Hiram Walker extolled. The advertisements offered white, middle class men the chance to mock some of their own anxieties in the face of competing and evolving gender ideals in the 1950s and 1960s. They were also a source of escapism and enjoyment, as readers could laugh at the friends’ antics and envision themselves in leading roles.

Male characters in the Adventure Series were dressed in suits, and at times in khakis but rarely in the pristine tuxedos worn by the sophisticated male characters in Seagram’s advertisements. Regardless of the advertisements’ settings, the local hosts were memorable because of their traditional costumes or a type of uniform that emphasized their nationality, ethnicity or race, whereas the American friends’ wore clothing that would have been familiar to an American audience. Even in countries where people wore Western attire, local participants in
the Adventure Series campaign often donned clothing that distinguished them from the American friends. For example, in advertisements set in Canada, Ireland and Switzerland respectively, local men filled stereotypical roles such as working as lumberjacks, playing a game of hurley and mountain climbing. In the first advertisement, the Canadian men wore red and black plaid flannel shirts. The Irish athletes wore white shorts with coloured rugby-style jerseys in the second advertisement, while the Swiss men were decked out in lederhosen as they climbed the slopes of the Matterhorn. In countries where the majority population was non-white, as in the advertisements set in Tanganyika, the Bahamas and Kenya, American friends of Canadian Club referred to locals as “natives”. These techniques separated the American friends of Canadian Club from their hosts, and may have allowed the reader to readily identify with the friends while making the locals appear intriguing and exotic. In some instances, the friends engaged in familiar yet risky adventures like scuba diving, ice fishing or water skiing. At other times, the activities highlighted in the advertisements were as stereotypical as the foreigners’ costumes, as the friends participated in events like “jogo du pau”-a Portuguese jousting game, Tahitian spear throwing, bull-fighting in Spain or leaping through a ring of fire in Turkey. They also stirred the fantasies of armchair adventurers who might have been thrilled with the friends’ strange and bizarre activities. Some of the countries portrayed in the advertisements may have celebrated holidays or its citizens may have played sports that were known to Americans, but the Adventure Series often singled out the obscure yet real. Hiram Walker chose to celebrate unusual and questionable feats in order to pique readers’ curiosity and interest in the advertisements. Although some of the activities were exaggerated and questionable, many of them were real, and the advertisements potentially essentialized the customs and people of each destination. Colourful costumes and strange sports functioned to make the characters more exotic, more
foreign thereby more compelling in the hopes of catching the reader’s eye. The tendency to essentialize vacation destinations and its inhabitants was a common trend in travel advertising and in some beverage alcohol advertising in the 1950s and 1960s. As mentioned in chapter one, advertisements for Scotch whisky commonly played on the products’ Scottish heritage and either evoked or presented pictures of rolling green hills, men dressed in kilts, pipers and castle ruins. Advertisements for Kahlua coffee flavoured liqueur contained references to pseudo-Aztec and Mayan culture, art and pottery. Ogilvy, Benson & Mather created advertisements for the British Travel Association inundated with quaint English villages, Scottish castles and London’s towering Big Ben. The French Government Tourist Office hired Doyle, Dane & Bernbach to orchestrate a similar campaign with advertisements filled with iconic symbols such as baguettes, bicycles and berets to sell France as a holiday destination to American tourists. David Ogilvy believed American travellers were interested in tourist attractions that were identifiably British therefore the agency chose to fulfill their fantasies. Consumers of Canadian Club Whisky could have revelled in the escapism and entertainment offered by the Adventure Series advertisements. However, Dennis Merrill emphasises just because cultural display has been commercialized, does not mean it has been debased. He reinforces that host residents are autonomous and wield power in their negotiations with tourists, and are not necessarily passive victims of the interaction. They may adapt situations to suit their needs in order to give visitors a taste of “authentic” culture, art or performance, while making sure they benefit from the transaction. Local residents from the Adventure Series advertisements may have been willing to give Hiram Walker’s photographers a snapshot of authentic culture or tradition in exchange for

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386 Ibid., 121.  
387 Ibid., 119.  
payment or a moment of fame. Hiram Walker’s sources from the 1950s and 1960s were not clear on the topic, but Merrill reminds the reader that local participants were often able to “put on a show” in order to benefit from any social or cultural exchanges with tourists.

**Adventure Takes a New Turn: The “Hide-A-Case” Series**

In the late 1960s, Hiram Walker officials turned to the experts at McCaffrey and McCall to devise a fresh campaign to sell Canadian Club Whisky. Hiram Walker introduced the first “Hide-A-Case” Series advertisement in July 1967. It invited readers to find a hidden case of Canadian Club Whisky somewhere near Mt. Kilimanjaro in Tanzania. Hiram Walker President, Roy Stevens reasoned that the travel theme would “continue the long association [the distillery] had built over the years between Canadian Club and high adventure.” The only “Hide-a-Case” advertisement counted in the survey was a two page one that ran in the 7 November 1969 issue of *Life*. It featured a picture of the Yukon River near Dawson City on the first page. Copy informed readers Hiram Walker hid a case of Canadian Club in the area on 7 September 1969 and on the next page, told them how it could be found. A romantic tale described the geographic features of the area, the 1898 miners’ experiences through the rocky terrain, and Canadian Club’s history in Dawson City at the time. The copy was interspersed with small images of the White Pass, Bonanza Creek and miners at Eldorado Creek. The campaign aroused old themes like hospitality and competitive camaraderie in a modified form as it advised readers that the case was hidden near Dawson, as well as a recommendation to stay at the Flora Dora Hotel, and dine in its restaurant (Figure 2.9). Copy dared readers to find the case, and reminded the

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unadventurous that they could buy a bottle of Canadian Club at their nearest tavern or store. The last line of copy referenced a cliché to the Gold Rush with the statement, “Straight or on the rocks, it’s worth its weight in gold.” Disparities abounded as to when readers found the cases. This advertisement mentioned that in August 1967, a fan discovered the case hidden on Mt. Kilimanjaro on 11 June 1967. However, an article from a 1978 issue of Round Table concluded two Scandinavian men accidentally stumbled upon the case ten years later in December 1977, while searching for two lost boys. Hiram Walker released advertisements for hidden cases in several locations like the Great Barrier Reef, Angel Falls, Venezuela, Loch Ness, Scotland, St. Helena Island, and in Ujiji, Tanzania. Out of all the hidden cases, Stevens claimed those concealed at Angel Falls, St. Helena Island and Mt. Kilimanjaro were the only ones found. The campaign lasted into the 1970s, but by the middle of the decade, the distillery shifted focus and began hiding cases solely in North America.

Along with the introduction of the Hide-a-Case series in 1967, Hiram Walker released a new set of advertisements tailored to African American consumers. Beginning in the fall of 1967, advertisements for Canadian Club and Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon in Ebony used African American models as the principal characters. Only one Hiram Walker advertisement with a white man was apparent in the magazine between 1967 until the end of 1969. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on this campaign, and analyze Hiram Walker’s and Seagram’s advertising and marketing decisions directed at African American consumers.

Beyond the Adventure

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391 “On September”, 55.
392 “Response To”, Round Table, 3.
393 Ibid.
Travel to far, exotic destinations where the American friend was consistently greeted with glasses of Canadian Club whisky was a standard outcome in the Adventure Series advertisements. Hiram Walker had firmly established the association between Canadian Club and travel which inspired the creation of at least two other campaigns: “87 lands” and “The Great Restaurants of the World”. Advertisements from the “87 lands” campaign showed a bottle of Canadian Club whisky superimposed onto renowned sites or monuments in various international cities. The advertisements ran in issues of Ebony and Gourmet, and were set in a series of countries such as Italy, Hong Kong, Brazil, Denmark and Greece. Many of the monuments were photographed at dusk to capture the city’s night skyline. A large picture of the site or monument occupied about four-fifths of the page with a small white band at the bottom. Canadian Club’s slogan featured prominently in the advertisements as in the case of this one from Ebony, May 1960, “In Brazil as in 87 lands it’s ‘The Best in the House’”. (Figure 2.10) Remaining copy described Canadian Club’s light flavour and versatility. A bottle of Canadian Club sat in the middle of a snapshot of the Silver Strand along Copacabana Beach in Rio Di Janeiro at dusk, as the city’s traffic and street lights set the skyline aglow. There were sixteen advertisements from this campaign in Ebony and four in Gourmet, counted in the survey. Individual advertisements often repeated across issues, and they were not entertaining or as complex as the Adventure Series advertisements. The advertisements highlighted Canadian Club’s worldwide popularity which was in keeping with the brand’s identity, and its message about travel was present but subdued. Copy and imagery both implied that the cosmopolitan traveller appreciated Canadian Club which was available in eighty seven countries, but the campaign made no reference to gender or racial constructs, and there were no human characters in the advertisements.

394 “In Brazil” Canadian Club advertisement Ebony (May 1960), 81.
References to Canadian Club’s light flavour and versatility could have alluded to its suitability as a cocktail base. Unlike Seagram, Hiram Walker did not actively promote whisky as a cocktail mixer but advertised its extensive line of liqueurs in this capacity. The majority of these advertisements ran in *Ebony*, and may have been a neutral approach to advertising to African American consumers who might not have identified with the white characters in the Adventure Series and other Hiram Walker advertisements.

**Gourmet Dining and Canadian Club Whisky**

Hiram Walker’s “Great Restaurants of the World” advertising series played on the link between Canadian Club Whisky and travel. The distillery hired Eliot Eliofson in 1964, one-time *Life* correspondent, movie production colour consultant, cook book author, and contributor to the *Life Picture Cook Book*, to photograph the advertisements. He took pictures of fine dining establishments across Europe, and tempted readers with rich, decadent food that could only be found in these exclusive restaurants. There were twelve such advertisements noted in the survey, all of which were in *Gourmet*. Out of the twelve, three of the advertisements recurred twice, one that featured “Los Caracoles” restaurant in Spain, the “Operakallaren” in Sweden and another shot at the “Baumaniere” in France. The advertisements ran from approximately 1963 until 1966, and foreign travel was vital to the campaign.

Unlike the Adventure Series advertisements, luxury, decadence and exclusivity were salient motifs in the “Restaurants of the World” campaign. In the 1950s, upper-class and upper middle class Americans were reacquainting themselves with France, its culture and cuisine. Food historian, Harvey Levenstein recounts that the number of American tourists visiting Europe

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started to increase, and an elite clientele appreciative of French haute cuisine emerged in New York City. Magazines like *Vogue, House Beautiful* and most notably *Gourmet*, praised the tastes and pleasures at hand when travelling throughout France. The magazines’ recipes, articles and advertisements were intended to cultivate an interest and love of French cuisine and culture, even if women were uninterested in replicating the dishes cited. However, for upper class Americans, French cuisine was not about taste alone. When Americans dined at French restaurants, their acts of consumption showed they were cultured and affluent, of an elite social standing class. Although Chef Julia Child tried to demystify French cooking for American women, and democratize it for the middle class, many Americans were enthralled with its pretentiousness. David Strauss discusses *Gourmet*’s role in solidifying the relationship between the consumption of luxurious foods and class in post-World War II American society. Articles addressed readers as “civilized friends”, and urged them to abandon package tours and the haute cuisine of Paris in favour of small, regional restaurants. Levenstein informs that *Gourmet* tried to deter readers from joining package tours that were becoming increasingly popular with wealthier middle class Americans who were using European travel to symbolize their improved social status. By urging readers to opt for regional restaurants and avoid the popular attractions prized by most American tourists, *Gourmet* fostered a culture of elitism in its readers beyond the levels already associated with travel to Europe. It is not unusual then that Hiram Walker chose to incorporate a gourmet restaurant theme as part of its Canadian Club

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397 Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have*, 170.
398 Ibid.
399 Levenstein, *Paradox*, 139-140.
400 Shapiro, *Something from the Oven*, 222 and Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have Paris*, 250.
401 Strauss, *Setting the Table*, 173, 179-81, 187.
402 Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have*, 180-81.
advertising campaign. The campaign’s advertisements evoked a sense of luxury, exclusivity and sophistication about the Canadian Club brand, and whisky drinking in ways that were somewhat novel to the product’s identity. By appealing to readers of *Gourmet*, Hiram Walker was trying to convince consumers that whisky drinking was a sophisticated act, one that took place in elegant dining establishments accompanied with fine food. In doing so, the distillery was trying to broaden its consumer base beyond the middle class, male suburbanite.

A “Great Restaurants of the World” advertisement from October 1963, beckoned readers to visit “Le Vieux Moulin de Cros” situated in Cros de Cagnes between Nice and Cannes, when visiting France. Proprietor Monsieur Nestou welcomed guests like royalty to open-hearth cooking and glasses of Canadian Club. Copy claimed ambassadors, princes and international travellers prized the restaurant for its quiet tranquility and supply of Canadian Club. An image of Monsieur Nestou standing behind a bar filled with bottles of wine, spirits and liqueurs made up about half of the page, with copy below the picture set against white space. Cros de Cagnes was located along the Côte d’Azur, a region reputed for its aristocrats and celebrities, but an unlikely stop for most package tours in these years. The advertisement hoped to impress status seeking readers with pretentious details about royal and celebrity patrons and promises of exclusivity. It also conveyed that guests selected the restaurant for its ambient elegance but also because it served Canadian Club. In this instance, Canadian Club was not for the masses but wealthy “connoisseurs” who enjoyed life’s pleasures. The socially ambitious consumer could display his or her success by buying or serving Canadian Club, a favourite brand of the wealthy, discerning drinker and world traveller.

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404 “Le Vieux Moulin de Cros”, 85.
By the fall of 1964, Hiram Walker’s advertising unequivocally strengthened Canadian Club’s position as a gourmand’s preferred liquor by showcasing gourmet restaurants’ specialty dishes. Eliofson’s influence was apparent in the vivid, close-up, colourful shots of platters laden with seafood like lobster and crab like the ones taken at “Los Caracoles” in Spain, and another at the Hotel Europa in Venice. Bottles or glasses of Canadian Club were absent from the main scenes but a bottle of Canadian Club could be found in an inset below the photographs. Aside from the hosts or proprietors, there were no other characters in the advertisements, and no one drank in the scenes. Each advertisement comprised of tables set with an abundance of food, often laid out in front of the proprietor or host, with a section of the restaurant visible in the background. The “Great Restaurants of the World” series presented the reader with a choice of vacation destinations once frequented by Europe’s royalty, feudal lords, sultans and historical figures where luxurious indulgence and opulent surroundings were standard. Of course, guests could sip Canadian Club in every one of these establishments. In reality, Canadian Club was a good quality whisky, priced slightly above American whiskies, but far from premium quality alcoholic beverages like cognac, single malt Scotch or champagne. Unlike the Adventure Series or “87 lands” campaigns, the “Great Restaurants of the World” series aligned the brand with extravagance, grandeur and food travel. Clearly, the distillery was trying to position Canadian Club as a whisky for the upper and upper middle class consumer. Travelling in search of the trendiest fine dining establishment across the Atlantic may have appealed to a reader of *Gourmet*, someone with the inclination and finances to shun package tours.

Pairing food with drink was Hiram Walker’s way of promoting whisky drinking as a refined, elegant activity. By 1965, advertisements focused on specialty entrées authentic to a specific region like the Osso Bucco served at “Giannino” in Milan, the fine stuffed leg of lamb
and Banon cheese offered at “Baumaniere” in Les Baux, France or the goose liver baillontine and Bresse chicken au gratin found at the “Hostellerie de la Poste” in Avallon, France. In the three advertisements, an open bottle and two glasses of Canadian Club sat on the table beside the restaurants’ signature dishes (Figure 2.11). Unusual were the open bottles of wine and goblets that sat conspicuously near the bottle of Canadian Club since advertisers generally featured only their own products. Wine was not included in the scenes shot at “Rules of London” in England and the “Operakallaren” in Stockholm, Sweden but only in the advertisements set in French and Italian restaurants. The advertisements’ imagery implied that drinking whisky while dining on chic European meals was a sophisticated, elitist and possibly healthier and temperate way of consuming the spirit. Positioning whisky beside wine bottles and glasses suggested it was an appropriate substitute for the milder, less intoxicating grape-based alcoholic beverage. Wine because of its European heritage, associations with gourmet food and the presumption one needed expert skill and training to pair it with meals, held tremendous snob appeal. Hiram Walker was telling consumers that because of its exclusive and superior quality, Canadian Club was comparable to French and Italian wines. Reading the copy reveals that Hiram Walker did not stray from whisky’s origins even if imagery indicated otherwise, as it prompted readers to drink “Canadian Club in short ones before dinner, in tall ones after.”

The three advertisements did not instruct readers to drink whisky with their meals, as one would normally do with wine but the photographs told another story. At times, the restaurants were quaint, unknown places but in many instances they were famous, prestigious establishments noted for their gourmet cuisine. Even for upper-middle class readers, Levenstein observes that the advertisements were

likely aspirational because the sort of gastronomic tourism they presented did not catch on until the mid-1970s.\footnote{Levenstein, \textit{Paradox of Plenty}, 251-52.}

**Imperial Blended Whiskey: By the Bottle or Just Buy the Case**

Hiram Walker released its first bottles of Imperial Blended Whiskey to Canadian consumers in 1887, and manufactured the product in Walkerville until 1933. After the repeal of prohibition, the Hiram Walker distillery began distilling Imperial at its Peoria plant in Illinois but waited until 1940 to launch the light tasting, blended whisky at American consumers.\footnote{“A New Image for Imperial” \textit{Round Table} (September 1975), 3.} Advertising agency, Foot, Cone & Belding oversaw the account from 1945 to 1975 and possibly beyond, and released several campaigns during this time to sell Imperial Whiskey. In the 1940s, Imperial led Hiram Walker sales in terms of volume and profit but distillery sources did not quantify the figures, or provide sufficient details about the brand in the 1950s and 1960s. When weighed against Canadian Club, a dearth of distillery and industrial sources exist for Imperial Whiskey. However, a total of sixty advertisements from the pages of \textit{Life}, \textit{Ebony} and \textit{Sports Illustrated} provide some insight about the strategies the distillery implemented to sell the brand. There were twenty seven Imperial advertisements in \textit{Life}, twenty three in \textit{Ebony}, ten in \textit{Sports Illustrated} and zero in \textit{Gourmet}.

At the start of the 1950s, Imperial advertisements in \textit{Life} and \textit{Ebony} comprised of three to four vignettes of cartoon men with exaggerated, long side-burns and thick mustaches wearing period costume. Their attire varied depending on the scene, but their clothing and appearance resembled men of an older era, possibly Victorian England. Each advertisement involved a specific activity like swimming, playing musical instruments or sports like golf and croquet,
horse racing, ice skating or riding a tram or riverboat. In every advertisement, the men delivered short lines of rhyming copy, likely song lyrics, to the reader. In an advertisement from 6 February 1950 set at a skating rink, the men sang, “If You’d Like Old-Time Whiskey Like We Folks Used to Drink…Just Tell the Man you Want Imperial!”(Figure 2.12)\textsuperscript{408} There were twenty-one advertisements from this campaign noted in Ebony and six in Life that ran from 1950 until the end of 1951. In a succession of advertisements, the characters endorsed the whisky’s suitability for a generation of drinkers, its similarity to whisky from one’s grandfather’s era, and acknowledged one’s father drank Imperial. Both the men’s style and advertising copy implied that Hiram Walker had tried to create an old-fashioned, traditional identity for Imperial Whiskey, even while appealing to men of a younger generation. In correspondence to Hiram Walker’s vice president Ross Corbit from 27 March 1951, Fairfax Cone of the Foote, Cone & Belding Agency, informed him that they would utilize the pre-existing “old-time atmosphere and the promise that Imperial has old-time flavor” in other upcoming advertising campaigns.\textsuperscript{409} In 1955, a fifth of a gallon of Imperial Blended Whisky retailed for $4.05, which was lower than the price of Seagram’s 7 Crown, Calvert or Schenley’s blended whiskies. Although Hiram Walker wanted the brand to exude high quality, correspondence from Foote, Cone & Belding stated its price point was a hindrance, and consumers thought it inferior compared to competitors’ products.\textsuperscript{410}

By 1952, the Hiram Walker distillery presented readers with a new campaign for Imperial Whiskey. Only a few of these advertisements ran in Life and Ebony between 1952 and 1953. The advertisements were shot in black and white film, and included human models instead of

\textsuperscript{408} Singers at the Rink, Imperial Blended Whiskey advertisement Life (6 February 1950), 99.
\textsuperscript{409} Fairfax M. Cone to Ross Corbit (27 March 1951), 1 Box 10 Folder: 14 Hiram Walker 1951 FMC Papers, 1949-1971, University of Chicago Library.
\textsuperscript{410} Ibid.
caricatures. Foote, Cone & Belding opted for black and white images because it was cost effective, and allowed for a total of nineteen advertisements in *Life* per year, as opposed to only twelve coloured pages.\footnote{F.M. Cone to agency staff, 2 Box 131 Folder 5: Hiram Walker 1969 FMC Papers} This campaign featured either middle aged or elderly gentlemen which was a rarity in the majority of Seagram’s and Hiram Walker’s advertisements. While campaigns for Canadian Club or Seagram’s V.O. linked the brands with youthful vigour, the older men with receding hairlines, greying temples or shiny pates were a paradox to the young socialites and adventurers. Each advertisement showed five men engrossed in conversation after taking a dip in the pool, playing a round of golf or judging artwork or while relaxing at the cottage with friends. In these advertisements, with the exception of the pool party scene, the men wore formal clothes, either suits or tuxedos, and they held glasses of Imperial Whiskey. One such advertisement from the 6 April 1953 issue of *Life* showed five older gentlemen regaling a friend with glasses of Imperial Whiskey on his birthday as he held onto his new Irish Setter puppy. The ensuing copy stated, “We’re also sure you’d be as pleased as punch with a present this man’s friends are going to give him:-several bottles of the same smooth whiskey the host here is serving.” The copy urged readers to indulge themselves now rather than wait for one’s birthday (Figure 2.13).\footnote{“Happy birthday tomorrow”, Imperial Whiskey Advertisement *Life* 6 April 1953 (34:14), 102.} The host’s hair was greying while two of his guests’ hairlines had receded considerably. The men’s age and style, and genteel leisure pursuits suggest that Hiram Walker was targeting an older customer base than usual but records from Foote, Cone & Belding reveal that the agency was creating a “Buick image” for the brand since “Buick [was] distinctly all right with all people. Hence its broad appeal and sales almost next to Chevrolet.”\footnote{F. M. Cone to agency staff, 3 Box 17: Folder 5 FMC Papers, University of Chicago.} Imperial was an
average quality whisky, not a premium brand, but one that a wide range of consumers could appreciate.

By the mid-1950s, the Hiram Walker distillery discarded Imperial’s old-fashioned, traditional theme, but company records do not reveal reasons for the decision. Likely, in an age where markets were flooded with shiny new appliances, convenience foods and fast cars, consumers may not have related well to the fusty characters. Americans were living in a modern, technologically advanced country, and it was unlikely that young, male drinkers identified with a brand that their grandfathers and fathers drank. Instead, Hiram Walker rolled out a campaign that encouraged people to make bulk purchases. The “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial” campaign implored readers to purchase an entire case of whisky at a time. In an interview with New York Times columnist, William Freeman in March 1957, Foot, Cone & Belding advertising account executives commented that the agency “took a ‘mass appeal’ approach” with the volume brand because of its lower price point.414 Although the advertisements held “mass appeal”, they were hardly egalitarian, and were not without a class element. Foote, Cone & Belding directed the advertisements at “the young executive on the way up, the sophisticated suburbanite, the man of taste and judgement with no need to buy whiskey with a fancy label and at a fancy price.”415 The target market was not upper class, and Hiram Walker officials were perplexed by the unforeseen increase in Imperial Whiskey sales in the wealthier “station-wagon communities” of Fairfield County, Connecticut, Grosse Pointe, Michigan and the north shore of Long Island.416 Class in this instance referred to the individual

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415 Fairfax Cone to Hiram Walker’s T.H. Gibbons, (14 January 1957) Box 48 Folder 10: FMC Papers, University of Chicago.
416 William Freeman, “News of the”, 150.
seeking social status, probably looking for respectability and approval from one’s peers. At the same time, the individual may have been frugal or entertained regularly, and did not have the means to purchase multiple bottles of expensive liquor. Hiram Walker altered strategies slightly when Bob Eck and John Rolfe, Imperial Whiskey account managers at Foot, Cone & Belding, added a chauffeur driven Rolls Royce in some of the advertisements. This move likely improved the whisky’s brand identity, and caught the attention of pretentious consumers. Advertisements featuring the chauffeur were not present in the issues of Life and Sports Illustrated sampled for this study. Instead, most of the advertisements counted, emphasized the volume purchase and not the exclusivity implied by the Rolls Royce, as male models stood beside a case of Imperial at a bar, or sat on a patio with a case resting on an adjacent chair.

An elite lifestyle was more pronounced in another set of advertisements that were part of the same campaign where a man delivered a case of Imperial to the kitchen staff of a presumably affluent household. In one instance, a deliveryman dressed in uniform shared an elevator with a housekeeper or maid to the topmost floor of an apartment, likely the penthouse. The advertisement was black and white, with limited copy that stated, “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial-It’s a Matter of Taste (and value) (Figure 2.14).” Advertisements from the “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial” campaign generally had male characters but the act of drinking was not implicitly linked with their masculinity. Even when class elements were blatantly referenced, copy seemed to suggest that this was a whisky for the value-conscious consumer with discriminating tastes. Notably, the pages of Gourmet did not contain

417 “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial”-Deliveryman with maid Imperial Whiskey advertisement Sports Illustrated (3 October 1960), 51.
advertisements for Imperial Blended Whiskey, and advertisements from the “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial” campaign did not appear in *Ebony*.

Although Hiram Walker shed Imperial’s old-fashioned identity the distillery did not stop using older models. A campaign that ran in tandem with the “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial” featured real, recognizable men of varying ages advertising the whisky. The men in these advertisements were like the Adventure Series friends who participated in adventures, played sports and embodied a rugged and heroic type of masculinity. However, humour and fun were not part of the advertisements as these men were serious adventurers. Standards in the advertisements were a large image of a specific celebrity holding a glass of whisky, an oversized bottle of Imperial superimposed onto the man’s photograph and a small inset with a paragraph of copy. The slogan, “Man, this is whiskey!” sat at the bottom of each advertisement. A few examples appeared in the magazine survey, mostly in *Life*, and Hiram Walker may have also placed them in specialized publications dedicated to hunting and fishing enthusiasts. Hiram Walker included men like big-game hunter Sasha Siemel, Western author Louis L’Amour, former Coast Guard and sports-writer Chuck Meyer, angler Alfred Glassell Jr., deep sea diver Max Gene Nohl and skeet shooter Russell Aitken in the campaign. In the advertisement with Louis L’Amour, copy praised his adventurous personality but minimized his writing career. It stated, “Rancher, miner, he’s trapped wild mustangs in the Arizona Strip. Former tank destroyer officer, fighter, sailor, he survived a hurricane shipwreck on his first voyage out. His hobby is writing. His business: adventure.”418 Contrary to the American friends of Canadian Club, these men were actual adventurers who succeeded in their risky activities. The advertisement with Sasha Siemel mentioned his skill with a spear as he was nicknamed the “tigero” for single-

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handedly killing thirty-one savage jaguars. The men were older than the friends of Canadian Club, like Aitken and L’Amour who were in their mid to late forties, and Siemel who was in his sixties around the time the advertisements ran. These men were competent and skilled, and Hiram Walker may have used them to target either an older segment of the population, men who identified with the hero persona, or believed that by purchasing Imperial, they could live vicariously through the adventurers. The advertisements also implied that male drinkers still found heroic masculinity appealing, and that Imperial Whiskey was an alcoholic beverage intended for this clientele.

Near the end of 1964, Hiram Walker decided to drop the “Knowledgeable People Buy Imperial” slogan. Although Foote, Cone & Belding was handling the Imperial account, Hiram Walker sought advertising expertise at another agency, the Campbell-Ewald Company. At a time when white spirits were gaining a reputation for their neutral or sweet flavours, and Calvert Extra was advertised as a “soft” whisky, Kensinger Jones at Campbell-Ewald prompted it would be wise to pitch Imperial as a “solid, uncompromising whiskey” and regarded it as “a good straightforward, two-fisted booze.” The idea was to retain customers who enjoyed a strong whisky rather than chasing after those who preferred lighter tasting spirits. In February 1965, account executives at Campbell-Ewald were still discussing potential slogans and campaigns for Imperial. However, officials at Hiram Walker must have been unsatisfied with the concepts Campbell-Ewald put forth as the distillery retained Foote, Cone & Belding to oversee the Imperial account.

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419 Sasha Siemel-Imperial Whiskey advertisement Life (21 March 1955), 120.
The 1950s and 1960s were decades of growth for Hiram Walker and the distilled spirits industry. Middle class Americans had greater amounts of disposable income and leisure time to use and enjoy the numerous consumer goods they purchased. As this occurred, white middle class Americans increasingly entertained in their homes, a fact not overlooked by the alcoholic beverage industry. It was common to find advertisements for beer, cordials and many spirits that encouraged a domesticated form of consumption within a heterosocial environment. However, Hiram Walker did not seem as intent in promoting this message. With the majority of its consumers being men in these decades, Hiram Walker set its whisky advertisements far from the home. Male characters in the Adventure Series advertisements enjoyed their whisky in the company of male hosts usually in restaurants, hotels or outdoors. It linked its esteemed whisky, Canadian Club with a hyper-masculinized character who was simultaneously brave and adventurous as well as incompetent and entertaining. The Hiram Walker distillery presented a bifurcated message about whisky consumption. On the one hand, the friends of Canadian Club demonstrated that they did not take their masculinity seriously, and that middle class men could escape from their responsibilities with a glass of whisky after participating in or reading about a ridiculous and humorous adventure. On the other hand, the distillery wanted to convince consumers, likely both male and female, that people with sophisticated tastes travelled to elite European restaurants and drank whisky as one did wine. By purchasing Canadian Club, consumers could aspire to the carefree and zany lifestyles of the Adventure Series’ bumbling friends or the high class luxury found in the Restaurants of the World campaign. The messages in the Imperial Whiskey campaigns conferred additional meanings to whisky drinking often clashing with the ones disseminated in the Canadian Club advertisements. Imperial Whiskey advertisements told consumers that lower priced whiskies were as good as, if not better quality
than ones that were more costly, even though advertisements for Canadian Club suggested otherwise. Also, unlike the Canadian Club advertisements, ones for Imperial Whiskey featured real adventurers who epitomized success and heroic masculinity. Through its numerous advertising campaigns, the Hiram Walker distillery targeted a range of men, those who may have subscribed to the bread winner ideal but sought a vicarious sense of excitement and adventure, or others who read *Gourmet* and spent their summers travelling through Europe or those who could only aspire to such standards. Still, there were others who might have identified with the older gentlemen presented in the Imperial Whiskey advertisements, or consumers who did not want to compromise quality but appreciated good value. Under all circumstances, Hiram Walker hoped middle class consumers could envision a part of themselves in the products and lifestyles it sold. By purchasing and drinking Hiram Walker’s whiskies, men could show their peers they were successful individuals who knew how to drink and have fun. On the surface it might have seemed like the Hiram Walker distillery marketed its products to a single mass market of white, American men. To a degree, this was true as this was the distillery’s most significant group of consumers. However, by touting one element of a whisky’s character instead of another or associating a brand with luxury and affluence in one campaign but with a contested version of masculinity in another, the Hiram Walker distillery targeted several smaller segments of the wider mass market during the 1950s, a trend that would only become noticeable by the end of the 1960s.
Chapter 3 Distinguished Men: Respectability and Responsibility in Advertisements for the African American Consumer

Seagram and Hiram Walker were already advertising to African American consumers before 1950. As middle class African Americans’ incomes grew, the market expanded and the social and political climate changed over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, Seagram and Hiram Walker had to find new ways to appeal to this evolving clientele. While it was easy to align white masculinity and drinking with excitement, adventure or pleasure, Seagram and Hiram Walker had to be cautious with how they targeted African American men. At times, white society viewed African Americans’ drinking as problematic. For years, African Americans’ desire to attain respect has often been interwoven with their temperate use of or abstinence from alcohol. At the same time, they wanted manufacturers to recognize their patronage by using African Americans to advertise the products they purchased, including alcohol. Seagram and Hiram Walker were attuned to these complexities, and this chapter argues that the distilleries portrayed African American masculinity as professional, respectable and successful, instead of the pleasure-seeking or bumbling masculinity evident in advertisements directed at white male consumers.

Seagram and Hiram Walker advertised consistently in Ebony, a magazine dedicated to middle class African American readers, but advertisements from the 1950s through to the mid-1960s were replications from mainstream publications with white models. Generally, advertisers seldom cast African Americans in non-servile roles until the 1960s even though they wanted
their patronage.\footnote{Lizabeth Cohen, \textit{A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America} (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 323.} According to \textit{The Crisis}, the official publication of the NAACP, African Americans’ estimated annual purchasing power was $20 billion in 1966.\footnote{Henry Lee Moon, “The Black Boycott” \textit{The Crisis} (May 1966), 249.} Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising strategies were in keeping with general market trends: as late as 1957, much of the advertising in \textit{Ebony}, with the exception of hair-straightening and skin-lightening products, contained white models.\footnote{Peter Bart, “Advertising: Role of Negroes is Discussed”, \textit{The New York Times} (6 October 1963), 170. Also See Appendices B and C-Tables 1.9 and 2.11.} Based on the five Seagram and Hiram Walker brands evaluated for this project, the distillers placed a combined total of 213 advertisements in \textit{Ebony} from 1950 until 1969 excluding those for Calvert products sold by Seagram.\footnote{I excluded Calvert branded products from the results because there were not enough primary sources to support an extended analysis about the whiskies’ origins, the distillers’ advertising campaigns or advertising agencies. However, I do mention the campaign later in the chapter as a point of contrast to Seagram and Hiram Walker’s approach to advertising to African American clientele.} Comparatively, there were 180, 92 and 137 whisky advertisements in \textit{Life}, \textit{Sports Illustrated} and \textit{Gourmet} respectively.\footnote{See Appendix A-Table C} The high number of advertisements in \textit{Ebony} indicates that African Americans were clearly an important customer base for the distilleries even if their advertisements did not reflect the magazine’s readership. Early on, Seagram included African American models in advertisements for its Calvert branded products but discontinued the practice around 1955. Initially, Hiram Walker advertised Walker’s DeLuxe Whiskey in \textit{Ebony} and mainstream publications with a fictitious African American butler named Robert, much like the Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben characters, but around the time civil rights activists protested the use of such figures, it stopped running the advertisements. When manufacturers of other commodities, and some of their competitors started to use African American models in their advertising, Seagram and Hiram Walker followed suit in the mid-1960s. The distilleries acknowledged that African
Americans were an emerging and lucrative segment of the consumer market, and based their appeals on African Americans’ drive for respectability. This chapter will describe the historiography on representations of African Americans in advertising, a section on African Americans as consumers, and the relationship between the temperate consumption of alcohol, respectability and African American manhood. It will be followed by an analysis of Seagram’s and Hiram Walker’s advertising and marketing efforts directed at African American consumers, men in particular, and how this evolved over the period under study in relation to some of their mainstream campaigns.

African Americans and Advertising

Manufacturers of consumer products had a history of using African Americans and Africans in print advertising prior to the 1950s, but seldom were the representations positive. Around the second half of the nineteenth century, manufacturers plastered African American faces on an assortment of prepackaged consumer products like soap, pancake mix, rice and cereal. Soap manufacturers frequently used African American children in their advertisements to juxtapose the darkness of the children’s skin against the whiteness of their products, or that of white children. In the late 1880s, advertisements for Gold Dust washing powder featured two African American boys, who were extremely dark skinned, partially naked and dressed in red skirts, as part of the company’s logo. By the early 1900s, the makers of Gold Dust hired two African American children to act as mascots and hand out booklets to attendees at trade shows.426 Pears and Ivory incorporated similar imagery in their advertisements to contrast the brilliance of the soaps against the dark skinned African American and African children. Scholars

Anne McClintock, Marilyn Kern-Foxworth and M. M. Manring argue that soap in such advertisements was a symbolic reminder to white readers of their inherent, superior hygiene standards, preserved boundaries of race and class, and emphasized binary opposites such as white versus black and dirty versus clean.\textsuperscript{427} McClintock observes that middle-class Victorians were obsessed with hygiene, white bodies and cleanliness when confronted with the dirt and poverty of industrialism, and anticolonial resistance. She suggests that soap “offered a promise of spiritual salvation and regeneration through commodity consumption, a regime of domestic hygiene that could restore the threatened potency of the imperial body politic and race.”\textsuperscript{428} While McClintock’s analysis refers to the British Empire, her soap analogy could extend to the United States where advertisers emphasized the black/white paradigm to abate white consumers’ anxieties about the social, economic and political upheaval experienced in the aftermath of the Civil War, and the abolition of slavery.

Other African American characters like Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Uncle Rastus became American advertising icons. While advertisers and manufacturers used these characters to sell pancakes, rice and cream of wheat, they also sold an identity and way of life to white consumers. Roland Marchand suggests that maids functioned as props in advertisements in the 1920s and 1930s to signify specific class status, much like the way advertisers included polo fields or ballroom.\textsuperscript{429} In an era when industrialization reduced the dependence on, and availability of domestic servants, their appearance in advertisements conveyed to consumers that

\textsuperscript{428} Anne McClintock, \textit{Imperial Leather}, 211.  
purchasing such products could enhance their social status. Characters like Uncle Rastus, Uncle Ben and Aunt Jemima relegated African Americans to household help and stereotyped them as jovial, content and submissive cooks, waiters or “mammies”. When Aunt Jemima was first introduced to consumers in the late 1800s, she was depicted as a very dark skinned, overweight woman with grotesque, semi-androgynous features, inspired by a white, male minstrel character who wore “black face”. Images of African Americans and Africans, particularly sketches, portrayed characters with bulging eyes, thick red lips and very dark complexions such as the early representations of the Gold Dust Twins and Aunt Jemima.

In some instances, advertisers switched from using sketches to photographs of real models. Although the physical features of these African American faces were no longer exaggerated, African American consumers still resented their symbolism. Such characters denigrated African Americans and glorified the slave-master paradigm. M.M. Manring notes that when consumers purchased Aunt Jemima pancake mix, they appropriated a Southern plantation lifestyle of leisure, beauty and racial superiority.\footnote{M.M. Manring, \textit{Slave in a Box}, 111.} Having a cook or servant make breakfast might have been unimaginable or unattainable to the average woman who bought pancake mix but Aunt Jemima invoked her aspirations. As Alice Deck identifies, this form of commodity fetishism allowed white consumers to bring home a box of processed food with the face of an African American symbolically watching over their food preparation.\footnote{Alice A. Deck, “‘Now Then-Who Said Biscuits?’ The Black Woman as Cook in American Advertising, 1905-1953” \textit{Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender and Race} (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2001).} A product of convenience, the mix meant anyone could make pancakes with ease and efficiency, expending a limited amount of energy and time, as if they were made by the hired help. The ready-to-use
pancake mix displaced the need for African American servants and minimalized white domestic labour, but perpetuated stereotypes that were detrimental to African American identity. Presenting African Americans in advertisements as cooks, servants and maids figuratively eradicated or reduced white labour by reinforcing the notion that all ready-to-use products sold by icons like Uncle Rastus or Aunt Jemima could replace household chores.\textsuperscript{432} Advertisements of smiling, happy African Americans working on a Southern plantation glorified a lifestyle of leisure for upper and middle class white men and women but also romanticized an unrealistic portrayal of life on the plantation. These advertisements obliterated the inhumane conditions African American slaves experienced. They celebrated a fictitious relationship based on harmonious interactions between slaves and masters, and evoked nostalgia for a time that had vanished. Masculinity in such imagery comprised of three categories: the dangerous brute, the entertainer: either the singing-and-dancing Sambo or plantation storyteller like Uncle Remus, and the self-sacrificing and loyal Uncle Tom character.\textsuperscript{433} Publications often showed African American men as lazy, happy and smiling, and as ignorant, poor rural individuals.\textsuperscript{434} The makers of Aunt Jemima dropped references to plantation life by the 1940s but the character still appeared in advertisements, at live cooking demonstrations and on boxes of pancake mix. Even when advertisers stopped alluding to plantation life, Aunt Jemima personified the Southern “mammy”, a portrait of slavery to African American consumers and probably white consumers as well.

\textsuperscript{432} M.M. Manring, \textit{Slave in a Box}, 141.


\textsuperscript{434} Ibid., 137.
African Americans Respond to “Mammy”

In the 1930s, and again later in the 1950s and 1960s, African American consumers openly spoke of their disdain for Aunt Jemima. Paul K. Edwards, a white professor of at Fisk University studied the buying habits of African American consumers in the South in the 1930s. One aspect of his research examined African American attitudes towards advertisements containing African Americans in subservient or demeaning roles. Participants in Birmingham, Atlanta, Richmond and Nashville who were asked to review advertisements for Aunt Jemima Pancake Flour provided the following reactions: “Appearance of Aunt Jemima and log cabin sufficient to keep me from buying flour.”, “Wouldn’t read it. Hate it.”, “Illustration of Aunt Jemima utterly disgusts me.”

In the 1950s and 1960s, leaders within the African American community such as Malcolm X and Black Panther member Eldridge Cleavers criticized the image of Aunt Jemima. In his column entitled, “The Negro Market” for the New Pittsburgh Courier, Claude H. Hall told readers that he would never purchase a box of Aunt Jemima Pancake Mix or Uncle Ben’s Rice, and would have no respect for any “Negro” who did. He reasoned that “these images represent the caricatures of the antebellum South and they should be consigned to the dusty pages of history.” In Black Hunger, Doris Witt mentions that in the 1960s, African American artists such as Jeff Donaldson, Joe Overstreet and Murry DePillars appropriated Aunt Jemima as a symbol against white domination. In their individual depictions, the artists subverted Aunt Jemima’s image to present her in a militarized and

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436 Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, 85-86.
438 Doris DeWitt, Black Hunger: Soul Food and America (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 44.
masculinized form, holding a gun or wielding a spatula like a weapon, a representative in the
fight against white oppression.\textsuperscript{439} In her original state though, Jemima was a single dimensional
interpretation of African American identity at a time when few positive representations of
African Americans existed in mainstream media

In \textit{Madison Avenue and the Color Line}, Jason Chambers states, “Blacks in twentieth-
century advertising were subservient objects that served the cornucopia of products hawked in
advertisements, but rarely subjects who used them. The explicit message that ads delivered with
crystal clarity was that consumers were white.”\textsuperscript{440} In \textit{Selling Soap, Sex and Cigarettes: A
Cultural History of American Advertising} Juliann Sivulka notes that through the 1940s and
1950s advertisers regarded white suburbanites as the primary market for consumer goods
because they were affluent and consumed copious amounts of media. According to Sivulka, this
strategy alienated specific segments of society such as African Americans, other ethnic
minorities, single parents and unmarried individuals. Like Chambers, Sivulka claims some
advertisers hired African Americans but they perpetuated racial stereotypes of obsequious
domestic help with smiling faces.\textsuperscript{441} In contrast, a few companies such as Pepsi, Pet Milk, Philip
Morris and Colgate did employ African American models in the 1940s to represent their brands,
and presented them in a positive light.\textsuperscript{442} Pepsi’s African American sales team developed this
segment of the market but the company disbanded the specialized team in the early 1950s.\textsuperscript{443}
Like Pepsi, some companies dropped specialized initiatives that targeted African American

\textsuperscript{439} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{440} Jason Chambers, \textit{Madison Avenue and the Color Line: African Americans in the Advertising Industry}
\textsuperscript{441} Juliann Sivulka, \textit{Soap, Sex and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising} (Wadsworth Publishing,
\textsuperscript{442} Stephanie Capparell, \textit{The Real Pepsi Challenge: How One American Company Broke Color Barriers in 1940s
\textsuperscript{443} Capparell, “The Real Challenge”, location 3450.
consumers for fear of being labelled “black brands”. Advertising personnel argued that if they presented African Americans in a positive manner, it could offend white consumers to the point that they would not purchase the product advertised because it challenged white authority and societal norms. Advertisers were also convinced that African Americans could not afford a wide range of consumer goods therefore felt it was pointless developing special advertisements for the market.\(^444\) Others argued that specialized advertising was redundant because African Americans were familiar with brand names. Some large corporations questioned the wisdom of advertising in African American newspapers which they believed had low circulation numbers, insular journalism and inferior design.\(^445\)

**The African American Consumer**

African Americans had worked for decades to alter the negative imagery presented by the media. In *Ladies’ Pages*, Noliwe Rooks recounts how the creators of the *Ringwood Journal* first published in 1891, set out to uplift African Americans, and weaken popular culture’s outdated negative associations about African American women and sexual vulnerability, violence and slavery.\(^446\) Columnists discussed various significant issues within the African American community but it was also a fashion magazine presenting readers with the latest styles modelled by African American women. The African American models tended to be light skinned with “white features”, a trend evident later on in other magazines like *Ebony*. Not every African American woman could identify with these models, but their faces were an alternative to

\(^{444}\) Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex and Cigarettes*, 9.
the denigrating, unattractive images many advertisers perpetuated. In *Making a New Deal*, Lizabeth Cohen comments that as early as the 1920s, African American consumers embraced mass culture through their patronage of black commercial enterprises, acceptance of brand name goods and eventually shopping at chain stores.\(^{447}\) Through these actions, African Americans asserted their racial identity, and avoided racist business owners who meted out harsh treatment through overcharging and insults.\(^{448}\) In the 1940s, Magazine editors, journalists and businessmen like Claude Barnett, William B. Ziff and John Johnson created and supported special interest publications for African American audiences. Barnett and Johnson felt that African Americans were brand conscious consumers who thought trademarked products guaranteed quality, and prevented storekeepers from selling them inferior goods. In an editorial in *Ebony*, Johnson noted that, “To a Negro indulgence in luxury is a vindication of his belief in his ability to match the best of white men.”\(^{449}\) Luxury and brand named goods functioned as social and economic equalizers between African Americans and white consumers, as they struggled to overcome racism. As leaders of the African American business community, Barnett, Ziff and Johnson dedicated time and resources to convince manufacturers, especially sellers of national brands that the African American community was an ideal target for their advertising and marketing efforts.

In the 1910s, southern African Americans began heading to cities in northern and western states in what was known as the Great Migration. A multitude of factors motivated African Americans to leave the South including the mechanization of farm equipment which reduced the need for human labour on Southern farms, the opening of the labour market in northern cities

\(^{448}\) Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 149.  
\(^{449}\) “Why Negroes Buy Cadillacs,” *Ebony* (September 1946), 34.
after World War I, and the imposition of Jim Crow laws and racial intolerance and violence in the South.\textsuperscript{450} By the end of World War II, the annual income of African Americans increased almost three times from what it had been in the 1920s, and urban dwellers saw a significant rise in earnings.\textsuperscript{451} The median income of African American families grew from $1869 in 1950 to $6279 in 1970 while that of white families went from $3445 to $10,236 in the same years.\textsuperscript{452} Although there was a significant disparity between white and African American families’ incomes, manufacturers realized that the spending potential of African American consumers was increasing, and they had to connect with this market. However, very few manufacturers and advertisers were eager to make African Americans the “face” of their campaigns. Johnson was effective at getting advertisers to fill issues of \textit{Ebony} in the 1950s but most of them replicated identical advertisements from mainstream publications, complete with white models in the magazine’s pages. Chambers indicates that in the 1950s, “…many advertisers and agencies assumed that blacks wanted to be white and that they mimicked whites in their habits and tastes.”\textsuperscript{453} While this may have held true for some agencies and corporations, regurgitating advertisements used in the mainstream press had its advantages. It was a way for advertisers to mitigate potential backlash and boycotts from white consumers but it is not certain if the threat was imminent. A study published by advertising professor Arnold Barban and professor of marketing administration Edward Cundiff in 1964, showed that African American students judged integrated advertising samples as favourable versus white students who judged them as

\textsuperscript{451} Susannah Walker, “Black Dollar Power”, 380-381.  
\textsuperscript{453} Chambers, \textit{Madison Avenue and the Color Line}, 120.
neutral.\textsuperscript{454} In another study conducted by business studies scholars, James W. Cagley and Richard Cardozo in April 1970, African American and white college students admitted to varying degrees of prejudice when showed integrated advertisements, while some white students identified they were “highly prejudiced”.\textsuperscript{455} Overall, the study found that both white and African American students reacted unfavourably to integrated advertising.\textsuperscript{456} The studies’ findings were not conclusive and based on small sample sizes, but indicate that some Americans were uncomfortable with integrated advertisements. A \textit{New York Times} article from 1963 cited that an undisclosed company received more than 2000 letters protesting “Negroes” in its advertisements, while another unnamed firm claimed that a “substantial” number of respondents wrote to complain about the same issue.\textsuperscript{457}

African Americans’ struggle for equitable treatment began decades before the peak of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Several scholars have documented African Americans’ acts of dissension and political protest against the South’s Jim Crow Laws, segregation in general and the racism they experienced.\textsuperscript{458} For example, African Americans boycotted white businesses in an effort to protest poor treatment, and instead patronized African American retailers. Shortly after World War II, African Americans mobilized in cities like Louisville,

\textsuperscript{456}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{457}Peter Bart, “Advertising: Role of Negroes is Discussed” \textit{New York Times} (6 October 1963), 170.
Kentucky to end segregation in public spaces like parks, municipal facilities and schools. The NAACP, and other similar organizations were committed to ending segregated schooling in the 1950s, while individual African American families challenged the status quo by seeking housing in suburban neighbourhoods that were exclusively meant for white home owners in the same years. African American leaders also prompted members to exert their political rights by voting. The arrest of Rosa Parks in December 1955, brought about by her refusal to adhere to segregationist laws, incited African Americans’ boycott of the Montgomery, Alabama bus service that lasted a year. In a similar vein, African Americans performed sit-ins at several eating establishments in various cities in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The most renowned sit-ins occurred in Greensboro, North Carolina at the Woolworth’s lunch counter in 1960 where African American college students participated in silent protests in an attempt to end segregation, which set off another chain of sit-ins across the country.

By the mid-1950s, African American consumers stepped up their efforts to seek fair treatment from the retail sector and manufacturers, and visible representation within the advertising industry. African Americans used consumer activism to express their displeasure against businesses and corporations who held segregationist and racist policies that prevented them from participating freely in America’s capitalist economy. Even Martin Luther King Jr. who denounced materialism because he believed African Americans lived beyond their means to prove their equality to whites, upheld consumer activism as an expression of non-violent action to right social imbalances of poverty, especially for African Americans living in ghettoes who were a contrast to the culture of plenty evident in white suburbia.459 Rather than push for

consumer equality, King envisioned African Americans’ adoption of consumer activism would lead to their powerful and visible presence in the employment market. Consumer activism manifested in numerous forms as African Americans engaged in civil disobedience, formal protests, and campaigns against the advertising industry and boycotts against retailers. African Americans equated consumption with American citizenship, which meant full and equal participation in all aspects of American society. This involved the ability to purchase goods, dine in restaurants or attend cinemas of their choice, and not have to patronize businesses based on the colour of their skin.

Despite the collective efforts of African Americans, there were few changes within the advertising industry. By the early 1960s most of the offensive imagery of African Americans disappeared from mainstream media but it was not replaced with positive substitutes. In fact, most representations of African Americans vanished, as was the case with Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertising. Consequently, African Americans demanded that advertisers promote African Americans in a wider spectrum of occupations or roles beyond that of athletes or domestic servants. In the 1960s, civil rights’ groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) campaigned for American businesses to use African American models in their advertisements. CORE targeted some of America’s largest brands and corporations like Colgate, Coca Cola, Kellogg’s and Lever Brothers. In the words of one African American

460 Ibid., 185.
462 Ibid, 122.
463 Ibid.
465 Jason Chambers, Madison Avenue, 137-138.
woman, “If they want to attract us to their products, why don’t they show a nice looking Negro family wearing their clothes and eating their food. We are expected to go on buying their products, but you think we didn’t exist from looking at the ads.”

A J. Walter Thompson Company survey in 1962, indicated that African Americans felt valued when companies used black models, and it showed them and white society that they were talented and attractive. They hoped that the industry’s regular use of such imagery would counter dominant definitions of beauty. In October 1963, the NAACP presented a “six-point program” to 102 representatives from the advertising industry, “calling for greater utilization of Negro performers and other personnel in advertisements in all media of mass communication.” The first point demanded that the industry recognize that “20 000 000 000 American citizens are Negro and each one a consumer. Therefore the content of all future advertising in the basic media…must reflect the fact that these 20 000 000 000 consumers are represented in every stratum of American life.”

The program also pressured the advertising industry to include African American models in print advertising, “Negro performers” in television and on radio, and employ them at advertising agencies. African American consumers urged companies to assume fair hiring procedures by making white-collar and executive positions available to members of the community. They implemented “selective patronage” measures as was the case when church leaders in Philadelphia organized a campaign to persuade African American consumers to withdraw patronage from companies that solicited their business but only employed members of the

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468 “Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront: NAACP Program for Ad Agencies” The Crisis (October 1963), 476-8.
469 Ibid.
470 Ibid.
community in menial or clerical positions. In the January 1964 issue of *The Crisis*, the Los Angeles branch of the NAACP called for a Christmas season boycott of the liquor industry unless producers like Seagram, Hiram Walker, Gallo, McKesson and Simon Levi began hiring African American truck drivers and warehouse staff.

By the mid-1960s, and in some cases earlier, several large manufacturers responded to African American consumers’ outcry as many had hired or began releasing advertising campaigns with African American models. Chesterfield cigarettes had used African American boxer Joe Louis in its advertisements since the late 1940s. Colgate-Palmolive began using African American models in its television commercials in 1963. Print advertisements for Colgate Dental Cream included African American models in the November 1959 issue of *Ebony* but possibly even earlier than this date. Other manufacturers like Lever Brothers, Proctor & Gamble and American Motors Corporation mirrored Colgate’s actions by broadcasting television commercials with African American models in 1963. A glance through the pages of *Ebony* indicated that some of Seagram’s and Hiram Walker’s direct and indirect competitors were quicker to include African American models. Manufacturers of Smirnoff Vodka, Budweiser Beer and Schlitz Beer used African Americans to advertise their products in issues of *Ebony* in the late 1950s, and for Johnnie Walker Red Label Scotch Whisky and Bacardi Rum in the 1960s.

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475 “Stop Bad Breath With Colgate Fight Tooth Decay All Day!” *Ebony* (November 1959), 41.
Johnnie Walker and Bacardi were not American owned, and might have accounted for the choice to use African American models.

**Perceptions of African Americans’ Drinking Versus Temperate Consumption**

From time to time, wider white society has taken issue with African American men’s use of alcohol. Slave owners worried that African American slaves could not be controlled when drinking, and posed the risk of revolting. Yet, on the other hand, when slaves were permitted to drink excessively or get drunk on holidays like Christmas, whites felt inebriation would prevent them from corroborating against plantation owners, and provoking thoughts of freedom.\(^{477}\) However, African Americans, and their community leaders had preached and supported temperance since the nineteenth century. Initially, they subscribed to the cause’s broader moral reform and uplift movements backed by whites, but around the late 1830s, black leaders adopted it as a central tenet of the abolition movement.\(^{478}\) In the Antebellum era, Northern African Americans acknowledged temperance was a component of their “quest for meaningful independence, full citizenship rights and full recognition of their humanity.”\(^{479}\) Prominent leaders like Frederick Douglass, Lyman Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, and local church leaders either denounced or discouraged drinking among the enslaved population in the American South and among freed people in the northern states. Black abolitionists believed that drunkenness incapacitated slaves, and left them docile, helpless or dissipated.\(^{480}\) Around the late 1860s, African American clergy in Atlanta started to condemn intemperance for a range of

\(^{477}\) Ibid., 326-7.
\(^{478}\) Ibid., 287.
\(^{480}\) Herd, “The Paradox”, 356.
reasons. They deemed drinking as sinful and believed that excessive drinking caused social
disorder which had community-wide repercussions and the potential to damage Atlanta’s African
American society.\textsuperscript{481} They equated drunkenness with idle amusement and complacency
ingrained in the slave system, and visualized an African American community that would be
educated, autonomous and enfranchised.\textsuperscript{482} As well, laws were in effect in slaveholding states
that prohibited or controlled African Americans’ access to beverage alcohol.\textsuperscript{483} In Atlanta,
African American slaves and freed people were not only banned from selling or purchasing
alcohol, they were also prohibited from entering enterprises that sold beverage alcohol.\textsuperscript{484} During
the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, black temperance leaders appreciated values such as
order, respectability and class distinction, and cultivated the association between temperance and
black social respect.\textsuperscript{485}

Despite these efforts, Denise Herd, Joe Coker and Marni Davis point out that around the
turn of the twentieth century, white Southerners feared that drunk African American men posed a
serious threat to the virtue of Southern white women.\textsuperscript{486} Coker stresses that much of the cheap
and inferior alcohol marketed to African Americans was labelled with obscene, naked images of
white women. Prohibitionists worried such imagery could lure African American men to rape
white women, which would in turn lead to lynching and other violence against blacks.\textsuperscript{487}

\textsuperscript{481} Ibid., 131-3.
\textsuperscript{482} Ibid., 363-4.
\textsuperscript{483} Kenneth Christmon, “Historical Overview of Alcohol in the African American Community” \textit{Journal of Black
Studies} 25:3 (January 1995), 327.
\textsuperscript{484} H. Paul Thompson Jr. \textit{A Most Stirring}, 58.
\textsuperscript{485} Lee Willis, \textit{Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform and Public Life in Middle Florida, 1821-1920} (Athens:
University of Georgia Press, 2001), 92.
\textsuperscript{486} See Herd, “The Paradox of Temperance: Blacks and the Alcohol Question in Nineteenth Century America” in
Coker, \textit{Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals, and the Prohibition Movement}
\textsuperscript{487} Coker, \textit{Liquor in the Land}, 157-162.
Imagery abounded about the “black beast” or “black brute” who when intoxicated was capable of losing self-control, wreaking havoc on society and raping white women. Davis notes that middle class white prohibitionists in the South believed they were not only preserving the sanctity of white womanhood, but were protecting African Americans from the self-serving liquor industry. Herd questions the veracity of African Americans’ excessive drinking and loss of self-control as they were not habitual drinkers, and that deaths related to drinking were much lower within this population than rates for Irish and German immigrants, and even white Anglo-Protestant Americans.

Misconceptions about African Americans’ tendency to abuse alcohol persisted in the popular mind into the second half of the twentieth century because of the lack of empirical data on the topic. However, in a study conducted on the drinking patterns of 108 African American adults in Mississippi, Gerald Globetti found that only thirty six percent of the respondents consumed beverage alcohol compared to forty four percent of white adults in the state, and national estimates revealed that sixty-six percent of the adult population drank. This study was an exception to the rule as Herd argues that much of the research completed on African Americans’ drinking patterns in the 1950s and 1960s utilized a social disorganization framework that concentrated on deviant forms of drinking like drunkenness and alcohol-related social

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488 Davis, Jews & Booze, 121.
489 Herd, “The Paradox”, 368.
490 See Gerald Globetti, “The Use of Alcohol Among Negro Adults in Two Mississippi Communities” Phylon 32 (1st Qtr. 1971). Raul Caetano et.al. “Alcohol Consumption Among Racial/Ethnic Minorities” Alcohol Health and Research World 22 (1998) and Denise Herd, “Rethinking Black Drinking” British Journal of Addiction 82 (1987). Globetti argues that although there was a growing body of literature about alcohol in American culture by the early 1970s, there was almost no information about the drinking practises of different racial and ethnic groups especially African Americans. Similarly, Caetano et. al. stress that the first comprehensive survey on African Americans and Hispanics and alcohol use occurred in 1984 versus nationwide studies that had begun in 1964. Likewise, Herd notes that scholars have neglected to study patterns of alcohol consumption by blacks possibly because their activities have not been viewed as distinct as in the case of other ethnic minorities like the Irish, Italians or Jews.
491 Globetti, “The Use of Alcohol”, 80.
issues. Researchers tended to conduct studies on very small segments of the African American population who were often also marginalized and from the “black underclasses”.492 This led many Americans to believe that excessive and deviant forms of drinking were acceptable to and representative of African Americans’ way of life.493

Equally contradictory was data from the distilled spirits industry. By 1955, The Liquor Handbook identified the “Negro market” as a distinct segment, one to which “moderate consumption of alcoholic beverages [was] an accepted norm”. In contrast, it stated there was a significant “dry” component within the white population who were still negotiating the residual aftermath of prohibition.494 The section urged distillers to pay attention to African American consumers because of their increasing salaries, concentration within urban centres and the significantly large 10-19 year old segment who would be customers in the 1960s.495 It also encouraged distillers to use African Americans in advertisements as it was an “effective means of establishing rapport and brand acceptance with the Negro buyer”, even if members were slow to implement the advice.496 The 1963 edition of the Liquor Handbook, reported African American per-capita alcohol consumption was twice that of white consumers, and made seventy percent of alcohol purchases in urban markets. At the same time, the Handbook stated, estimates from Ebony credited African American consumers for forty percent of total alcoholic beverage purchases.497 The source implied that the disparity stemmed from the high concentration of African Americans in urban centres, and that they chose to spend on alcohol not because they

493 Ibid.
495 Ibid.
496 Ibid, 120.
were heavy drinkers but due to the fact they were denied “expenditure channels open to whites”.

It was only in the late 1960s that members of the distilled spirits industry conclusively decided that African American men consumed “a third more Canadian whisky, 37 percent more gin, 12 percent more blended whiskey, etc.” than white adult men. Clearly, the data on African Americans’ alcohol consumption patterns was inconclusive in the 1950s and 1960s, but in the eyes of the distilled spirits industry, African American men were a lucrative market that required continuous if not customized targeting.

**Hiram Walker’s Representations of African American Masculinity: From “Robert the Butler” to Carl Morris**

The nature of race relations in the United States meant Hiram Walker had to treat African Americans as a unique segment at the start of the 1950s. Hiram Walker hired an African American sales team to service “coloured” accounts in predominantly segregated neighbourhoods. Through *Round Table*, Hiram Walker executives advised the segregated sales staff to create a tie-in display with cases of Hiram Walker’s Dry Gin interspersed with copies of *Ebony*, and to demonstrate cocktail mixing techniques using Hiram Walker’s Imperial Whiskey at retailers in African American neighbourhoods. Overall, Hiram Walker’s archives did not hold detailed information about its segregated sales force or African American consumers. However, a chronological assessment of *Ebony* magazine from 1950 to 1970 demonstrates Hiram Walker’s eagerness to advertise to African American consumers. More difficult to determine though was the distillery’s motivations for the advertising campaigns chosen, and its

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498 Ibid., 204.
500 “Good Idea for Colored Accounts” *Round Table*, (January 1951), 4 and “*Ebony* Tie-In Ad Makes Sales”, (June-July 1953), 18.
willingness to alter its advertising strategies to recognize African Americans consumers in the printed medium. Of the Hiram Walker advertisements surveyed, 24% contained African American models.\textsuperscript{501} Quality, hospitality and leisure were consistent themes in the Hiram Walker advertisements in \textit{Ebony}, as they were in the other publications. Throughout most of the period under consideration, the Hiram Walker distillery used what Lizabeth Cohen describes as a “one-size-fits-all” mass marketing campaign to target African American consumers.

In the early 1950s, Hiram Walker advertised Imperial Blended Whiskey and Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon in the pages of \textit{Ebony}. Approximately twenty one different advertisements for Imperial Blended Whiskey appeared in the magazine from 1950 until early 1952. In comparison, the distillery ran only three advertisements for Walker’s DeLuxe and none for its principle brand, Canadian Club whisky in the publication until 1953. Hiram Walker placed more than half of the Imperial advertisements on the inside front cover which implied increased visibility and possibly expense compared to advertisements located further on in a given issue. Taken from an existing campaign, the Imperial advertisements involved a quartet of animated singers in a range of situations who extolled the taste and quality of the beverage, which I have explored in detail in Chapter Two. Hiram Walker’s archives offer no evidence as to why the distillery chose to replicate the Imperial campaign in \textit{Ebony}, but the distillery may have done so to maintain brand presence in the publication without having to create a campaign with African American models.

Hiram Walker employed an African American man named Robert Anthony to play the role of butler in a luxurious home in the Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisements. Advertisements for the whisky state Anthony was Hiram Walker’s resident butler, but did not

\textsuperscript{501} See Appendix C-Table 2.11.
clarify if he was an actor fulfilling a part, or an employee of the firm. In each of the advertisements, the butler carried an ornate silver tray with several full crystal glasses in various sizes, a bottle of whisky and a pail of ice cubes. Robert wore a uniform comprising of a black suit, bow tie and white shirt, and had greying hair and a broad grin on his face. Copy in the advertisements was sparse, and described the whisky as “elegant, [and] uncommonly good.”

In some scenes, the butler’s tray was laden with appetizers like cheese and crackers, but in others it only contained drinks (Figure 3.1). Robert actively poured drinks in one advertisement but in others he graciously offered the tray to his nonexistent employer or the audience. He was the butler for the duration of the campaign in the 1950s, and his face was an identifiable image of the Walker’s DeLuxe brand. Robert Anthony with his ingratiating smile echoed older characters like Chef Rastus, Uncle Ben and Aunt Jemima. Anthony’s presumed complacent attitude preserved a recognizable racial stereotype unlike another popular fictitious African American butler, Rochester from the Jack Benny Program that aired first as a radio then a television show from the 1940s until the mid-1960s. Although African American actor Eddie Anderson’s character Rochester was stereotyped as a butler who liked to drink and gamble, he was not submissive. Instead, Rochester with his smart retorts, good-natured ribbing and comical facial expressions, teased his boss, Jack Benny on umpteen occasions. Rochester was a well-loved character whose impertinence challenged the prevalent racial standard of the complacent African American domestic servant and the paternalistic white employer. At a time when African Americans were protesting segregationist policies, racist stereotypes and struggled for complete inclusion within American society, the presence of Robert the butler in advertisements in Ebony raises questions about Hiram Walker’s marketing and advertising strategies. Hiram Walker also

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502 Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon-Waiter with Silver tray advertisement Ebony (November 1951), 14.
503 For all Figures for Chapter 3 see Appendix F
featured this campaign in *Life* and *Sports Illustrated*. Robert Anthony’s advertisements reminded the African American consumer, and the rest of America that he or she was suited to serving, not drinking the whisky.

In three advertisements for Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon which ran in May, June and July of 1956 in *Life*, Robert the butler was shown serving drinks to white celebrities: actors Lee Bowman and Basil Rathbone, and conductor Percy Faith. The advertisements were black and white, and all featured Robert offering the men Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon from a silver platter, with an amiable smile on his face. The advertisements were set in Bowman’s library where he enjoyed a drink of whisky, Faith was seated at the bench of a grand piano in his living room. Both men wore dark suits, and held glasses in their hands while they faced Robert with smiling faces. Although references to plantation life were absent, the advertisements upheld the slave-master model put forth in advertisements that typcast African Americans as domestic help. Though not counted in the survey I conducted, Hiram Walker released several such advertisements from about 1955 to 1957 in *Life* and *Time* and possibly other publications with Robert serving a range of celebrities like novelists, stage and film actors and comic strip artists, but the celebrity themed campaign did not materialize in *Ebony*. In fact, Robert Anthony’s character did not recur in the pages of *Ebony* after September 1953, which might have been an indication that Hiram Walker was aware African American consumers resented such denigrating portrayals. When Hiram Walker reprised the butler character around 1963, the distillery used English actor Arthur Treacher who was famous for playing similar roles in film. Treacher’s character, with his perpetual haughty expression and condescending demeanour, was a clear contrast to Robert Anthony’s pleasant and content visage (Figure 3.2). While Anthony’s
In March 1953, Hiram Walker introduced its next advertisement to feature African American models. The advertisement contained two African American men, both dressed in suits, one seated in a chair, with the other positioned to his left, holding a bottle of Canadian Club whisky and smiling at the seated man. The seated man held a glass filled with liquor and ice cubes and smiled in the direction of the upheld bottle of whisky. Almost the same size as the men, an exaggerated twenty-four ounce bottle, and another pint sized bottle sat on a silver tray beside two glasses on the surface of a square coffee table. Between the images was Canadian Club’s slogan, “The best in the house in 87 lands…” followed by claims that it was the most imported whisky in the United States, a description of its character, and possible recipe ideas.⁵⁰⁴ Other than the men, the coffee table and meandering copy, the advertisement was bare, which left the reader to imagine its setting. Absent were the common signifiers of status such as a specific room or venue or props like furniture, dinnerware, or sports equipment. The men could have been situated anywhere one could drink, and they could have either been middle or upper class based on their choice of clothing. The man standing could have been service staff, but both men’s suits were almost identical so it was unlikely that he was a butler or waiter. Likely, he was the host, offering his guest a glass of Canadian Club. Regardless of the situation, this was a relatively positive portrayal of African American men compared to Robert Anthony, and was an example of Hiram Walker’s deliberate attempt to appeal to African American consumers.

However, the advertisement only appeared in the following month’s issue, and the distillery did not use African American models again until the late 1960s.

From October 1953 until November 1954, Hiram Walker took a hiatus from advertising in *Ebony* but the company’s archives did not provide information as to why this occurred. When the distillery resumed advertising in the publication, it focused on product recognition. It released a slew of advertisements each displaying a bottle of Imperial Whiskey, Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon, Canadian Club Whisky and Hiram Walker’s Gin. The bottles were arranged beside various props like musical instruments, fishing gear, a man’s formal attire and theatre masks and programmes. Copy emphasized the quality of the liquors and instructed the reader to always choose Hiram Walker. The campaign ran in issues of *Ebony* from about November 1954 until December 1955 but did not appear in the issues of the other publications surveyed. However, it is unlikely that the advertisements were created only with an African American audience in mind. Based on their generic copy and imagery, the distillery could have placed the advertisements in any number of publications to increase brand awareness or improve brand recognition. The advertisements were a persistent reminder of the Hiram Walker brand without the distillery having to customize campaigns with African American models.

In early 1956, the Hiram Walker distillery introduced another new campaign to *Ebony*’s readers but this time the advertisements were for Canadian Club Whisky. The advertisements were similar to the ones with the three Hiram Walker products but in this instance they contained three varying sized bottles of the same product. A half pint, pint and fifth (twenty-four ounce) sized bottles were the focus of the advertisements which touted the superiority, fame and

popularity of Canadian Club Whisky, a product on sale in numerous countries around the world. As with many campaigns for Canadian Club Whisky, travel was a central theme in these advertisements in which three bottles were positioned alongside a lounge chair, life buoy, and American passport, or in front of a map of the ancient world. The advertisements informed the reader that American tourists could find Canadian Club across the globe, in any or all three sizes. The distillery alternated between these two advertisements for the duration of 1956. In February and March 1957 the distillery ran a similar advertisement with a clarinet and sheet music in the background, and three varied sizes of Canadian Club Whisky in the foreground, with the caption “Add a Festive Note with the Best in the House” (Figure 3.3). These were the only Hiram Walker advertisements encountered in the entire survey to contain multiple bottles of the same product in varying sizes.

Archival sources did not elaborate on Hiram Walker’s decision to advertise multiple sized bottles in *Ebony*. However, distillery personnel believed that pint and half-pint sized bottles were the “sleeping giants” of the distilled spirits industry because of their “impulse sale” appeal. The distillery instructed salesmen to set up point of sale displays of these smaller sized bottles, usually close to the sales register, to tempt consumers to pick up the bottles as they were paying for their products. Company officials believed that pint sized bottles sold best in working class districts and “colored areas”. In the same article, the distillery issued salesmen a list of potential pint and half-pint customers including occasional drinkers, those who showed a preference for quality over quantity, those who could only afford a pint of liquor, travellers who appreciated the convenience of a small bottle, or gift givers. Yet, in all of the distillery’s

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506 “Add a Festive Note” Canadian Club Whisky Advertisement *Ebony* (February 1957), 33.
advertisements which promoted its products as perfect gifting options, the bottles were all standard fifths, not pints or half-pints as mentioned in the list.

For years, the distilled spirits industry characterised African Americans as a “small-size market” referring to their tendency to purchase smaller bottles than white consumers. The pattern started to change only in the late 1960s, when African Americans accounted for between 24-47% of large bottle purchases in cities like Los Angeles and Atlanta.\(^{508}\) An article from *The New York Times* attributed the rising popularity of larger volume purchases to African Americans’ increasing propensity to entertain guests in the home.\(^{509}\) However, according to data from the *Amsterdam News*, African American families had been entertaining guests with greater frequency than white families in the early 1960s with “23.4 percent [doing so] at least once each two weeks and 51.4 percent once a month as compared to 19.0 percent [for white families] at least once each two weeks…and 11.0 percent once a month.”\(^{510}\) As African Americans’ discretionary income went up in the late 1960s, and because they did not have access to the same public venues as white consumers, they may have started to buy larger quantities of alcohol to share with guests. Advertisements found in *Sports Illustrated, Life or Gourmet* did not contain the pint and half-pint bottles.

By mid-1957 Hiram Walker’s advertisements in *Ebony* mirrored those available in the three other publications surveyed. The distillery acquainted *Ebony* readers with its “Adventure Series” campaign for the first time in May 1957, and they became a regular feature in the magazine until the end of the 1960s. From approximately 1956 until 1963, the Hiram Walker

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distillery advertised only Canadian Club Whisky in *Ebony*. During the seven year span, the distillery may have been attempting to improve African American consumers’ awareness of the brand and develop brand loyalty. Hiram Walker re-introduced Walker’s DeLuxe Whiskey to *Ebony* readers in January 1963, and the advertisements were chosen from existing campaigns such as the one starring Arthur Treacher as butler. In these advertisements, themes of hospitality, luxury, elegance and upper class sensibility were the focus rather than a sole emphasis on brand awareness or recognition. Overall, the Hiram Walker advertisements intended for *Ebony* were not unique or adapted to include African American models or actors between 1957 and late 1967. Through the 1950s and much of the 1960s, it was rare to find African American faces in Hiram Walker advertisements.

It was not until late 1967 that the Hiram Walker distillery launched a campaign with African Americans in positive roles. Starting in October 1967, the Hiram Walker distillery released an advertisement for Canadian Club Whisky with both African American male and female models. The advertisement was set in the new home of Carl Morris, the managing editor for *The New Pittsburgh Courier*, a weekly African American paper with a national circulation of 146,750. It consisted of a large black and white photograph of three African American men dressed in suits, and three African American women wearing semi-casual attire (Figure 3.4). The group stood beside a table filled with a cheese platter, hors d’oeuvres, an ice pail, and a tray of empty glasses and a bottle of Canadian Club Whisky. Both the men and women in the scene held glasses filled with whisky and ice, and in contrast with many other advertisements containing white women, one of the women raised her glass to her mouth, implying she was

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512 “Carl Morris, managing editor” Hiram Walker advertisement *Ebony* (October 1967), 125.
drinking. This was the first Hiram Walker advertisement found in the survey to feature African American women, although the distillery had been advertising to white women for over two decades, and including them in advertisements since 1958. Below the photograph was the caption in bold black font, “Carl Morris, managing editor, makes sure he has ‘The Best In The House’ in the house”. A short description of Morris’ career successes followed the caption, along with comments about his desire to relax with and entertain friends at his home on the weekend. The advertisement emphasized Morris’ professional success and social status, and themes of leisure and hospitality. The Hiram Walker distillery repeated the advertisement three times in *Ebony*, once each from 1967 to 1969.

A total of five unique advertisements, counting the one about Morris, appeared in *Ebony* between 1967 and 1969 from Hiram Walker’s African American “Best In The House” campaign. They were in the same style and format as the aforementioned advertisement, but the characters and professions varied. They were also very similar in theme to the Calvert Whiskey “Men of Distinction” advertisements released by Seagram in the early 1950s. Each advertisement included a short biography on one of the following African American men: Wesley Price, a microbiologist, John Carter, a royalties’ administrator, Elmer Godwin, an engineer for the military and Tom Cordy, a bank cashier. A large black and white photograph of a small group of people in conversation, with drinks in their hands were the focus of each advertisement. Both men and women held drinks, and were smiling, laughing, and conversing with each other. Bottles of Canadian Club were prominently displayed on a tray on the table in the foreground. Below the image, there was a short blurb detailing the subject’s educational accomplishments, how he arrived at his chosen profession. Copy was complimentary, revealing each candidates’

513 “Carl Morris”, 125.
ambitions but emphasised that they liked to relax and unwind with friends on the weekends. As well, the advertisements implied that a man who served Canadian Club Whisky could be popular with friends and colleagues. An enviable and generous host always had Canadian Club, the “best” possible whisky in stock which he shared with friends as they socialized in his home. In the case of the “Best In The House” campaign, African American men were academically and economically successful, hospitable and popular, capable of balancing professional and social commitments. The other men were actual members of the African American community, and not hired models. Wesley Price was a microbiologist in Proctor & Gamble’s dog food division, the first African American to be hired in the position in 1960. Starting in 1964, John Carter worked as a royalties’ administrator with the American Guild of Authors and Composers in New York City. In 1966, *Ebony* profiled short features of these men at the start of some issues. With respectable and successful careers, the African American men role models were an ideal fit for the Canadian Club campaign but the antithesis to the Adventure Series characters. The Adventure Series advertisements were humorous, unlike the serious tone of the ones with African American men. In a period when African Americans were struggling to attain respectability as consumers and citizens, and assert their racial identity, it is doubtful that such portrayals would have appealed to this segment. Situating advertisements in homes instead of public venues like hotels and country clubs was an appropriate choice because African Americans would have likely been excluded from many establishments in certain part of the United States.

514 “Speaking of People” *Ebony* (May 1966), 7.
515 “Speaking of People” *Ebony* (January 1966), 8.
When Hiram Walker chose to customize its Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon Whiskey advertising to African Americans, it deviated only slightly from the messages in its Canadian Club advertising. Respectability and professional success were still significant, but hospitality and sociability were no longer pertinent messages. Rather than entertaining guests, and enjoying a social gathering with friends, the Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisements featured a solitary African American man, seated in particular rooms of his home, with a drink close at hand. In a black and white advertisement from the December 1967 issue of *Ebony*, an African American man with salt and pepper coloured hair, dressed in a suit and tie sat in front of a book shelf or wall-unit filled with an encyclopedia set and a reel-to-reel tape player (Figure 3.5). Beside the tape player sat a glass filled with Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon Whiskey and ice cubes. Below the image and against a white background was the caption “On the way to success, you learn about the good things in life”, in bold black font.516 A bottle of Walker’s sat in the right corner of the advertisement partly imposed onto the photograph of the man.

The Hiram Walker distillery released another advertisement from this campaign in the February 1968 issue of *Ebony*. An African American man dressed in a formal jacket, white shirt and cravat sat in front of a unit filled with trophies. A golf caddy filled with a set of clubs rested against the display case. In his lap, he held a large gleaming trophy, as he smiled into the camera. There was a glass filled with ice cubes and whisky on the table in front of him. The image was black and white, and the phrase “On the way to success, you learn about the good things in life” was visible below the picture517 In November 1968, the distillery replaced the slogan “On the way to success” with, “The Confident Ones choose Walker’s DeLuxe the elegant

516 “On the way to success” Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (December 1967), 106.
517 On the way to success-golf. Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (February 1968), 53.
8 year old bourbon”.518 This advertisement contained a different African American male model seated at a desk, dressed in a suit and tie, with cuff links at his sleeves and a ring on the third finger of his left hand (Figure 3.6). In his right hand, the man held a dark coloured pen taken from a matching pen stand. A collection of papers sat on the desk, while a glass of Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon was perched on top of a hard covered book beside the man’s left hand. Behind him, there was a selection of hard bound books displayed in a wooden bookcase. With his attention on the papers in front of him, and pen in hand, the model could have been engaged in a range of activities. However, the phrase “They’re making their mark in higher education” which ran across the bottom of the photograph in faint lettering, identified him as an educator. Like the “On the way to success” advertisements, this one aligned African American masculinity with respectability, personal accomplishment and professional success.

These advertisements were not as elaborate as those from the Canadian Club African American “Best In The House” campaign, but the two messages converged to remind the reader and consumer that purchasing and using Hiram Walker’s whiskies symbolized success, status and propriety, never mind that drinking could cloud one’s mind when marking assignments. In these advertisements, the African American male characters were introspective and consumed Walker’s DeLuxe alone, in rooms which denoted a sense accomplishment such as a library, den or office. The average working or middle class individual might not have had the means, inclination or necessity to dedicate an entire space to the preservation of books or a trophy collection, thus they were markers of the men’s social standing. In this campaign, African American masculinity was of the upper-middle or upper class variety, and emphasized professional accomplishments rather than social popularity. When compared with many of

Seagram’s advertisements directed at white men, where success corresponded with opulent excess, luxury was dignified and unassuming in this set of advertisements. The upper class African American man was sombre, one who could reflect on his personal and professional achievements with a glass of Walker’s DeLuxe at hand within the tranquility of his own private space. These advertisements affirmed that respectability, responsibility and prestige were the embodiment of African American masculinity, and the concept of luxury was relevant but understated. The men derived pleasure from their professional and personal accomplishments, and of course Hiram Walker’s whisky, not from mingling with the upper echelons of society in exclusive settings. The advertisements positioned Walker’s DeLuxe as a relaxant, unlike the Canadian Club advertisements which suggested that the whisky was a stimulant, vital to an evening of socialization and enjoyment. The advertisements not only conveyed that African American men were upstanding members of their communities but that respectable men drank Hiram Walker’s whiskies.

By the end of the decade, the Hiram Walker distillery created another set of advertisements for Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon Whiskey. While earlier campaigns centred on individual characters or models, now the product was the focal point of the advertisements. An over-sized bottle accompanied by a glass full of Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon Whiskey sat in the foreground of the advertisement. The distillery released two different advertisements, one in the November 1969 issue of Ebony, and another the following month. Each advertisement contained the headline “The great bourbon from Hiram Walker.” with the slogan “8 years old. Walker’s DeLuxe, the great bourbon from Hiram Walker himself.” at the bottom. The advertisements were in black and white, and a man and woman conversed in the background with glasses of whisky in their hands. In the advertisement from November 1969, the man and woman both
wore suits, had smiles on their faces, and the woman sported an afro while the man’s hair was cut low (Figure 3.7). Standing in front of a black background, there were no props or backdrop to identify the couple’s surroundings. The couple was attractive and formally attired, suggesting their middle or upper middle class status, but their presence was secondary to the product. A paragraph of copy described the story of Walker’s DeLuxe, and its physical qualities but made no mention of the couple in the scene. The advertisement from the December issue of *Ebony* differed marginally from the one introduced in November. The headline, “Hiram Walker has a history of great whiskey” stretched over the images of a couple in conversation and the oversized bottle and glass of whisky. The man in this advertisement wore a suit but the woman this time wore a dress and had long, relaxed hair. Copy in the advertisement bore the identical message as the previous advertisement. Although not counted in the survey, the Hiram Walker distillery continued to run these advertisements in *Ebony* until the early 1970s.

By portraying respectable and successful African American men drinking, in both the Canadian Club and Walker’s DeLuxe advertisements, the Hiram Walker distillery evoked imagery and attitudes that African Americans had valued for centuries. Rather than showing men participating in light-hearted activities, Hiram Walker’s advertisements demonstrated that African American men were temperate, calm, respected and successful individuals, who appreciated a glass of whisky. Representations of African American men as accomplished engineers, teachers and military officials offered *Ebony* readers an alternative to the white actors made up in black face or the images of African Americans as slaves and servants from earlier centuries. However, the distillery’s initiatives were not revolutionary or unique as several other advertisers already included African American models or had recently begun doing so by the late

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519 The Great bourbon-version 1 Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (November 1969), 133.
1960s, in media intended for African American consumers. Advertisements for Colgate toothpaste, Johnnie Walker Scotch Whisky, and Cadillac all used African American models in domestic or social settings. Advertisements for Cadillac and Johnnie Walker conveyed prestige and status, but ones for Colgate focused on middle class family scenes. Success and respectability were implicit in such advertisements, but advertisements for Viceroy and Lucky Strike Cigarettes and Fleischmann’s Blended Whiskey emphasised the professional accomplishments of prominent members of the African American community much like those for Hiram Walker and Seagram’s products. This strategy implied that manufacturers of contentious commodities like liquor and tobacco were striving to convince African American men that using their products conferred on them a degree of status and respect, and that smoking and drinking were prestigious and desirable behaviours.

**Calvert: Seagram’s Choice for African American Consumers**

Like Hiram Walker, the Seagram distillery was committed to raising brand awareness among African American clientele. The company had hired African American salesmen since 1942, and created a “special market staff” consisting of “the most polished and proficient group of [African American] men” from various industries in the 1950s. These men attended numerous events and functions within the African American community where they could spread “good-will for the Seagram name”, acting as public relations representatives on behalf of the distillery. The sales team worked in urban areas with large African American populations such as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, Pittsburgh and New York. Their main purpose was to service

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521 “Seagram’s Special Market Staff” The Seagram Spotlight (November-December 1952), 11.
522 Ibid.
retail locations by selling Seagram’s products, maintaining accounts and setting up merchandising displays. In the 1950s, Seagram advertised in publications intended for African American consumers like *Ebony, Our World* and *Jet*. Throughout the 1950s and most of the 1960s, Seagram advertised products under the Seagram banner and its subsidiary brand, Calvert. Advertising campaigns bearing the Seagram brand rarely reflected the African American readership of *Ebony*. However, the distillery used African American models to advertise Calvert Reserve and Lord Calvert whiskies in the early 1950s.

Although Seagram owned Calvert, the subsidiary operated under separate management. William W. Wachtel served as president of the company starting in 1938 until he retired in the late 1950s. Wachtel, not Bronfman, was responsible for much of the direct appeal advertising targeting African American consumers in the early 1950s, including the “Men of Distinction” advertisements for Lord Calvert Whiskey. Unlike advertisements for Hiram Walker whiskies, and Seagram branded products, those for Calvert whiskies included African Americans in positive roles as early as 1950. One such campaign for Calvert Reserve offered the reader short testimonials from African American male models posing as consumers. The advertisements were in black and white and half a page in size. They consisted of brief, snappy phrases about the taste of Calvert Reserve. The testimonials noted that men preferred Calvert Reserve because it “tasted better” because it was lighter, smoother and made better tasting drinks.\(^523\) By October 1950, in another set of advertisements, African American male models challenged the consumer to compare Calvert Reserve’s taste with that of any other whisky. Advertisements for the campaign included an African American man discussing the quality and taste of the whisky, and

\(^{523}\) “Dunn did it” Calvert Reserve Advertisement *Ebony* (June 1950), 8.
had the slogan “It’s smart to switch to Calvert Reserve.”\textsuperscript{524} Copy encouraged readers to initiate their own taste test, with a bartender or friends, and insisted that Calvert Reserve was superior to other whiskies regardless of price.

In the 1950s, Wachtel created the “Men of Distinction” campaign which ran concurrently in mainstream publications using white models or personalities, and African American ones in \textit{Ebony}. Initially, Wachtel used models to show poised, respectable gentlemen drinking Lord Calvert Whiskey. However, when one of the models turned up in an advertisement for men’s long underwear, Wachtel reconsidered his strategy and enlisted real men who possessed dignified images, to pose in a series of advertisements for the brand.\textsuperscript{525} Dry advocates criticised that the campaign would have a negative influence on America’s youth because they could “persuade youngsters that the way to achieve success is to have a Lord Calvert highball within easy reach.”\textsuperscript{526} Wachtel retorted that the men of distinction were “temperate and Godfearing…gentlemen [who] prefer to drink in their own homes with their families about them and in the presence of their children.”\textsuperscript{527} Calvert ran a campaign in mainstream publications that celebrated white, middle class men as principal characters, identifying them as “men of distinction”. In the October 2, 1950 issue of \textit{Life}, an advertisement for Lord Calvert featured a portrait of Mr. William Pahlmann, an interior designer. The copy listed Pahlmann’s accomplishments and his rise to success as a self-made man who had to work to finance his education and professional training.\textsuperscript{528}

\textsuperscript{524} “Only YOU Can Tell” Calvert Reserve Advertisement \textit{Ebony} (October 1950), 46.
\textsuperscript{525} \textit{The Kansas City Star} (5 June 1958), 3.
\textsuperscript{527} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{528} Mr. William Pahlmann-Lord Calvert advertisement \textit{Life} (2 October 1960), 129.
The advertisements which ran in *Ebony* were structured much like the ones that appeared in *Life* but celebrated the accomplishments of notable African American men instead of white personalities. Lord Calvert and Calvert Reserve whiskies were not exclusively “black brands” as the company advertised both products to white and African American consumers in the 1950s and 1960s. However, Wachtel’s decision to use black models in positive roles resonated with African American consumers, and Calvert developed a reputation as a company that valued this market segment. Like many Jews who were involved with the civil rights movement and interests, the African American community held Wachtel in high esteem because he raised funds for the Urban League, the United Negro College Fund, and for originating the “Men of Distinction” campaign. The Calvert Distillery was also noted for its equitable hiring and treatment of African American employees in the field and at its plants.\(^5\) Commentary in *The Pittsburgh Courier* stated that the campaign was a benefit to African Americans as “millions of people all over America learned what Negroes had accomplished with distinction in many fields.”, and praised Wachtel for winning the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute’s Gold Award in 1951 for the betterment of race relations and “promoting brotherhood of man.”\(^6\) What exactly motivated Wachtel’s favourable attitude towards African Americans is unclear but Davis makes the case that Jews working in the distilled spirits industry often blurred the racial divisions that persisted between whites and African Americans. Davis speculates that Jews usually treated African American customers with respect either “because of their own experiences with oppression or out of ignorance (or indifference to) southern social norms”.\(^7\) The Calvert brand could undoubtedly benefit if company officials tailored its advertising to a

\(^5\) *The Pittsburgh Courier* (31 January 1953), 7.
\(^6\) “Calvert’s Men of Distinction Points up our Achievement” *The Pittsburgh Courier* (22 January 1955), 23.
\(^7\) Davis, *Jews and Booze*, 125.
market segment that was increasing in size and spending power, especially if it meant acquiring 
brand loyalty from African American consumers ahead of competitors.

Advertisements for Lord Calvert centred on prestige, status and respectability. Set within 
a drawing room, library or den, the male African American models played the piano for a few 
guests, conversed with friends or participated in a game of cards or pool. The campaign 
comprised of four unique advertisements which the company rotated through issues of Ebony 
between 1950 and 1951, and contained the slogan, “For Men of Distinction…Lord Calvert”. 
Dressed in suits, the models projected an air of sophistication with their formal attire as they 
etertained friends within the privacy of their homes. In an advertisement from March 1951, 
copy encouraged the host to serve his guests highballs or cocktails made with Lord Calvert.\footnote{Card Party Tonight?” Lord Calvert advertisement Ebony (March 1951), 9.} Choosing Lord Calvert was guaranteed to impress one’s guests, and improve one’s status as a 
host.

In October 1951, the distillery varied the advertisements by celebrating the achievements 
of real members of the African American community. Models may have been hired to play 
ancillary roles but an accomplished, successful African American man was the main character of 
the advertisements. Georg Olden, chief art director at CBS and 1951 winner of the Award of 
Distinctive Merit, was the first “man of distinction” cast in a Lord Calvert advertisement for 
Ebony. Olden was also a graphic designer for advertisements and magazines, who worked on 
Madison Avenue. The advertisement’s copy announced that Olden and “all other successful men 
of distinction choose Lord Calvert”.\footnote{Georg Olden” Lord Calvert advertisement Ebony (October 1951), 43.} In the following months, several other “men of 
distinction” became lead figures such as actor James Edwards, historian Joel A. Rogers, attorney
Charles W. Jones and electronic engineer Albert Lindsey. Some of the men were celebrities but more often they were prominent members of their local communities. From October 1951 until the end of 1955, Seagram placed twenty distinct Lord Calvert advertisements in *Ebony* each with a brief biography on an African American “man of distinction.” The advertisements traced the professional accomplishments of each individual, and often depicted the men either at work or in front of office buildings. A scene revealing each man’s domestic surroundings complete with a tray of Lord Calvert, glasses and ice pail, followed the description of his professional accolades.

In an advertisement from the August 1954 issue of *Ebony*, African American A. Maceo Smith, manager at an insurance firm in Texas and member of the NAACP stood in front of a building with A.D. Hardesty, chairman of the Human Rights Committee, Texas C.I.O. To the left of the image was a detailed description of Smith’s achievements as founder of business leagues, insurance companies, a newspaper and a chamber of commerce. At the end of the section, copy mentioned “Like all successful men, A. Maceo Smith *acts* successful. When it comes to whiskey for himself or his guests, he usually chooses *Custom Distilled* Lord Calvert.”

An inset of Smith seated with a guest at a patio table sat below the biography. Copy beside the image credited Smith with being a successful host, one who served guests good food, offered insightful conversation and drinks that “invariably drew compliments on their smoothness and flavor.”

It then urged the reader to try Lord Calvert because of its superior taste, even though it cost more than other brands. Smith and his guest in the leisure scene were African American, but Hardesty was white. This advertisement, along with another two or three

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534 “Mr. Texas” Lord Calvert advertisement *Ebony* (August 1954), 23.
535 Ibid.
in the series were the only integrated advertisements containing African American and white men found in the survey for Calvert or Seagram brands.

As with Hiram Walker’s “The Best In The House” campaign from the late 1960s, this one intrinsically linked professional and personal success to African American masculinity. A successful man acted successful by drinking and entertaining his guests at home with Lord Calvert Whiskey. This particular advertisement demonstrated that Smith was accomplished proven by his entrepreneurial spirit and hospitable nature but also because he was able to cooperate with a white human rights leader to improve the African American community. African Americans had been demanding just this type of integrated advertising, but it is not known if this advertisement ran in publications with a large white or mixed readership. The advertisement was unprecedented for its time as few advertisements for alcoholic beverages were integrated, and even if they were, African American or other ethnic minorities were usually in subordinate roles compared to the white characters. Regardless of the positive African American role models championed in the “men of distinction” campaign, and the African American community’s efforts exact changes in the way advertisers portrayed them, the campaign ended in 1955. Sam Bronfman’s strategy of having independent brand identities for Seagram, Calvert and Four Roses products, and the fact that they competed against each other for sales might have influenced the decision to use American models in advertisements for Calvert but not Seagram products in the early 1950s. According to Nicholas Faith, Bronfman quashed the “Men of Distinction” campaign as he felt the men were receiving far greater attention than the whisky.\footnote{Nichols Faith, The Rise and Fall of the House of Seagram (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2010), 108.} I was unable to find any additional evidence to corroborate Faith’s assertion but promoting brand
identity was crucial to Bronfman’s advertising strategy, and might have accounted for the change in campaigns.

Wachtel’s decision to use African American men in the “men of distinction” campaign was progressive, but the campaign was not the first of its kind. The advertisements were imitative of a campaign Pepsi introduced in the late 1940s entitled, “Leaders in Their Field.” Pepsi advertisements showed notable African American men and women with a list of their accomplishments, along with a description of how the individual dealt with racial discrimination.\(^{537}\) Pepsi’s aim was to develop a positive product image in the minds of African American consumers by emphasising the successful careers of real life professionals, a strategy adopted by Calvert, Hiram Walker and National Distillers. Imitators followed when in the second half of the 1960s, National Distillers hired Clarence Holte, an African American advertising executive to create the “Ingenious Americans” campaign which celebrated the achievements of several African American figures like Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, Granville T. Woods, an inventor, and Norbert Rillieux, an engineer. The advertisements were for National Distillers’ Old Taylor Whiskey, not Calvert’s products as Chambers mistakenly asserts.\(^{538}\) Each advertisement contained a portrait or bust of each individual and an extensive section on his or her successes. With the exception of the brand in small print, the advertisements did not mention or show the whisky or individuals drinking. National Distillers also sold small sculptures of some of the individuals mentioned in the advertisements, as well, interested readers could request booklets of their profiles. Collectively, the three distillers were trying to appeal to African American consumers based on their racial identity and pride, and at least in the case of

\(^{537}\) Chambers, *Madison Avenue*, 94.
\(^{538}\) Ibid., 93.
Seagram and Hiram Walker, clearly communicated the association between whisky drinking and respectability, gentility and success.

Seagram continued to advertise Calvert Reserve Whiskey and Lord Calvert Whiskey throughout the 1950s and 1960s in *Ebony*. Even though Calvert Reserve advertisements had also used African Americans, this too ended in 1955. The new Calvert Reserve campaign compared “American foods” like apple pie, steak and lobster to the fine taste of whisky. By the early 1960s, Seagram ran the same advertisements for Calvert brands in *Ebony* as it did in the other publications counted in the survey. These advertisements emphasised the whisky’s quality, taste and smoothness, and if models promoted the products, they were white men. While the “men of distinction” comprised of twenty unique advertisements, campaigns for Lord Calvert and Calvert Reserve in the 1960s consisted of four to five different advertisements rotated between issues.

**Seagram: An Ambiguous Strategy**

Throughout the 1950s, and most of the 1960s, advertisements for Seagram branded products placed in *Ebony* were identical to those in *Life*, *Sports Illustrated* and *Gourmet*. The advertisements either promoted brand awareness, especially with 7 Crown Whiskey, or lifestyle as in the case of Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky. Many of the early advertisements were of the single bottle, double glass format with a couple of props in the scene. Advertisements for Seagram products did eventually contain human characters, and the models used to represent certain lifestyles were white, even though Seagram placed the advertisements in *Ebony*. In the middle of the 1960s, Seagram altered its advertising strategy to include African American models in its advertisements for Seagram branded products in *Ebony*. Excluding the Calvert

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539 See Appendix B-Table 1.9.
advertisements, 43% of the Seagram advertisements had African American models. Almost 50% of the advertisements promoted quality over leisure, followed by hospitality, and the other themes counted in this study.\textsuperscript{540} From December 1964 until the end of the decade, Seagram ran fourteen advertisements in the publication. However, the advertisements were not part of a cohesive campaign, and delivered a range of messages about Seagram products and its consumers.

The first Seagram branded advertisement to contain an African American model in \textit{Ebony} was for Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky. There were a total of six men in the scene; all were white except for one who was African American (Figure 3.8). It was set in a corporate office, possibly an architectural firm, as the African American man held blue prints. The men wore dark suits, and the African American man held a glass of whisky in his hand. One of the men in the scene examined a glass full of ice cubes and whisky as he held a telephone receiver to his ear. In the background, a pair of men having a conversation stood adjacent to a table of whisky bottles. The phrase “Sometimes this great Canadian whisky, Seagram’s V.O. tastes even better. Like now. V.O. does for you what no other whisky can. It defines smooth once and for all. Light? Of course.”\textsuperscript{541} The advertisement tried to impress on the reader V.O.’s prime quality and taste. The phrase “V.O. does for you what no other whisky can” held additional implications. It inferred that the African American man was accepted in a white man’s world because he either served or drank V.O. The phrase might have meant that V.O. was a relaxant that allowed everyone to let down their inhibitions and accept a deal or proposal put forth by the African American man. It might have indicated that drinking V.O. would cause the men in the

\textsuperscript{540} See Appendix B-Table 1.8.
\textsuperscript{541} “In The Office” Seagram’s V.O. advertisement \textit{Ebony} (December 1964), 86.
advertisement to act cordially towards each other. Similarly, the words “smooth once and for all” could have referred to the ease with which the men interacted, the African American man’s ability to integrate with the group, or the contracts that might have ensued from the meeting. Copy did not mention professional success but the image implied that the African American man’s efforts were exceptional because he held a prestigious position in a firm with white men. The imagery associated African American masculinity with professional success even though the message was understated. The advertisement addressed African Americans’ desire to see integrated advertising, and showed that Seagram was comfortable in its direct appeals to this demographic.

In July 1966, Seagram placed an advertisement in *Ebony* in honour of Father’s Day entitled, “When can I start to drink, Dad?” An African American teenage boy was at the centre of the advertisement. An extensive amount of copy sat below the boy’s image which detailed Seagram’s condemnation of underage drinking, and its rejection of business from minors. It encouraged parents to set an example for their sons and sons’ friends by discussing responsible consumption, and by drinking liquor in a sensible and moderate manner.\(^{542}\) The advertisement was a direct appeal to African American fathers, although the advice in the copy addressed “parents”. Masculinity in Seagram’s moderation advertisements, regardless of race, encompassed a sense of responsibility and duty to one’s family along with sensible or temperate consumption. Seagram’s archives held the identical moderation advertisement from this period except it contained the image of a white teenage boy at its centre instead of an African American one. Seagram interchanged the image of the teenage boy to appeal to the reader of *Ebony*, but the advertisement was primarily a vehicle to demonstrate the distillery’s leadership in corporate

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\(^{542}\) “When can I start to drink, Dad?” Seagram advertisement, *Ebony* July 1966, 53.
responsibility. The advertisement was essential to Seagram’s public relations campaign, one that it had instituted in the 1930s, and the inclusion of an African American face was perfunctory, as the objective was to convince the reader of the company’s upright reputation.

In fact, Seagram made desultory efforts to target African American consumers with Seagram products in the late 1960s. The distillery advertised in Ebony, as it had done for decades but when compared with its extensive campaign for Calvert products in the 1950s, these latter endeavours seemed trifling. Based on the magazine survey, there were only two distinct Seagram whisky advertisements with African American models in Ebony between 1967 and 1969. The advertisements recurred intermittently over the three years. The advertisement for Seagram’s 7 Crown Whiskey first appeared in March 1967, September of the same year, and again in March and August of 1968. It had an African American woman with long, relaxed hair offering a tray of drinks to two African American men wearing suits, and was set against a bare blue background (Figure 3.9).\textsuperscript{543} The group stood in close proximity to each other, and each man raised a glass of whisky in his hands. Imposed onto the scene was copy describing 7 Crown’s superior quality and far-reaching popularity. The copy wrapped around a small image of a cropped bottle of 7 Crown, large red 7 and glass of whiskey. When compared with other Hiram Walker, Calvert or Seagram advertisements to feature African Americans, it was rare to find a woman functioning as hostess as men tended to act as hosts. When African American women were present in the advertisements, they were usually guests at an event, and drank alongside the men in the scenes.

\textsuperscript{543} “The Sure Ones” Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement Ebony (March 1967), 140.
Another advertisement for Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky first appeared in the April 1967 issue of *Ebony*, and subsequently ran in December 1968 and again in October and December of 1969. It was a slight variation to the advertisements which had white models that appeared in *Life* and *Sports Illustrated*. In the advertisement, an African American man and woman sat beside each other while their host who was also African American, offered them a tray of drinks (Figure 3.10). The host leaned down as the couple gazed up at him with smiling faces. The phrase “When your host asks what you’d like, is it polite to specify the Smooth Canadian?” ran along the bottom of the image along with additional copy which urged the reader to serve Seagram’s V.O. the next time one hosted guests. Separate from the scene sat an opened bottle of V.O. and options for serving the drink such as over a glass of ice cubes or in a shot glass with whisky. These items were disproportionately larger than the models in the inset, and indicated that selling the product trumped lifestyle, at least with this campaign.

A review of Seagram’s archives indicates that the distillery was interested in pursuing African American consumers. The distillery tracked trends about “Negro” alcoholic beverage consumption in the 1960s and by the 1970s targeted market research at this segment. In 1973 Seagram obtained data from Daniel Starch & Staff Inc., a market research firm, about African Americans usage of and attitudes towards beverage alcohol. The study involved 1614 participants, and revealed that 49.1% of African American households served or used distilled spirits as opposed to 65.7% of white households. Respondents showed a preference for Scotch followed by bourbon, and heads of the household were white collar workers with an annual

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544 “When your host asks” Seagram V.O. advertisement *Ebony* (April 1967), 133.
545 “Study Profile of the Black Consumer Summary” Box 720 File: Daniel Starch and Staff Inc.-A Profile of the Black Consumer, 1973 JES Marketing Services, Hagley Museum.
family income of $10,000.\textsuperscript{546} Seagram had been advertising to African Americans for years, but as they struggled for increased presence in the media, the distillery’s efforts were tentative. Seagram’s Calvert “Men of Distinction” campaign was extensive in volume and scope when compared with those for Seagram’s whiskies in the late 1960s. When looking at the latter advertisements in relation to those from \textit{Life, Sports Illustrated} and \textit{Gourmet}, they were part of a Seagram’s wider strategy to focus on product quality over lifestyle advertising.

Some consumer goods manufacturers were fairly inclusive and used African American models in the mid-1950s in their advertising campaigns. African American models graced the pages of \textit{Ebony} in advertisements for Kentucky Tavern Bourbon Whiskey, Carnation Evaporated Milk and Ballantine’s Beer. Distillers of Kentucky Bourbon and Ballantine’s Beer advertised their whiskies to both white and African Americans as advertisements for these products were noted in the other magazines surveyed. Some of the trepidation associated with using African Americans in advertising might have been a result of the evolving nature of this market segment. In the 1950s, advertisers realized the earning and spending potential of the African American market, yet by the end of the 1960s, some acknowledged diversity within the group. According to Chambers, African American advertising executive Clarence Holte was one of the first in the industry to admit there were variations in the African American consumer market with a small upper class, an expanding yet minutely larger middle class and a significant lower class who were motivated by diverse factors.\textsuperscript{547} Marketing professor Dorothy Cohen delineated between a stable middle-class group with rising social and economic status versus a disadvantaged, lower-class group, and tried to correct the notion that African Americans were brand conscious and

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\textsuperscript{546} Ibid., 2-3.
\textsuperscript{547} Chambers, \textit{Madison Avenue}, 94.
\end{flushright}
brand loyal.\textsuperscript{548} While Cohen admitted that African Americans often selected brand names, her research indicated that not all were brand loyal, and that those with higher levels of education and income were likely to question symbols of prestige.\textsuperscript{549} Similarly, experts from the beverage industry believed that middle-class African Americans had become more selective and conscientious with their purchases but individuals from the lower-classes were still prestige conscious and chose a product based on its “in” status.\textsuperscript{550} Middle and upper-middle class consumers were increasingly becoming confident in their buying habits and were less affected by status than in the past.\textsuperscript{551} Alcoholic beverage marketers began to see some general changes among African American consumers that involved purchasing larger sized bottles to entertain guests at home, and a higher propensity for a range of whiskies like blends and bourbons compared with the favoured Scotch whisky of previous years.\textsuperscript{552} Another observer pointed out that all African American consumers, not just those from a specific socio-economic bracket, would start looking for bargains or improved value liquor purchases instead of following trends.\textsuperscript{553} While marketers and advertisers began to acknowledge that African Americans were a viable market segment, fragmentation based on socio-economic differences meant that the industry had to improve its study and understanding of this group in order to cater to its evolving needs. It might also explain why Seagram chose to use stock advertisements at this time, and substituted African American models for white models, as the distillery mainly targeted middle and upper-middle class segments through \textit{Ebony}. A general focus on product quality and the product itself seemed apparent in many of Seagram’s advertisements as images of bottles and

\textsuperscript{549} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{550} “New Stability in the Negro Market?” \textit{BEV/New York} (December 1968), 12.
\textsuperscript{551} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{553} “The Negro Market” \textit{Frank Kane’s Letter for the Beverage Industry} (27 May 1968), 3.
glasses became larger. In Seagram’s mainstream advertising, images of models were much smaller than in earlier examples, and copy emphasized the quality of the whisky rather than the lifestyle associated with consuming the brands.

The majority of advertisements for Calvert, Hiram Walker and Seagram products portrayed African American men as respectable, middle or upper class, responsible individuals, often leaders within the community. The men conformed to standard appearances, dressed in suits and with their hair cut low. Scenes were set in the private sphere as alcoholic beverage consumption involved African American hosts entertaining a group of friends or drinking alone. The men, their activities and domestic environments provided a contrast to the luxurious ballrooms, yachts, country clubs, hotels and ski hills or the exotic destinations found in the distilleries’ advertisements with white models. The prestige associated with personal achievement and professional success was paramount to expressions of African American masculinity as members of this community would likely have been barred from the country clubs and hotels showcased in mainstream advertising. The models in these advertisements showed Americans that African American men could be responsible, moderate drinkers, and their images were a contrast to older ideas about racialized drinking. They were also positive renditions of African American masculinity compared to Robert Anthony the butler or Uncle Ben.

Despite this, African American masculinity in these advertisements was not completely unique from the versions of white middle class masculinity, but were radically different from the constructions of “soul” identity that emerged in the mid to late 1960s. Robert Weems contends that marketers developed a “soul” market to elicit a response from African Americans with a growing interest in racial pride, and encourage both African American and white consumption,
yet it was exploitative and caricaturized African American culture and patterns of speech.\textsuperscript{554} Chambers agrees that the cooptation of a ‘soul’ identity was commoditized, yet African American consumers, especially younger ones involved with the Black Power movement, responded positively to ‘soul’ marketing.\textsuperscript{555} Secondly, Chambers points out that Vince Cullers, a leader in the African American advertising industry and an African American himself, succeeded at uncovering distinctions within the African American consumer market, and managed to inspire racial pride, acceptance and identity among consumers.\textsuperscript{556} A segment of African American consumers identified with the imagery and language in Cullers’ advertisements as African American models sported afros, wore beads and dashikis and defied normative dress codes. Compared with Calvert, Hiram Walker and Seagram’s advertisements with African American models, Cullers images of African American masculinity exhibited a newer, militant and “hipper” version of black pride and identity. However, the distillers’ advertisements may have appealed to middle or upper-middle class, and possibly older, African American consumers who distanced themselves from the militancy linked to some civil rights’ struggles apparent in many of Cullers’ advertisements. As the advertisements ran in \textit{Ebony}, a staunch middle class publication, the distillers’ strategy of presenting respectability, responsibility and achievement in their advertisements was indicative that they were aware of a stratified African American market.

Seagram and Hiram Walker were eager to acquire African American consumers in the 1950s and 1960s as illustrated by the prolific advertising in \textit{Ebony}. The distilleries augmented these activities by establishing segregated sales forces to target the growing market segment. Advertising strategies evolved over the two decades as the distilleries realized that African

\textsuperscript{554} Weems, \textit{Desegregating the Dollar}, 76-78.
\textsuperscript{555} Chambers, \textit{Madison Avenue}, 230.
\textsuperscript{556} Ibid., 229-232.
American consumers demanded greater visibility from the advertising industry but efforts were tentative as the majority of the distilleries’ advertisements to appear in *Ebony* lacked African American models. Seagram was content to run a few advertisements with African Americans repeatedly from 1967 to 1969. The Hiram Walker distillery developed a few campaigns to include African Americans which it ran for the same duration. The distilleries emphasized African American masculinity ensconced in responsibility, respectability and success, ideals they hoped would appeal to *Ebony’s* middle class readership. However, none of these advertisements appeared in the mainstream publications studied in this project. Seagram and Hiram Walker were intent on garnering brand loyalty from African Americans but were rather reluctant to recognize their potential as brand representatives.
Chapter 4 Cooking and Candlelight: Hiram Walker and Seagram’s Advertising Strategies and the Female Consumer

Prior to the 1950s, distillers like Seagram and Hiram Walker marketed and advertised their products almost exclusively to male consumers, although from the 1920s onwards it had become more acceptable for women to drink. When Seagram and Hiram Walker decided to expand their customer base in the 1950s, women were the next logical market. However, the distillers found it difficult to pursue female consumers because the Distilled Spirits Institute had banned its members from using images of women in its advertising. This chapter examines the advertising and marketing initiatives Seagram and Hiram Walker implemented to develop a middle and upper class, white female clientele from 1950 to 1969. It argues although the distillers were eager to acquire female customers, their strategies were cautious, and at times inconsistent. In the 1950s, Hiram Walker adopted a fairly direct approach to advertise its brightly coloured, sweet cordials, which were lower in alcohol content than distilled spirits, to draw in women as shoppers, hostesses and cooks but was careful with how it advertised whisky to this group. Seagram also marketed its products to female consumers, but its efforts were subtle relative to Hiram Walker. Overall, Seagram and Hiram Walker identified female consumers first as shoppers and hostesses, who served alcoholic beverages to entertain guests. By the 1960s, Seagram and Hiram Walker gradually began to make references to women drinking. This chapter will first provide an overview of the alcohol advertising regulations pertaining to women, followed by a historiography of women and drink. Next it will offer an analysis of Hiram Walker’s cordial and whisky advertising, along with a section on Seagram’s whisky advertising.

Women and Alcohol Advertising

In 1937, the Distilled Spirits Institute voluntarily banned female models and characters from appearing in liquor advertisements. Once the DSI lifted the ban in 1958, it allowed the
distilled spirits industry to use images of women, but they could not be shown holding or
drinking liquor until 1963. In contrast, beer advertisements for brands like Pabst, Ballantine Ale
and Schlitz showed women holding beer glasses or cans, in poses of active consumption, as well
as serving the beverage to their male partners and guests. When distilled spirits advertisements
did include women between 1958 and 1963, and in many instances after this period, female
models often rested their hands on their faces or had their hands folded in front of them or placed
by their sides. In some advertisements, an extra beverage sat conspicuously in front of a
woman’s table setting or directly on a coffee table in front of her, while the man in the
advertisement actively drank or held a beverage in his hand. In other advertisements, only men
held glasses. The unclaimed beverages found in a few advertisements, implied the women were
drinking even if they were not pictured drinking or holding glasses of liquor. It suggests that the
distillers were able to hint at female alcohol consumption without contravening the Distilled
Spirits Institute’s regulations while simultaneously muting criticism from dry advocates.

The Distilled Spirits Institute was only one of many organizations monitoring or
curtailing the distilled spirits industry’s advertising activities. Until 1959, several leading
magazines like Reader’s Digest, Good Housekeeping, Women’s Day, Ladies Home Journal and
TV Guide refused to include alcoholic beverage advertisements in their pages. Likewise, a group
of moral conservatives laboured in their quest for an outright ban on alcohol advertising. Led by
members of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the Methodist Board of Temperance,
and supported by numerous Christian churches, dry advocates attended nine congressional
committee hearings to prohibit alcohol advertising in the 1950s. The movement garnered

Campaigns to Control Alcoholic Beverage Marketing, 1950 and 1980s” The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs 20
(2005), 18-19.
support from men and women, Democrat and Republican politicians, and Gallup Polls conducted until the mid-1950s showed that one third of Americans were in favour of reinstating prohibition.\textsuperscript{558} Despite the opposition to using women in spirit advertisements, the number of women who consumed spirits had been on the rise since World War II. Depending on the source consulted, the percentage of women who admitted to drinking alcohol fluctuated from 29\% to 47\%.\textsuperscript{559} However, motivational research conducted on behalf of the Bourbon Institute in 1959 highlighted a societal double standard regarding women and alcohol. The report concluded: women feared the effects of liquor more than men, drunk women were more abhorrent compared to drunk men, and women were less knowledgeable about liquor.\textsuperscript{560} While the “dry” movement to ban liquor advertising lacked popular support and failed to succeed, the distilled spirits industry was mindful that its critics were vocal.

**Historiography of Female Alcohol Consumption**

Historians of alcohol studies point to the fact that in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, middle and upper class North Americans served and consumed alcoholic beverages at home but it was unseemly for them to drink in public spaces like saloons, taverns and bars which were considered the domain of men.\textsuperscript{561} Prior to the 1920s, most middle and upper class women avoided public drinking spaces, and as illustrated in the dissertation’s

\textsuperscript{558}Ibid., 19-20.
\textsuperscript{559} Seagram archive document records data for the number of women consuming liquor as 29\% from the *Liquor Handbook* (1960), Gallup Organization-39\% (1961) and from Alfred Politz-47\% (1955). Slide 676
\textsuperscript{560} “Motivational Research” (Market Planning Corp., 1959) in “Women and Distilled S\(n\)pirits Revised: March 1964” (Lennen & Newell Inc., 1964), 38.
introduction, drank within the privacy of their homes. Much of the anxiety surrounding female alcohol consumption was related to female sexuality, and moral preservation. When women did frequent taverns or saloons, they were usually working class and utilized side entrances to drink in the company of friends or male partners but without the intrusion of unknown and potentially dangerous male gazes.\textsuperscript{562} Both Madelon Powers and Mary Murphy recognize the saloon and tavern were sites of socialization for working class women, yet while these were public venues, female customers were treated as unique and distinct from male clientele, and offered “private” areas where they could drink.

In \textit{Bad Habits}, John Burnham notes behaviours like smoking, drinking, swearing and gambling gained wider acceptance in the United States as early as the 1920s. During the Prohibition era, drinking by middle class women gradually became admissible in certain venues such as cocktail parties, restaurants, social clubs and dance halls, as women participated in a culture of heterosocial leisure.\textsuperscript{563} The alcoholic beverage industry contributed to this trend as it worked to normalize drinking after the repeal of Prohibition in 1933.\textsuperscript{564} While scholars recognize society’s gradual acceptance of female drinkers during the 1920s, the negativity associated with female alcohol consumption had not abated. Lori Rotskoff asserts that even though heterosocial drinking became more prevalent in the 1930s and 1940s, it had not supplanted the notion that drinking was a gendered activity, one suited to men.\textsuperscript{565} According to Michelle McClellan, male

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\addcontentsline{toc}{section}{References}
\bibitem{565} Rotskoff, \textit{Love on the Rocks}, 59.
\end{thebibliography}
customers resented the increasing presence of women in public drinking venues in the late 1940s. Medical professionals and social observers viewed women’s tendency to visit male drinking spaces as a transgression of gender norms, and a reflection of women’s growing masculinity.\textsuperscript{566} Similarly, in his analysis of the brewing industry’s advertising practices, Nathan Corzine notes society regarded alcohol consumption as a male leisure activity, and argues brewers’ advertisements had to proffer domesticated images of drinking to counter criticism and acquire credibility.\textsuperscript{567} In the 1950s, female public drinking was still associated with disrepute and questionable morality. Stories about barroom girls, women who colluded with barkeepers to increase male patron spending, coloured the front pages of California’s major newspapers in the early 1950s.\textsuperscript{568} Authorities intensified scrutiny against barroom girls because of the presumed “calculated femininity” they employed to exploit male drinkers who bought them drinks in exchange for real or implied sexual favours.\textsuperscript{569} They chastised barroom girls because of their gender, and labelled their activities as deviant because of their sexuality while they ignored male barkeepers who profited from the women’s transactions with male customers. Hegemonic gender ideals shaped societal attitudes about appropriate female behaviour, and public drinking still elicited images of indecent and immoral women.

American society gradually became more permissive starting in the 1920s, and with each subsequent decade which led to radical changes in the 1950s and 1960s. Historian Ruth Rosen describes the 1950s as an age of “cognitive dissonance” which left Americans feeling uneasy.

\textsuperscript{569} Ibid., 190-191.
because they had to simultaneously subscribe to conflicting ideas of perfection purported by the media that did not match their real, lived experiences.\textsuperscript{570} Official government rhetoric, the mass media, popular culture and psychologists propagated a “culture of containment” that prized the nuclear family.\textsuperscript{571} White, middle class men were supposed to fulfill the breadwinner ideal while their wives had to be dedicated to and content with caring for their families. Historian Elaine Tyler May posits that gender identity was tied to a culture of domestic consumerism in these years. Theoretically, middle class, white American men and women’s lives would be more egalitarian because consumerism would lead to a classless, homogeneous, family centred ideal. In reality, May argues, suburban neighbourhoods were isolated, racially segregated, and fostered a lifestyle based on traditional gender ideals.\textsuperscript{572} To most suburban residents, consumerism meant more than filling their homes with modern electronic appliances, new furniture or fine china: it validated their success and defined their lifestyles.

As noted in previous chapters, several scholars argue that many men and women struggled to adhere to the strict gender ideals of the period. An early critic of idealized femininity, Betty Friedan, condemned the idea of the “feminine mystique” perpetuated by post-war American society where repressed women were expected to find contentment in their roles as suburban housewives and mothers.\textsuperscript{573} She acknowledges that as women started to air their problems to one another, the image of the happy American housewife and mother crumbled by 1960.\textsuperscript{574}

\textsuperscript{571} May, \textit{Homeward Bound}, 169-178.
\textsuperscript{572} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{574} Ibid., 66.
Other scholars discuss the resentment women had for the culture of conformity palpable in the 1950s and 1960s. The image of the dedicated mother and housewife was pervasive. Rosen and May, along with communications and media studies scholar Susan Douglas and sociologist Wini Breines argue many women were unable to attain, and often rejected these platitudes. Many women had to subjugate their own personal fulfillment and desires in exchange for preserving the myth of the perfect suburban housewife and mother. Domestic discontent festered as women dealt with competing and conflicting ideals of femininity propagated by the media, psychologists and society at large.\textsuperscript{575} Indisputably, images of young, white, middle class, femininity that circulated in the mass media and advertising, were not representative of the poor, working class and minorities like African American women, Latinas, lesbians and non-Anglo Saxon immigrant women.\textsuperscript{576} Such women could not see themselves in these portraits of femininity.

Some women contested the status quo, either willingly or out of necessity. As Elaine Tyler May showed, increasing numbers of middle class, white women joined the workforce to afford many of the luxury and consumer goods advertised in the post-war 1950s, at a time when some elements of society expected them to stay home and raise their children.\textsuperscript{577} It was common for African American, immigrant and working class women to work outside the home in order to supplement their husbands’ income. In her work on home cooking in twentieth century America, Mary McFeely discusses the dissatisfaction women experienced with having to prepare meals for their husbands and children. McFeely notes that for many women, cooking was a mundane,

\textsuperscript{575} Rosen, \textit{The World}, 6.
boring chore devoid of innovation or pleasure, and “the kitchen stove was a symbol of their imprisonment.”

However, Joanne Meyerowitz, Alan Petigny and Nancy Walker propose that the situation was more complex than Friedan suggested. Meyerowitz contends that the popular mass culture put forth incongruous messages about domesticity and its influence on gender constructs. Often in the same magazine article, authors and editors simultaneously celebrated domesticity while supporting personal self-accomplishment. She concludes that many magazine articles of the day held a “bifocal vision of women both as feminine and domestic and as public achievers”, and often defined women’s success by nondomestic achievement. Petigny identifies the home, church, college campus and therapist’s office as sites of change. He argues that gender dynamics began to change within the home with the evolution of the democratized husband-wife relationship. Women gained prominence in churches through their greater involvement at the congregational level. Also as educational opportunities improved, Americans started to adopt more progressive attitudes about women, and that the 1950s witnessed “the advancement of feminist principles in the absence of a mass feminist movement.” English professor Nancy Walker concurs that magazines of the era conveyed complicated and contradictory messages about femininity, and like Meyerowitz and Petigny observes that the domestic sphere was already a disputed site by the 1950s. She points out that magazines sold millions of copies because they reflected the profound discord women experienced. According to Walker, women’s magazines neither represented a separate reality, nor a fictitious world, but were a

578 Mary Drake McFeely, Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?: American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 124.
581 Ibid., 163-177.
component of American culture that was undergoing a metamorphosis after a period of uncertainty and insecurity. 582

American women were diverse, separated by race, ethnicity and socio-economic status, and did not share ideals and values. Yet, advertisers and marketers of consumer goods generally envisioned a homogeneous mass market through much of the 1950s. 583 For manufacturers, the “mass market” consisted of white, middle class Americans who possessed sufficient resources and time to purchase and consume their products. Since the 1920s, manufacturers and advertisers branded women as avid, and often frivolous consumers of everything from clothing and cosmetics to food and household appliances. Recognizable gender representations were a popular, efficient and convenient way for advertisers to capture readers’ attention so that consumers would identify with and purchase their products. Advertisements for products and appliances in the 1950s, promised to save middle class women from the drudgery of the working classes. 584 Consequently, such representations helped perpetuate ideals about femininity and masculinity. Conscious of industry critics and keen to achieve respectability, Hiram Walker and Seagram’s advertisements directed at white, middle class women in the 1950s and 1960s conformed to conventional gender norms and industry trends. Instead of challenging Americans’ attitudes about women’s drinking habits, the distilleries tried to appeal to women as housewives and hostesses.

583 Liz Cohen’s, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), chapter 7. Cohen notes advertisers and marketers embraced market segmentation in the late 1950s, even though the modern concept of market segmentation presented by Wendell Smith and Pierre Martineau was not entirely new. Some American industries had noted a variation in consumers’ tastes pre-World War II. However, market segmentation truly peaked in the 1960s and 1970s, as consumers began to assert their tastes, and manufacturers responded to consumers based on their socio-economic, cultural, gender and racial differences.
Make Any Occasion a Special Event: Hiram Walker’s Cordial Advertisements

Hiram Walker first launched its line of fruit cordials in 1935. Designated the “candy product of the liquor industry”, cordials, also known as liqueurs, were made with any type of distilled spirits base, flavouring and sweetener. 585 A cordial could be flavoured with natural fruits, flowers or plants and sweetened with sugar or dextrose, and synthetic flavours were not permitted. 586 Cordials were bottled between forty to over one hundred proof, which meant they contained between twenty to fifty percent of alcohol. 587 In the 1950s, the distilled spirits industry determined cordials were a favourite with female consumers, and that both men and women enjoyed them in mixed drinks like grasshoppers, side-cars and gin fizzes. 588 At the start of the decade, a small flask-shaped bottle of a Hiram Walker cordial cost $1.78, and the larger size was $3.46. Almost ten years later, imported, proprietary brands like the cognac based French Bénédictine and Grand Marnier cost around $7.00 or more, while Hiram Walker cordials were $4.00 to $5.15. 589 Blackberry and crème de menthe were among the best-selling flavours in the generic cordial category. In 1962, near the mid-point of this study, Hiram Walker spent $259 421 to advertise its cordials in magazines, about $120 000 less than the top cordial advertiser, Bénédictine. Competitors in the generic cordial business like DeKuyper spent $294 326 on advertising, and Arrow dedicated $62 102 in the same year. 590

Near the end of the 1930s, Hiram Walker hired Fletcher & Ellis, the agency that had once handled its distilled spirits advertising, to manage its cordial campaigns. At first, Fletcher &

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586 Ibid.
588 Ibid.
590 “Magazine Expenditures for Cordials and Liqueurs” ibid.
Ellis incorporated images of cordial bottles in advertisements for the distillery’s whisky brands. The advertisements offered readers a selection of cordials and prepared-cocktails as complements to the existing range of distilled spirits. Hiram Walker advertised the cordials as “after dinner drinks” to women who were looking for something “special” to serve their guests. In 1943, the distillery released a separate cordial campaign complete with recipes to show readers how to make cocktails to produce the ideal after-dinner beverage. The advertisements told readers that the cordials were fresh and fruity, and were the perfect substitute to dessert. Initially, the liqueurs were available in six flavours including crème de menthe, blackberry brandy and crème de cacao. Advertising imagery was bold and colourful, and tied cordial usage to gracious living, elegant dining and fine meals, while copy generally emphasized the quality and taste of the cordials.

Hiram Walker changed advertising strategies and addressed men instead of women in cordial advertisements from the early 1950s. The company expanded the product line to twenty-one cordials, fruit brandies and pre-mixed cocktails. Advertisements in Gourmet and Life were either two-thirds or half a page in size, black and white, and highlighted with an additional single colour like red, green or orange. They featured men drinking in social settings often accompanied by friends or work colleagues, in homes or at restaurants. The advertisements promoted hospitality, and depicted male hosts treating male guests to Hiram Walker’s sweet, flavourful cordials. Affirming the cordials’ restorative properties, the advertisements claimed

591 “Just an Old-Fashioned Custom” Hiram Walker advertisement Life (20 December 1937), 40-41.
593 “Call for a ‘Two-Striper’ and DRINK YOUR DESSERT” Hiram Walker advertisement Life (18 January 1943), 99.
595 See Table 4-all tables, hospitality was a common theme throughout all of Hiram Walker’s liquor advertisements including those found in Gourmet.
they were the ultimate solution to rejuvenate one’s spirits. When advertisements presented alcohol as a mood altering substance, Lori Rotskoff comments it was shown to reduce the drinker’s inhibitions, ease social interactions and solidify social relationships without imparting any deleterious consequences on the consumer’s social or domestic well-being. After a difficult day at the office or disappointment in a sporting event, the cordial advertisements showed male characters physically or emotionally restored after glimpsing or tasting a glass of blackberry brandy or crème de menthe. The men usually wore suits, and recounted the day at the office or on the sales floor, suggesting the advertisements were geared at a middle class market. This pattern mirrored the themes in Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements. Emphasis on traditional masculine activities like watching a boxing match, fishing or playing golf informed readers that men who drank cordials were as masculine as whisky drinkers.

Although the campaign featured men, it is plausible that Hiram Walker was targeting women. In an advertisement that appeared in Life and Gourmet from 1952, a fictitious salesman “Ed” was in a foul mood at dinner after his poor performance at work. His mood brightened at the sight of crème de menthe cordials, served on a tray by a pair of unidentified hands. The server could have been either male or female, as the person’s body was cut out of the scene. A caption stated, “Serve Hiram Walker’s –that’s the way To save your dinner and their day!” (see Figure 4.1). The copy could have been directed at a male host treating a friend or business associate to dinner, or even a male restaurateur who wanted to pacify his patrons. More likely, Hiram Walker’s was trying to target women because dinner preparation was a traditionally female task one that included cooking, as well as increasing the happiness of the entire family.

597 “Dinner forecast: Cloudy but clearing” Hiram Walker Advertisement Life (7 April 1952), 63. For all Figures for Chapter 4 see Appendix G.
In twentieth-century American society, women illustrated their love for their families through food preparation, whether it was cooking from scratch or re-heating convenience foods, an association food manufacturers deliberately fostered and reinforced.\textsuperscript{598} This advertisement professed to housewives that they could resolve their husbands’ unhappiness and frustration with a glass of Hiram Walker’s cordials, much like they could with a steak or slice of apple pie. Portraying the cordials as appropriate men’s drinks yet including ambiguous copy, directed at either men or women, allowed the distillery to nod its head at female consumers while adhering to the Distilled Spirits Institute’s advertising regulations.

In the mid-1950s, Hiram Walker continued to advertise its generic line of cordials as the quintessential dessert substitute, and or as ingredients in dessert recipes. C.J. LaRoche, a smaller agency at the time, handled most of Hiram Walker’s cordial campaigns. The agency merged with McCaffrey and McCall in 1962, and changed its name to LaRoche, McCaffrey and McCall following which, it became a prominent player in the advertising world. Between 1956 and 1964, Hiram Walker ran a cordial advertising campaign entitled, “Hiram Walker’s Cordials: A Rainbow of Distinctive Flavors” with page-length advertisements containing bold, colourful images and elaborate copy. Dining, domestic entertaining and hospitality were central themes. Early in 1959, Donal O’Brien, Hiram Walker’s Vice President and Director of Advertising stated, “Women readers are of great interest to us in our Cordial advertising…The use of women in liquor advertisements can be fraught with danger. If the advertising is not prepared with skill and taste it could turn women (and men) away from the product. We think if one word had to be chosen to express our feeling about the use of women in advertising, it would be subtlety.”\textsuperscript{599}


\textsuperscript{599} “How Hiram Walker Feels About Women in Liquor Ads” \textit{Round Table} (Jan-Feb 1959), 2.
The campaign stressed heterosocial hospitality and prompted women to use Hiram Walker cordials make their guests to brightly coloured cocktails and innovative desserts. There were ninety three cordial advertisements counted in the survey, 83% ran in *Gourmet*, 4% in *Life* and 13% were in *Sports Illustrated*. Women were in 42% of the Hiram Walker advertisements in *Gourmet* versus the three other publications.\(^{600}\)

Interwoven with the themes of hospitality were those of gracious living and domesticity. Domesticity and dining as themes did not dominate the overall results of the magazine survey, but were evident in the results for *Gourmet*.\(^{601}\) *Gourmet’s* kitchens tested cocktail and dessert recipes made with Hiram Walker cordials, a fact Hiram Walker boasted about in some of its cordial advertisements. One such advertisement addressed readers, "How about stepping in this evening? The luxuries of dining out can be yours right at home with Hiram Walker Cordials" (see Figure 4.2).\(^{602}\) The advertisement featured multiple cordial bottles and glasses along with recipes for grasshopper cocktails and a raspberry dessert sauce. Tested by the “*Gourmet*” kitchen, the raspberry sauce called for two tablespoons of Hiram Walker’s Cherry Flavored Brandy, an ideal topping for Peach Melba or vanilla ice cream. Advertising copy claimed female guests would love the rich tastes of Crème de Cacao and Crème de Menthe used in the grasshopper cocktails. ‘Stepping in’ as opposed to stepping out endorsed at-home entertainment instead of eating at a restaurant. The advertisement’s emphasis on hospitality, serving of a multi-course meal, recipes using the cordials and acknowledgement of female consumers proved Hiram Walker was working towards normalizing and domesticating women’s use of alcohol.

Neuhaus has specified that manufacturers of pre-packaged and processed, or partially prepared

\(^{600}\) See Appendix C-Tables 2.1-2.4.
\(^{601}\) See Appendix C-Tables 2.5-2.8.
\(^{602}\) "Stepping in this Evening" Hiram Walker Cordial Advertisement *Gourmet* (March 1956), 69.
food, in the pre and post-World War II periods, relied on recipes and instructions to sell women a list of items in their product lines like potato chips, orange juice and frozen vegetables. Companies like Pillsbury and General Mills were renowned for their recipe booklets which were in high demand in the era.\(^{603}\) Similarly, Hiram Walker adopted a tried and true method of the processed food industry to draw in women.

Hiram Walker wanted women to know that its cordials could add flair to casserole suppers, luxury to buffet dinners and a festive glow to informal meals. Advertisements tried to persuade the reader that Hiram Walker’s cordials were capable of transforming casual, dull domestic dining and entertaining into elegant, luxurious and exceptional affairs. In the October 1956 and March 1957 issues of *Gourmet* Hiram Walker ran an advertisement that had a straw shopping bag over-flowing with groceries in the background, and a large bottle of crème de menthe and three full glasses in the foreground. Copy below the images stated, “Any dinner becomes an event when followed by cordials-” (see Figure 4.3).\(^{604}\) Women would discover that serving cordials was convenient and inexpensive, and their guests would be honoured and impressed with the Hiram Walker labels. The copy also specified, “Bright glasses of Crème de Menthe have won for many a hostess a shining reputation.”\(^{605}\) As with other Hiram Walker advertisements issued prior to 1958, this one did not feature female models or characters, but cooking and meal preparation, and acknowledging “hostesses” in advertising copy, confirms the distillery’s intentions.

After 1958, Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements that ran in *Gourmet* continued to identify food preparation, food service and home décor as desirable activities, but now included

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\(^{604}\) “Dinner Becomes an Event” Hiram Walker advertisement *Gourmet* (October 1956), 81.

\(^{605}\) Ibid.
female models and characters. In one such advertisement a woman with short dark hair, wearing a pink floral dress stood with her hand lifted to her face. Her image was deliberately blurred; therefore it is not clear if she held a cocktail glass in either hand. Hiram Walker was bound by industry code not to show women drinking which made the advertisement cryptic. In the foreground and in focus was a white table top covered with five glasses of cordials, a white casserole dish and loaf of bread. A bottle of blackberry brandy and crème de menthe also sat on the table. The caption below the image stated, “Give your casserole suppers a candlelight charm with Cordials by Hiram Walker” (see Figure 4.4).\footnote{606} Cordials could add a special touch to a party, and were a perfect way to honour one’s guests. The copy drew readers’ attention to the quality of the cordials’ ingredients, and mentioned their foreign origins. Although Hiram Walker made the cordials in the United States, it may have been trying to show consumers that its products were comparable to imported ones. It also informed, cordials were ‘fun to serve…and inexpensive, too, whether you buy the standard sized bottle or the smaller flask-shaped size.’\footnote{607} A woman’s cooking and entertaining skills defined gracious hospitality, which were further enhanced when she cooked with Hiram Walker’s cordials. The cordials had the ability to transform a simple meal like a casserole dinner into an elegant, special event.

Scenes of chafing dishes, candle lit table settings or one-dish skillet meals emphasized women’s traditional gender roles. However, Hiram Walker like food manufacturers nurtured a culture of gracious living, and advertised ordinary items as symbols of affluence and creativity with the goal of convincing female consumers to find satisfaction in routine domestic labour.\footnote{608} The women in Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements were no match for the models wearing fur

\footnote{606} “Casseroles Suppers, Candlelight Charm” Hiram Walker advertisement \textit{Gourmet} (January 1960), 57. \footnote{607} Ibid. \footnote{608} Ibid, 64-65.
coats, ostentatious jewellery and fine evening gowns in Tia Maria and Courvoisier advertisements but using cordials made them sophisticated and cultured. Culinary historian Laura Shapiro observes that some women’s colleges cultivated a culture of gracious living by prompting proper deportment among its student body. As middle class incomes grew, magazines like *Life* also persuaded readers to surround themselves with tasteful commodities.609 This was also true of publications like *Gourmet*, *House & Garden* and *House Beautiful*. While Hiram Walker’s advertisements encouraged women to dress up their everyday dining and entertaining routines, they also pressured women to play the perfect hostess through acts of consumption. Contrary to O’Brien’s claims to the contrary, Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements were not subtle as they targeted the female consumer in her capacity as housewife and hostess.

Hiram Walker promoted cocktail culture by emphasizing the relationship between drinking and hospitality. Hosts and hostesses could use sweet, whimsical and brightly coloured liqueurs to stir, shake and mix delicious cocktails for their guests. Sugary, fruit flavoured drinks lower in alcohol content, were not as threatening as strong, hard liquor, which made cocktails the perfect beverage to serve in mixed company. Housewives could “perform” for guests by blending drinks with complicated steps to demonstrate their entertaining skills and their aptitude for gracious living. In an advertisement that appeared in *Gourmet* once in 1961 and twice in 1962, glasses of jewel-toned cocktails and bowls of orange slices surrounded bottles of Hiram Walker products. There was an inset with a bottle of crème de menthe flowing into a glass filled with ice cubes to the left of the main image, and a paragraph of copy in the centre. To the right of the copy was another image of two women accompanied by a man, seated around a table.

Another man with his head cut off from the image, stood with a cigarette in one hand and a cordial glass in another. The seated man held a cocktail glass, and both of the woman’s hands were empty, but there was a cocktail glass on the table in front of her. A large caption read, “6 new twists on old-fashioned hospitality with Hiram Walker’s Cordials”, followed by, “Easy to mix and fun to serve, … And in spite of their elegance, these famous cordials are surprisingly inexpensive whether you buy the standard sizes or the smaller flask-shaped bottles. Pick up your favorites today. They’ll add color to your entertaining” (see Figure 4.5). In a column to the left of the main image were six different cocktail recipes which readers could reproduce for their guests. This advertisement may have been directed at either a male or female reader, and indicated that the beverages were fun, convenient and elegant yet affordable. The cordials’ jewel tones would literally add colour to one’s evening, whereas the alcohol would enhance the fun and excitement of the evening by helping guests relax, and likely make them a bit tipsy. It is ironic that the advertisement stressed convenience, as each recipe required one to have at least two or more cordials on hand, while three of the recipes required four to five steps to prepare. Hiram Walker encouraged its salesmen to have retailers stock both small and large sized cordial bottles so new customers could try smaller sizes before committing to big bottles, and existing customers could purchase a wider variety to replicate recipes.

In addition to the food and drink recipes, Hiram Walker employed some compelling strategies aimed at women. One of Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements from the 4 April 1960 issue of Sports Illustrated tried to appeal to women’s perceived fashion interests (see Figure 4.6). In the image, jewel-toned paper lanterns, resembling the cordials’ colours, hung

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610 “6 New Twists” Hiram Walker advertisement Gourmet (January 1961), 49.
from the trees, as revellers stood on the lawn of the Bay Roc Hotel in Montego Bay, Jamaica. The man in the main scene held up a cordial glass, possibly for himself or he may have been offering it to one of the women nearby. A troupe of Jamaican musicians, seated in the distance performed for the guests. The advertisement endorsed McMullen’s Cordial Casuals, a collection of women’s travel wear comprising of Bermuda shorts, shirts, sheath dresses, skirts and tote bags inspired by Hiram Walker’s line of cordials. Copy stated, ‘Stolen from Hiram Walker’s Cordials, the most delicious colors you’ve ever worn…in McMullen’s Cordial Casuals’, along with ‘Compliments in store for the hostess who serves Hiram Walker’s Cordials Crème de Cacao…wears its flattering color!’ The outfits’ colours corresponded with Hiram Walker cordial names like cacao bean, crème de menthe, black raspberry and apricot. Mint leaves, cacao beans and fruit adorned white collared blouses which women could pair with solid-coloured linen skirts. The advertisement cajoled women to pick up the collection at their nearest clothing store, and then decide on a ‘few bottles of Hiram Walker’s Cordials…21 flavors to choose from…all of them a snap to serve and delightfully unextravagant in cost!’ Rather than a subtle reference to drinking, this advertisement and the previous one, both emphasising variety and affordability pressured women to purchase multiple bottles in a single trip to the store.

One of the women in the main scene reclined along the bark of a tree with one leg swung out in front, and the other to her side with her face upturned towards the sky, and her arms askew at her sides. The other woman looked inward in the direction of the man who held the glasses. They both modeled attire from the McMullen Cacao Bean collection. In Gender Advertisements, Erving Goffman proposes that poses such as the one exhibited by the woman leaning against the

612 “The most delicious colors you’ve ever worn” Hiram Walker Cordials advertisement Sports Illustrated (April 4, 1960), 11.
613 Ibid.
tree exemplified a form of ritualized subordination known as body clowning. Goffman articulates ad-makers position female models in a range of poses in deference to the men in advertisements. Whereas advertisers tend to present men upright, with their heads held high, indicative of authority, superiority and status, they often position women seated or prostrate on beds or floors, displaying a “bashful knee bend” or a tilted or lowered head. According to Goffman, the poses infantilize women and represent subordination, submissiveness and ingratiation. Goffman regards advertisements as “highly ritualized versions of the parent-child relationship, with women treated largely as children.” One might say the woman reclining against the tree was enjoying the celebration with a child-like enthusiasm; her body open, vulnerable to the man’s gaze. The second woman looking inward appeared to be flirting with the man in the scene. An inset to the left of the primary image contained a woman lounging in a boat, her arm extended, and fingertips pointed at the water, with her legs stretched out, crossed at the ankles. In contrast, her partner sat upright, glancing in the direction of the woman’s hand, and a Jamaican guide sat upright behind her. Much like the woman expressing body clowning, her body though clothed was exposed and lay prone to the men. Unlike the men in the scenes who were composed, the women were relaxed and playful, possibly communicating the physical pleasure derived from drinking the cordials.

Hiram Walker’s fashion tie-in meant women could extend the fun and novelty associated with the cordials to their wardrobes by wearing cordial themed casual outfits. The distillery released at least two additional advertisements for the line which appeared in the 11 April 1960 issue of Life and the 25 April 1960 issue of Sports Illustrated with crème de menthe and apricot

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615 Ibid., 40-46.
brandy as the featured flavours. A company named McMullen which specialized in ladies’ classics and owned by Nathan Sheinman existed in the 1960s, but it was not possible to confirm if McMullen’s Casuals mentioned in the advertisements was one and the same. Hiram Walker’s records did not contain references to this campaign, and I was unable to uncover details about the designer, the duration, intention or significance of the campaign. However, linking female alcohol consumption with fashion and leisure, Hiram Walker built on the idea that female alcohol consumption was not only an act that could be respectable but also one that was light hearted, pleasurable and fun.

Taste and quality were themes featured prominently in all of the alcohol advertisements counted in this survey. Advertisements for Hiram Walker cordials often underlined the delicious, flavourful quality of the products. In *Round Table* articles, company officials decried the use of synthetic flavourings, and declared berries, fruit and herbs guaranteed their products’ quality and freshness. Following a product knowledge seminar conducted by Research Group Leader Lou Rittschof, the distillery circulated his notes to Hiram Walker employees about the complexities of cordial production in the March-April issue of *Round Table*. In the seminar offered to salesmen, Rittschof extolled that the distillery used pure vanilla beans from Madagascar and Tahiti, oranges from Spain and Curaçao, and real cocoa pods to flavour various cordials. Rittschof conveyed the importance of testing and blending pure ingredients, and following scientific processes, such as varying the duration of percolation to achieve a particular flavour, to produce uniform and superior cordials. The distillery implemented percolation, distillation and infusion to produce cordials, and often combined the products from the three

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618 “Here’s Why Hiram Walker Leads the World in Cordials Sales” *Round Table* (Special Issue 1958), 4.
619 “Lou Rittschof tells how Hiram Walker Cordials are made” *Round Table* (March-April 1970), 3-4.
processes to achieve desired results. Hiram Walker hoped its salesmen would use this information to sell consumers on the outstanding quality of its cordials, and modernity of the company.

The distillery proudly advertised its use of natural ingredients, noted in the aforementioned “Casserole Suppers” advertisement. This motif also appeared in an advertisement which ran eight times in *Gourmet* starting in October 1962 until January 1964. A frosted cordial glass filled with ice cubes and blackberry brandy sat on a dense bed of shiny blackberries.620 The bed of blackberries evoked thoughts of freshness, abundance and nature. Above this main picture were three cordial glasses with recipes for three cocktails “on-the-rocks”. The large caption below the sea of blackberries read, “Suddenly everybody’s serving Hiram Walker’s Cordials On-the-Rocks (Especially Blackberry Flavored Brandy!)”(see Figure 4.7).621 Hiram Walker’s cordials was a simple and elegant choice, and because of their affordability, consumers could easily replicate the recipes if they had several flavours at hand. Emphasizing “everybody” served Hiram Walker’s cordials potentially influenced consumers to imitate the latest drinking habits of their social peers. It also hinted that at-home entertaining was a pervasive leisure activity.

Themes of heterosocial consumption along with hospitality and entertainment remained central to Hiram Walker cordial advertising throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Advertisements for a popular campaign seen in *Life, Sports Illustrated* and *Gourmet* from the mid-1960s presented a large house viewed from the outside, with its lights on and curtains drawn open. The inhabitants of the house were not visible from the street, but the copy inferred they were relaxing with

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friends over glasses of Hiram Walker cordials (see Figure 4.8). Captions for the advertisements began, “Tonight in [x town, x state]…” and the location varied in at least seven individual advertisements describing tranquil suburban neighbourhoods. The advertisements attempted to normalize drinking by making it seem middle class consumers throughout the country drank Hiram Walker cordials. Copy reminded readers that they could unwind in the evenings with a cordial glass close at hand. Imagery differed negligibly in each advertisement, and bright coloured beverages and dense copy dominated the pages. As in the previous campaign, the advertisements included recipes for mixing cocktails, and encouraged readers to entertain friends and neighbours in their homes.

Hiram Walker’s cordial marketing promotions paralleled the themes and messages presented in its advertising campaigns. In 1951, Hiram Walker targeted salesmen’s and retailers’ wives. Tips in Hiram Walker’s sales bulletin, Round Table, urged married salesmen to pick up a bottle for the “little gal who keeps dinner waiting.” This was an inexpensive, effortless and uncontroversial, although patronizing, approach to introduce female consumers to Hiram Walker’s cordials. Hiram Walker operated within the bounds of respectability because addressing married men automatically excluded single women from this missive, and promoted drinking in a domestic environment. In 1954, Hiram Walker held demonstrations at merchandising fairs across the nation to educate retailers’ wives about the cordials’ attributes. In an attempt to arouse salesmen’s interest in the products, the distillery boasted its cordial booth received the most attention at the Fair. Having retailers’ wives taste the cordials, Hiram

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622 “Tonight in San Mateo” Hiram Walker advertisement in Gourmet (September 1964), 75.
623 “Say it With Cordials” Round Table (September 1951), 17.
624 ‘Cordials Stole the Show’ Round Table (January-February 1953), 10.
Walker likely hoped the women would convince female customers to buy the items from their stores once they returned to their home states.

Along with its advertising campaigns, Hiram Walker reached out to female consumers through cooking demonstrations and samplings. Ron Muller, the Hiram Walker district manager for Rhode Island, collaborated with “Sugar and Spice Kitchen’s” television host, Betty Adams to incorporate cordials into her recipes for chicken flambé and baked ham. The show did not endorse Hiram Walker’s cordials by brand, but retailers stated cordial sales increased after viewers wrote to the host requesting recipes, and rushed out to purchase the ingredients. The sweet, fruity cordials were a natural complement to desserts but Hiram Walker also promoted their use in savoury dishes. Cordial manager Tom Abker expressed cordials added “savor to meat and fowl.” The distillery sponsored the “Hiram Walker Cordial Cookery” booklet, and distributed it via gourmet supermarkets to female consumers at food samplings for dishes like ham à la curaçao and apricot brandied sweet potatoes. The packaged food industry regularly distributed recipes combining odd ingredients in an attempt to glamourize women’s innovative use of convenience foods. Although there was a cost to produce and distribute recipe booklets such as these, Neuhaus remarks that they were lucrative because consumers could not wait to get their hands on copies and try to reproduce recipes using a company’s products. Television segments teaching women how to cook with convenience prepackaged foods were also popular in the 1950s. Through cooking demonstrations, television segments and cooking pamphlets, Hiram Walker tried to persuade middle class American women that they needed a wide selection

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625 “TV Program Features H.W. Cordials” Round Table (March 1954), 8.  
626 “The Most Glamorous Thing to Ever Happen to Ice” Round Table (April/May 1964), 3.  
627 Shapiro, Something from the Oven, 56-59.  
628 Neuhaus, Manly Meals, 169.
of cordials to test out the advertised recipes, and once accomplished, the drinks and dishes would add flair and flavour to ordinary meals.

Hiram Walker worked with private members’ clubs including women’s clubs like the Yubo City Women’s Club, the Soroptimist Club and the Petaluma Women’s Club to screen a promotional film about cordials, and host tasting events. Through the film, the distillery tried to entice the busy woman with limited time on her hands that she could be the “hostess with the mostess” if she served her guests cordials. Hiram Walker introduced a flower arrangement campaign in 1962 which paired its bright, colourful cordials with floral bouquets. Retail outlets featured display stands with cordial recipe booklets and flower arrangements. The following year the distillery, in collaboration with candle manufacturer Paragon, presented a line of slim taper candles coordinated to match the colours of the crème de menthe, blackberry brandy, cherry brandy, crème de cacao and anisette cordials. Abker stated the program was a “high-style adjunct to gracious living and entertaining.” Hiram Walker’s marketing strategies reflected normative gender ideals to appeal to women as housewives, and their aspirations for an enhanced standard of living realized through the purchases of “pretty things” like cordials, flowers and table décor.

Despite initiatives directed at women, a group increasingly making domestic liquor purchases, Round Table’s rhetoric in the 1960s characterized them as an “untapped market”. An article in the July-August 1960 issue of Round Table stated that the number of women making purchases liquor and wine for the household had doubled since 1950, but did not provide a
comparative baseline. In the same issue an article by Ben Schwartz, owner of Junction City Liquors, Peoria, Illinois, explained the need for suburban liquor retailers to cater to female consumers. He alleged women shoppers were price conscious compared to male customers, but also more impulsive, drawing on long-standing stereotypes about women shoppers, which made it easier to upsell them with attractive displays. Schwarz believed, women preferred sales staff who were adept at food and drink pairings, and appreciated the cooking-with-cordials demonstrations held at his store. An article from 1967 in Printers’ Ink, captured the opinion of Jack S. Birnbaum, vice-president of Renfield Importers Inc. He advised retailers in the distilled spirits industry that female customers responded to large aisles and dressed-up displays, and encouraged them to reorganize their stores accordingly. He instructed distillers to simplify bottle labels so that “The woman should be able to examine a bottle of wine or spirits in a liquor store as easily as she picks up a can of beans in a supermarket.” An article from the May 1967 issue of Liquor Store magazine noted female consumers were uninformed about liquor categories and most relied on their husbands’ opinions or experienced sales staff when purchasing liquor. In December of the same year, the magazine released an article by George Mosley, Seagram’s advertising manager, where he cautioned retailers to maintain clean stores with tidy displays and shelves, pay close attention to female customers’ requests and remember that the store keeper was “helping to educate a buyer who wants to be as knowledgeable as her husband.” He also urged liquor retailers to model their stores on the modern department store and supermarket

633 “and what’ll the lady have?” Round Table (July-August 1960), 3.
634 Ben Schwartz, ‘Why We Designed Our Store For Women Shoppers’ Ibid., 4-6.
because their attractive and organized displays made shopping a woman’s “daily pleasure instead of a daily chore.”

Statements that women were novice, inept consumers reflected the paternalistic attitudes of liquor retailers and the distilled spirits industry in general. Historian Donica Belisle in Retail Nation has documented that retail and department store managers treated female shoppers with condescension, and differentiated between the “normal” customer as passive compared to the demanding, unsatisfied “deviant” woman. In Counter Cultures Susan Benson Porter identifies that American department store managers in the 1920s revealed similar outlooks about female shoppers who they regarded with “contemptuous indulgence”, and characterized them as recalcitrant and whimsical. The merchants described by Benson Porter and Belisle failed to recognize women’s autonomy as consumers, and felt they possessed limited knowledge, much like distillery executives and liquor merchants in the 1950s and 1960s.

Although Hiram Walker personnel stated that beginning in 1958, the company would implement a strategy of subtlety when advertising to women; it is evident this was a tactic to avoid criticism. Hiram Walker had been targeting female consumers for several years prior to 1958, even before female models or characters were allowed in print advertising. Once the ban ended, cordial advertisements continued to reinforce hospitality, gracious living and domesticity to garner wider interest from female consumers and expand the category. Even though the distillery made coy attempts to blur women’s faces, and was careful not to portray women drinking once the DSI lifted its ban, Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements and marketing

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638 Ibid., 20.
639 Donica Belisle, Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), Chapter 3.
640 Susan Benson Porter, Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 80-94.
strategies referenced the female consumer and her desires for a beautiful home and enviable social skills. The advertisements instructed women to use Hiram Walker’s cordials to improve their entertaining repertoire by cooking certain foods, decorating their tables in a specific way and hosting friends for supper. They showed women, and potential critics, how to use liquor respectably, provided they did so in carefully controlled ways and environments. This analysis of Hiram Walker’s cordial advertising in the 1950s and 1960s confirms Lori Rotskoff’s assertion that the alcoholic beverage industry tried to gain credibility and normalize heterosocial drinking.

Hiram Walker Whisky and the Female Consumer

Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements were dominated by images of white, middle class men, a fact that held true throughout the 1950s until the late 1960s. In studies conducted in 1959 and the early 1960s, men showed a demonstrable preference for whisky compared to women. After 1958, HW gradually began to incorporate women into its whisky advertisements. Based on the sample, of the advertisements containing women, 53% were for Canadian Club, 29% for Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon and 18% were for Imperial Whiskey. Compared to Hiram Walker’s cordial campaigns, the women in whisky advertisements were subsidiary characters, and played companionate roles to the men in social settings. Even when advertisements from the magazine survey depicted domestic environments, women were not hostesses as in the cordial advertisements. In an interview with the New York Times, Margaret Hockaday, the female advertising executive who oversaw Grant’s Scotch Whisky account,

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641 Lori Rotskoff, Love on the Rocks, 202-204.
642 See Appendix C-Tables 2.1-2.4.
expressed that distillers in the 1960s aimed their advertisements at women shoppers, not female drinkers: women could use these products when they entertained. She argued, “These ads don’t urge ‘get loaded on X brand of scotch’ they simply suggest that X brand is the best to serve guests and propose various types of mixed drinks in which it might be used.”

Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements promoted domestic consumption but its whisky advertising rarely aligned drinking with at-home entertainment. The whisky advertisements did not include recipes for mixed drinks, meals or dessert ideas, and seldom depicted women serving their guests alcoholic beverages. In the Canadian Club “Restaurants of the World” advertisements which were mostly found in *Gourmet*, female models appeared as hospitality staff, but these roles were not exclusive to women, as the scenes presented both men and women in these capacities. Women in Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements seldom held glasses in their hands, or actively drank. It was not until the late 1960s that Hiram Walker directed overt messages at women, and identified them as whisky drinkers.

Hiram Walker’s officials were apprehensive about incorporating female models and characters in whisky advertisements in the late 1950s. Vice president O’Brien believed women fit “easily and naturally” into cordial advertisements but if done improperly, it could create hostility among male and female members of the public.

The executive vice-president of Schenley industries, one of Hiram Walker’s main competitors, echoed O’Brien’s sentiments. J.L. Lenker admitted while Schenley was trying to target female consumers, it did not want to promote any single brand as an exclusively “woman’s brand.” Lenker continued, “The packaging, advertising and merchandising of each brand is ostensibly masculine in appeal, yet

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also is designed to attract the woman buyer.” As per O’Brien, Hiram Walker would only include women when they added appeal to the advertisement or when company officials believed they would help to sell a product. However he did not elaborate on Hiram Walker’s deciding factors. Although advertisers had been using images of women or female models to sell consumer goods to men and women since the late nineteenth century, the distilled spirits industry was uncertain how readers, consumers and critics would react to women in liquor advertising, and O’Brien’s comments were naturally guarded.

In the late 1950s, Hiram Walker began using women in its Imperial Blended Whiskey and Walker’s Bourbon DeLuxe advertisements. Two of the earliest Hiram Walker advertisements to feature women encountered in the survey, were from the 1 June and 6 July 1959 issues of *Sports Illustrated*. The first advertisement was for Walker’s Deluxe Bourbon which had three different sized bottles of whisky in the foreground (see Figure 4.9). A man dressed in a sports jacket and tie, held a glass of whisky, and stood in the background. A woman sat on a blanket with an open picnic basket by her side. The man had his back towards the camera, but a side profile of his face was noticeable. The woman’s face could be seen as she tilted her face up in the man’s direction. Although the couples’ image was blurred, the woman was positioned lower than the man, eager for his attention or approval, or ready to offer him something from the open basket. “Walker’s DeLuxe-good as all outdoors!” ran at the bottom of the advertisement but ironically, the advertisement appeared to have been shot in a studio. The man’s jacket and tie, and the woman’s long dress suggested formality. Instead of a horizon,

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648 Good as All Outdoors!–Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (1 June 1959), 44.
green grass or sunny skies, the couple sat in front of a grey-green backdrop, the setting was dark, and the flooring was the same colour and material as the walls.

In the second advertisement, two light haired men dressed in white dinner jackets, dark pants and bow ties held glasses of whisky in their hands as they sat cross-legged across from a woman dressed in a long gown and heeled shoes whose back was to the camera. The man on the left wore a lei around his neck, as did the woman. The woman had one hand on her left hip, and the other held a lei along the ground, and her legs were tucked under her. There was a tray to the left of the woman which had a bottle of Imperial Whiskey and a glass, which may or may not have been hers. A large tray of hors d’oeuvres sat closer to the man on her right. The casual picnic atmosphere of the scene contrasted with the characters’ formal apparel, and like the previous advertisement, this one was shot in a studio. The characters’ fancy attire created an air of sophistication and luxury although as noted in chapter two, Hiram Walker intended Imperial Whiskey to have mass appeal. Both advertisements communicated that whisky was a suitable beverage for drinking in hetersexual company. Even though the women were not drinking, their mere presence made the act of drinking whisky respectable. Transforming casual leisure activities like picnics and luaus into stylish affairs contributed to the association between whisky consumption, respectability and gracious living.

Two additional Hiram Walker whisky advertisements from the same year found in the magazine survey contained women. The advertisement from November was black and white, and comprised of three individuals, a dark haired man, a lighter haired woman and grey haired man, seated in an open wagon, loaded with a case of Imperial whiskey, a rifle case and luggage. Two horses pulled the wagon towards a pasture. The models’ faces were not visible

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649 Half a Hundred States-Imperial Blended Whiskey advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (July 1959), 6.
as they travelled away from the audience, and had their backs to the camera. “Knowledgeable people buy Imperial and they buy it by the case” headed the advertisement. The second advertisement provided a contrast to the rugged, outdoor scene, as it consisted of a selection of foil-wrapped boxes, with a single bottle of Imperial Whiskey on the side. A woman’s white, manicured hand, with long red polished fingernails, adorned with a sparkling ring, and her wrist encircled with a white fur cuff appeared at the top of the advertisement. The hand may have either been in the act of placing or removing a foil wrapped box from a man’s out-stretched palm, shown at the bottom of the page. A fur trimmed cuff, jewellery, and the woman’s elegant hand implied Imperial was a luxury brand, a contrast to the casual settings of the earlier advertisements. The caption, “Knowledgeable people give Imperial—and they never gift wrap it. Reason: Imperial comes beautifully wrapped for you by Hiram Walker.” This advertisement captured a holiday theme, and showcased the distillery’s foil-wrapped boxes used to promote convenient holiday gifting. It also targeted women as consumers who might have gifted this product to their male partners.

These advertisements from 1959 show Hiram Walker did try to incorporate women into their campaigns but it is doubtful if the distillery wanted to explicitly promote whisky as a woman’s beverage. In three out of the four aforementioned advertisements, the women’s faces were not visible to the audience, and no drinking occurred in the advertisements with the two men and woman in the wagon, or the gift-wrapped boxes. As these advertisements were created before 1963, Hiram Walker did not present women drinking but may have been trying to test readers’ reaction to women in heterosocial scenes. Drinking whisky could be a respectable affair, and female characters contributed a sense of propriety. Even after the advertising ban

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651 Imperial Gift Wrapped-Imperial Blended Whiskey advertisement Life (7 December 1959), 131.
lifted in 1963, Hiram Walker continued with its cautious portrayal of women. An advertisement taken from the 7 November 1966 issue of *Sports Illustrated* shows actor Arthur Treacher in the role of butler holding a silver tray with a cocktail glass and high ball of whisky (see Figure 4.10).\(^{652}\) Treacher stood behind a long table covered with a green cloth with a polo helmet, mallet and trophy on one end, and a bottle of Hiram Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon, pitcher of water, silver ice pail and an assortment of glasses on the other. A dark haired woman dressed in green, with her back to the camera, faced a group of spectators and a couple of polo players. The men in the scene, even if some of their faces were blurred, were turned towards the camera. Although none of the characters held beverages, the woman’s body language implied she was engrossed in the polo match, and distanced from the Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon display behind her.

In a Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement from the end of the decade, two men with slightly greying hair sat in the foreground, with their backs to three women who stood together in the background. One man held an unlit cigarette in his left hand and a full glass of Walker’s DeLuxe in his right. His companion held a model of a jet plane as he leaned over a counter or bar top. To his left sat a full glass of whisky. Positioned away from the main scene, the women were physically separated from the interaction between the two men. There was a tray with a bottle of bourbon, an empty glass, and another with about an inch of liquor on a coffee table beside one of the women. Another half-full high ball which might have contained whisky or a cocktail, sat within closer proximity to the woman, indicating it could have been her beverage. Two of the women held cigarettes but none of them held glasses in their hands. Hiram Walker was willing to include women in its whisky advertisements but the idea of women drinking was couched in ambiguity.

\(^{652}\) Polo scene-Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (7 November 1966), 2.
Based on the advertisements counted in the survey, Hiram Walker seldom featured women alone in its whisky advertisements. One of the earliest advertisements to have a woman as its focus was for the Canadian Club Adventure Series campaign. It ran in the 11 April 1960 issue of Life, and although it was not counted in the survey, I found it in the distillery’s archives. I have incorporated it into my analysis because it might have been the only Adventure Series advertisement to feature a woman as the main character. The advertisement introduced readers to American friend of Canadian Club, Mary Hurn who worked as a safari guide travelling in Assam in search of tigers. On invitation from the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, Hurn agreed to serve as hunter rather than guide on this specific expedition. At first, Hurn believed the task might have been a “man-size undertaking for a woman like [her]” but with the help of a .375 Magnum, managed to shoot a tiger that measured ten feet long, and weighed five hundred pounds. In the first segment, Hurn rode an elephant and leaned over the edge of the howdah to take her shot with her face towards the tiger, and her back to the audience. She was not present in the next two scenes but in the final scene she relaxed with the Maharaja but only a side profile of Hurn’s face was discernible. The image was small and slightly blurred but a bottle of Hiram Walker was visible on top of a wicker table. Following convention, Hurn had her hands folded in her lap while the Maharaja held a glass in his hand. However, unlike most of Hiram Walker’s spirit advertisements, which often cast women as observers at sporting events and in leisure settings, Hurn was an active participant. In this case, Hurn was as fearless and courageous as any other male friend of Canadian Club Whisky, and Hiram Walker may have been trying to test readers’ and critics’ reaction to women in liquor advertising with this example.

653 “I just couldn’t be lady-like with this man-eating tiger”. Canadian Club advertisement Life (11 April 1960), 161.
After alluding to female whisky consumption for decades, Hiram Walker introduced a Canadian Club campaign in the late 1960s that unequivocally recognized women as whisky drinkers. The distillery chose to market Canadian Club whisky to female consumers, which when taken into context of its Adventure Series advertisements, appeared paradoxical. For decades, Hiram Walker had presented Canadian Club predominantly as a whisky suited to white, middle class men who could live vicariously through the macho yet bumbling actions of the friends of Canadian Club. And yet, during the 1950s and 1960s, advertisements consistently described Canadian Club as “smooth” and “light”, and it was these properties Hiram Walker highlighted to the female drinker. Although distinct from the Adventure Series advertisements, Hiram Walker incorporated travel and adventure into this campaign. Advertisements showed couples trekking on the backs of donkeys through the Grand Canyon, mountain climbing, scuba diving, skydiving, canoeing and riding in hot air balloons (see Figure 4.11). Short paragraphs contained phrases like, “Must a girl prove herself to earn her Canadian Club?”654, “Isn’t there an easier way to earn my Canadian Club?”655, “Oh you men and your heroics! Do I always have to earn my Canadian Club the hard way?”656 The distillery borrowed the idea of earning a drink of Canadian Club from the Adventure Series advertisements in which hosts in foreign lands rewarded the friends of Canadian Club with a glass of whisky after a harrowing escape from danger. Likewise, the women in these advertisements had to accomplish feats of daring or participate in extreme adventures in order to receive their rewards. Even though none of the models drank in the scenes, the advertisements insinuated that if women wanted to drink like men, they had to be equally skilled and adept at the same activities. Additional information about

654 Couple Scuba Diving-Canadian Club advertisement Gourmet (January 1968), 60.
655 Couple Skydiving-Canadian Club advertisement Gourmet (March 1969), 97.
656 Couple Canoeing-Canadian Club advertisement Gourmet (November 1967), 115.
this campaign was not available in the distillery’s archives, but the campaign coincided with the height of the women’s movement. The thought of earning one’s reward by completing tasks routinely associated with normative masculine behaviour could have been interpreted in two ways. Hiram Walker may have been expressing the industry’s condescending attitude towards female consumers or it might have been a humorous play on women’s fight for equal rights.

Imagery in the advertisements occupied slightly more than half of the page with a large proportion of white space below. Copy was limited and informed the reader Canadian Club was “A reward for men. A delight for women. Smooth as the wind. Mellow as sunshine. Friendly as laughter. The whisky that’s bold enough to be lighter than them all.” These words sat flush beside a fairly large bottle of Canadian Club Whisky, a highball and old-fashioned glass filled with whisky and ice cubes. The Adventure Series advertisements stated the whisky was “light as scotch, rich as rye, satisfying as bourbon”, a drink suited to cocktails before dinner or tall ones that could be nursed after a meal. In comparison, the new description was poetic, almost effeminate in tone as it likened the whisky to wind, sunshine and laughter. While the advertisements did not depict female alcohol consumption, addressing women in the copy left no doubt Hiram Walker was clear about its intentions. Consumers were aware that feminism was changing the gender dynamic between men and women, and women might have liked the distillery’s acknowledgement that they were equal to men. Having women defer to their male partners to receive their “rewards” may have been Hiram Walker’s way of poking fun at men who had to acquiesce to women treading on their “territory”. However, the distillery was still careful not to show women drinking, or without the presence of a man in the scene.

657Ibid.
658“Bullfighting’s Amateur Hour”-Canadian Club advertisement, Life (4 August 1952), 103.
Seagram and the Female Consumer

Unlike Hiram Walker’s cordial campaign that targeted women at the start of the 1950s, the magazine survey did not reveal a Seagram campaign explicitly addressing female consumers. Instead, Seagram gradually incorporated female models into its whisky advertising and occasionally depicted women drinking. There were 103 Seagram’s V.O. Whisky advertisements counted in the magazine survey, 34% of them included women. Out of the 112 Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements, 13% contained women. As a member of the Distilled Spirits Council, Seagram refrained from using women in its advertisements prior to 1958, and upheld the organization’s rules by not portraying women drinking until 1963. Seagram rarely showed women holding glasses even after this date but women appeared in whisky advertisements in social environments such as house parties, elegant dinners and formal events. Women were either accompanied by a man or in a mixed group but almost never alone. In Seagram’s whisky advertisements documented in the survey, leisure, entertainment and product quality were pronounced themes, but hospitality was an understated rather than a prominent message. Over the 1950s and 1960s, Seagram released recipe booklets for meals or dishes made with its products but like Hiram Walker, domesticity or female-led hospitality were not significant in its spirit advertisements. Seagram’s gin advertisements from the late 1960s were an exception to this phenomenon as they featured women who tried to develop the perfect martini with the addition of “secret” ingredients like salt, olives, lemon peel, mushrooms or fruit. In 1967, Seagram created a campaign for V.O. Whisky exclusively for a female market, which ran in issues of House Beautiful and House and Garden. The distillery sold a line of cordials entitled

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659 For an overview of gender representation in Seagram’s advertisements, see Appendix B-Tables 1.1-1.4.
Leroux which might have been marketed to women but advertisements for the products were not present in the survey conducted for this study.

Seagram was guarded in its approach to advertising and marketing to female consumers, yet distillery records prove company officials had an ardent interest in this growing market segment. Research conducted by the Institute of Motivational Research on behalf of Seagram showed that its studies incorporated opinions from female respondents about the taste, quality and perceived characteristics of Seagram products, and identified the consumer group as “housewife” as opposed to a female or woman drinker. Of female consumers in the early 1960s, Edgar Bronfman commented, “The increased affluence in the country and the changing mores of the times made it more likely that a woman, particularly a young woman, would be buying something for her husband when she shopped.”

Seagram officials urged salesmen to maintain clean, attractive displays with clear price signage to attract female shoppers who it revealed chose brand name products as they were not price conscious about liquor purchases. Officials also reminded salesmen women shoppers were “attracted to colorful labelling and packaging, and [were] constantly seeking recipes and tips—anything that help[ed] them to become a better hostess.” Seagram extended its appeal to women as shoppers with the creation of Seabreeze Fashions in the early 1950s. It was a promotional tie-in for Seagram’s Gin, and included summer and beach wear. Women could pick up items from the fashion line at department stores and boutiques like the Arnold Constable Store in New York, Chicago and Cleveland, and at the Lewis Specialty Shop in Chicago.

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661 Leadership, n.p.

662 “In Recent Months, the Women’s Market Has” Seagram Spotlight (September 1956), 7.

663 “The Ladies are Selective in their Buying Habits” Seagram Spotlight (June 1963), 5.

664 “Good Idea Show Case” Seagram Spotlight (August 1953), 27.
fashions were “inspired by Seagram’s ‘Seabreeze’ Drink of Ancient Bottle Gin ‘N Tonic” and promised to help women “breeze through summer’s hottest days.”665 Harper’s Bazaar carried a spread of the clothing line which consisted of dark sheers, checked dresses, calf-skin sandals and summer silk dresses. Arthur Constable released advertisements showing sketches of women wearing the various fashions, and a relatively smaller drawing of a glass of gin.666 These advertisements did not refer to women purchasing or drinking Seagram’s gin but the Harper’s Bazaar feature did have product advertisements adjacent to the fashion designs. Seagram primarily aimed its advertising and marketing initiatives to women in their roles as purchasers of consumer goods, either ones they could serve to guests and spouses, or wear as apparel. Undeniably, distillery officials would have wanted more women to drink, but classifying them first as purchasers was a safe way to go after female consumers.

Seagram also targeted women consumers in their roles as hostesses but its advertising messages counted in the magazine survey were somewhat muted versus those appearing in Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements. Seagram released a Golden Gin advertisement in 1956 directed at women with images of hors d’oeuvres and their corresponding recipes.667 The advertisement ran in several unspecified general interest magazines, but it did not appear in the magazine survey conducted. In conjunction with the advertisement, Seagram released a recipe booklet for distribution at the retail level. Seagram established a Home Service Department in 1956, headed by Betty Murray. The distillery recognized women were purchasing liquor in higher numbers than in the past, and because of the growth in home entertainment required

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“advice and guidance in the handling of distilled spirits.”668 Seagram officials claimed Murray provided American women with a service that was “unobtainable any place else”, and the department served as Seagram’s voice in the “all-important women’s market.”669 In June 1957 Seagram launched its “Spirited Cooking” programme to magazine editors and food writers, which highlighted Seagram’s 7 Crown and Golden Gin as essential ingredients in the recipes. While I did not find advertisements in the magazine survey supporting this marketing initiative, Seagram placed a monthly column, “The Golden Touch of Hospitality” in 1500 daily and weekly newspapers.670 By emphasising food preparation, Seagram hinted that women purchased gin, not for their drinking pleasure but to entertain their guests. Seagram encouraged women to add gin to recipes rather than drink it, although cocktail consumption could have been the underlying expectation.

According to Seagram’s George Mosley, women began appearing in Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisements in 1961, when the distillery released an advertisement of women enjoying drinks with their partners in a bowling alley. Mosley explained even though many competitors began placing women in advertisements as early as 1959, Seagram, “wanted to wait for precisely the right moment...Bowling had become an extremely popular family sport, and most of the newer alleys had cocktail lounges. So we put together an ad showing couples at an alley, obviously in a family setting, and we were able to catch two trends at once.”671 This advertisement did not appear in the magazine survey. However, the magazine survey revealed a discrepancy in Mosley’s comments as Seagram included a woman in a V.O. advertisement that ran in the 2 March 1959 issues of Life and Sports Illustrated. The illustration captured a scene from the

668 “Cooking With Seagram!” Seagram Spotlight (September 1957), 26.
669 “Ladies, Seagram’s at Your Service” Seagram Spotlight (June 1958), 12.
670 “Cooking With”, 27.
671 Ibid.
North American Ski Championship at Squaw Valley, California (see Figure 4.12). The audience who had their backs to the reader watched as a male skier jumped off a hill, suspended in mid-air. A woman, with ski goggles covering her eyes looked back at a man by her side. Some of the onlookers, including the woman, may have also been participants in the competition signified by their ski equipment. Fine print below the image read, “International Salute to Flawless Form...You watch the skiers’ dazzling speed in the downhill race... and then join the crowd in toasts and celebration.”

“You” alluded that the reader was also a spectator at the event, and could toast the victories with Seagram’s V.O. at the end of the day. Additionally, “you” may have referred to the woman in the advertisement, as her face featured prominently in the image. A bottle of Seagram’s V.O. along with the “known by the company it keeps” slogan appeared at the bottom of the advertisement. There were no bottles or glasses of whisky evident in the scene but the copy suggested V.O. would contribute to the celebratory aspect of the event.

Seagram did not have a clear whisky advertising strategy directed at women. After 1963 when advertisers were permitted to show women holding alcoholic beverages, Seagram was inconsistent in its portrayal of women. An advertisement from the 7 June 1963 issue of Life was one of the only advertisements found through the survey to directly address female consumers (see Figure 4.13). It contained two couples, one whose reflection was visible in a gold, ornate framed mirror and one in the foreground of the advertisement. The man in the mirror’s reflection had his back turned to the audience while the woman’s face was visible but slightly blurred. The couple in the foreground sat at a table, both facing the camera. In his right hand, the man held a highball of whisky while a short “pony”, or small liqueur glass filled with whisky sat in front of the woman. The couple were formally dressed as the woman wore a white dress.

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672 Ski Championship-Seagram V.O. advertisement Life (March 2, 1959), 100.
673 Ibid.
while the man wore a black tuxedo, and they sat amid plush, red furnishing, and a gold framed mirror, implying those who subscribed to an affluent lifestyle drank Seagram’s V.O. Whisky. Neither individual looked at the camera as the man had his gaze on the woman, while hers was cast down in the direction of the table. No active drinking occurred in the scene but the copy surprisingly stated, “Does a woman really appreciate the taste of fine whisky?” It continued this woman did, and it was to be appreciated slowly, and neat as an after dinner drink. The copy emphasized V.O.’s lightness meant “most women enjoy V.O. the very first time they taste it. Come to think of it, that’s why most men do, too.” Like advertisements for Hiram Walker’s Canadian Club whisky, women would find Seagram’s light taste pleasant and pleasing. There was no evidence to indicate the advertisement was part of a larger campaign directed primarily at women, and in a few advertisements that ran over the next couple of years, female models held whisky glasses but most often their hands were empty. Considering Seagram’s reluctance to show women drinking whisky, it was taking a rare turn by instructing to them drink it “neat” instead of mixed in a cocktail. This advertisement baldly told women they could drink like men.

Around the same time, Seagram created a campaign for Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin, and placed the advertisements in *Sports Illustrated, Gourmet* and *Ebony*. The advertisements may have also run in *Life*, but were not evident in the issues counted in the magazine survey. Women appeared in social settings like private parties or at sporting events, like this example from the 7 May 1962 issue of *Sports Illustrated* where two couples socialized on a patio or in a greenhouse (see Figure 4.14). Both men wore black tuxedos, and the one on the left held two glasses in his hands whereas the other held a cigarette. Two women sat on cushioned chairs, while looking up

674 Woman and V.O.-Seagram’s V.O. advertisement *Life* (7 June 1963), 69.
675 Ibid.
at the man holding the glasses, with smiles on their faces. The woman on the left held her hands together, and wore brightly coloured, sleeveless clothes and large jewellery. The woman on the right wore a white outfit and rested her left hand on her seat, and touched her collar bone with her right hand rather than holding the glass placed in front of her. Their clothing, colour and style, suggested it was summer. The women’s seated positions were examples of ritualized subordination as theorized by Goffman. Such placement infantilized the women, making the men in the scene parental figures. The fact that liquor advertisements tended to portray men and women drinking in each other’s company signified Seagram was beginning to promote normative hetersocial spirit consumption but women’s body language usually indicated that they deferred to men in the scenes. Women drank in a few whisky advertisements but not in the same manner as men. Women added a sense of propriety and graciousness to the act of drinking spirits, yet distillers did not show women drinking in advertisements when men were not present. Seagram did not tie women’s spirit consumption to domesticity as in the case of Hiram Walker’s cordial advertisements, but to social settings in which men and women consumed alcoholic beverages together. Copy at the bottom of the advertisement began with the phrase, “Should Malcolm do it?” referred to whether or not he should serve his guests the best gin. Categorizing Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin as the “best” signified the host was wealthy enough to provide his friends with luxury products associated with graceful living.

As previously mentioned, Seagram directed a line of V.O. whisky advertisements specifically at female consumers in 1967. George Mosley explained, “We never have neglected the women’s markets as far as advertising is concerned, we now believe that the American wom[a]n, with her inherent sense of quality and her concern for price, can best be motivated to
buy our products…to appeal to her own idea of these apparently male-oriented items.”

Arlene Ball, a female copywriter at Warwick and Legler, relayed the advertisements emphasized realism and expected women to identify with the honest portrayal of situations and characters in the advertisements. Seagram advertised the campaign in *House and Garden* and *House Beautiful* but distillery archives did not have examples of the advertisements, and a review of *House and Garden* from 1967 to 1969 did not reveal any advertisements that were distinct from the ones noted in the magazine survey I conducted.

Seagram did not extend this specialized advertising to other publications, and little seemed to have changed in relation to women and its mainstream whisky advertisements by the end of the 1960s. As exemplified in an advertisement for Seagram’s V.O. that ran in the 4 November 1968 issue of *Sports Illustrated*, the scene contained women, but they did not hold glasses. An over-sized bottle and highballs filled with ice and Seagram’s V.O. dominated the advertisement. A much smaller inset showed couples talking at a party. The image was small, and couples in the background were partly blurred but the woman nearest the camera did not hold a glass in her hands. The man beside her held a glass, and they stood before a man playing the piano. A drink sat on the piano, and it may have belonged to the woman or the musician. Another woman in the background had her hands in a raised in front of her but it is not certain if she held a glass. Although Seagram released this advertisement and a few others with women in the late 1960s, they did not address women as whisky drinkers.

678 Ibid., n.p.
The Liberated Woman and Beverage Alcohol

As distilleries like Seagram and Hiram Walker targeted female consumers in their capacity as hostesses, the distilled spirits industry called on its members to pay attention to the “liberated woman”. Rhetoric from industry publications characterised female consumers as “liberated” even as many advertisements cast women in traditional domestic functions, or in need of men’s approval to drink alcohol. A *Liquor Store* magazine article from 1964 described the “liberated woman” as “modern-minded, taboo-free, equal partners in their husbands’ activities”, and identified their interest in alcohol beverages as the “gentle revolution”.680 When interviewed by *Printers’ Ink* in 1967, Rodman Moorehead Jr., executive vice-president and director of advertising at Brown-Forman Distillers Corp. stated more women walked into bars and liquor stores than in past years because “Women today are liberated.”681 The same article quoted Ralph Hart who was board chairman at Heublein Inc. saying “No thought was given to the consumer as a host or to the fact that in most cases today the host is the woman of the house. Appealing to women, to the theme of home entertainment, just is not part of the traditional thinking of industry in relation to a traditionally man’s product.”682 Contrary to these men’s comments, Hiram Walker, Seagram and the brewing industry had been addressing women, to varying degrees, in their capacities as housewives and hostesses. When sought by the distilled spirits industry for her expertise on women consumers, Berenice Connor, president of Feminine Forecast Inc. and consultant to *Life* magazine, suggested “the strongest motivation of the married woman is the desire to be successful in the role of wife and mother”.683 Connor also asserted,

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682 Ibid., 10.
women regardless of demographic variations were interested in entertaining, fashion, food and decorating, and were simultaneously capricious and more emotional than men yet knowledgeable, intelligent and interesting. It was their intelligence, improved education and paid work that led to the dissolution of old barriers that made them ideal candidates for segmented marketing.

By the mid-1960s, some industry literature acknowledged segmentation within the woman’s market saying it comprised of the single employed or single non-working woman, the employed wife and the housewife. Increasingly, single, young secretaries popped into bars during their lunch breaks to spend time with their female colleagues or to enjoy “cocktail hour” at the end of the day. In an advertisement Cosmopolitan ran in the 1970 issue of The Liquor Handbook, urging distillers to advertise in its pages, it described a single woman hosting a cocktail party, inviting a “super group of men and just enough single girls to keep things interesting. I don’t bother much with hors d’oeuvres—who eats them anyway. I do buy liquor and enough of it.” The copy implied that the woman and her guests enjoyed drinking, in fact preferred it to eating, and had a sexual undertone suggested by her reference to single girls “keep[ing] things interesting.” This woman was a drinker, her role as hostess undermined by the idea that few guests wanted to eat. However, Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertisements from the magazine survey did not reflect Cosmopolitan’s single woman. Even when articles from trade publications categorized the single woman as “liberated” because of her “new” economic and social independence achieved through the women’s movement, the tone was reserved.

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684 Ibid.
685 Ibid.
686 “Rise in Working Women Spells Opportunities for Bars” Bar Management (February 1965), 17.
687 Ibid., 18.
Aside from recognizing that the single woman now stocked her own bar, language designated her a “novice”, unaware of her own tastes, and uninformed about distilled spirits. Distillers wanted to reach female customers, but they employed restraint in how and who they targeted. Advertising to married women was safe, and suggested a stigma still existed about the propriety of single women drinking.

Articles in the popular media reinforced the idea that a woman served rather than consumed alcohol. In the late 1960s, *House and Garden* regularly featured columns educating women on the numerous ways they could incorporate alcohol as part of their domestic skills’ set. Similar to the recipes found in the Hiram Walker cordial advertisements, an article by James Beard instructed women on how to make several types of mixed drinks like punch, frappés, and several other cocktails like margaritas and Bloody Marys using cordials and wine. Other articles offered recipes for “after-dinner drinks” and reminded the reader that although men once retired to their port and cigars, it was now acceptable for men and women to enjoy alcohol in each other’s company. The author urged women to purchase an extensive list of imported and domestic liqueurs and cognac, and included recipes for European style coffees like café royal, café brûlot and Irish coffee, mists and floats. Even though whisky was a standard ingredient in mists and Irish coffee, women could substitute them with liqueurs like Kahlua or Strega, again implying that whisky was somehow inferior.

Another article urged women to cook with spirits, and highlighted the popular technique of flambéing. Most of the recipes were for French entrees or desserts, and some even encouraged the odd combination of flavours presented in the Hiram Walker cordial advertisements. Like the after-dinner drink recipes, the article contained

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689 “Single Women May be an Untapped Market: and this is the Time to Tap it!” *Southern Beverage Journal* (n.d.), 110.
more recipes for cooking with French spirits like cognac, Armagnac and flavoured eau de vie rather than whisky or domestic liqueurs. It was rare to find articles advising women on how to serve or cook with whisky. Given the growing popularity of French cuisine and culture, as discussed in Chapter Two, the magazine’s promotion of French cooking skills and products was predictable.

Hiram Walker and Seagram’s archives offer a degree of insight into how women used their products. Like Hiram Walker, Seagram also held demonstrations at women’s clubs teaching them how to use Golden Gin and V.O. whisky. However, reading advertisements or even recipes does not offer a definitive answer as to how women received or incorporated this material into their daily or weekly lives but one can speculate. Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertisements and recipes could have been a source of inspiration for white, middle class women who wanted to impress their guests, husbands’ bosses and neighbours with intricate and exotic sounding food and drink recipes. Women might have wanted to produce the fanciest or tastiest drink or meal in order to demonstrate they were sophisticated, affluent, cultured, modern and up-to-date on culinary trends. The advertisements conveyed that alcohol, and a woman’s competence to purchase, serve and display it, were symbolic of a middle, class housewife’s social status. Although Hiram Walker and Seagram’s advertisements suggest otherwise, women may have drank cocktails to be sociable, because they enjoyed the taste or enjoyed its intoxicating effects. Drinking could have been a way for women, both married and single to show their peers they were willing to participate in all the modern heterosocial leisure pursuits of the 1950s and 1960s.

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On the one hand, women who experienced waves of “cognitive dissonance” could have drank to numb the confusion or alleviate the boredom they experienced. For those unwilling or unable to fall in step with the normative gender ideals of the period, these advertisements could have a persistent reminder of a woman’s ineptitude, inability to fit in or lack of financial resources to live these imagined lives. On the other hand, advertisements such as these could have been fantasies to such women, like men who read the Adventure Series advertisements, and aspired to greater social perfection, even if only in their minds.

Other sources like surveys conducted by major magazines, market research firms and the Gallup Organization provide additional insight into how white middle class women incorporated alcoholic beverages into their entertainment routines, purchasing decisions, and their drinking patterns and preferences. In 1962, advertising agency Lennen & Newell Inc. compiled a report for Seagram entitled, “Women and Distilled Spirits”. The report was an amalgamation of various sources, to show that since World War II the overall number of women who drank alcohol increased, and specifically from 1951 to 1961 percentages oscillated from 46% to 54%. Reports from a Gallup survey indicated women preferred cocktails to spirits, but when they purchased spirits, they chose blended whiskies more often than straights, and other distilled spirits. Lennen & Newell Inc. developed a subsequent study in 1964 which discussed women’s attitudes towards drinking. A compilation of qualitative comments from this study, and from the Glamour Entertainment Survey indicated American women who drank were young, married suburban residents who desired “‘sophistication’ in entertainment and the use of

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693 Trend of Alcoholic Beverage Drinking by American Institute of Public Opinion in “Women and Distilled Spirits” (Lennen & Newell Inc., June 1962), 3. The study notes women’s responses tended to fluctuate depending on the time of year when surveys were conducted.
694 Ibid., 22.
alcoholic beverages”, were brand loyal and regularly entertained friends.\textsuperscript{695} In addition, the agency found the distilled spirits industry saw women as the perfect opportunity for market growth because of their “flexibility”.\textsuperscript{696} This meant that because women were “new” consumers of alcoholic beverages, they did not identify as drinkers of a specific category or brand.

In 1967 \textit{Ladies’ Home Journal} undertook a study of 200 housewives from major cities across the United States to determine how women used alcoholic beverages in their daily lives, with the hope their responses would contribute to a nuanced understanding of this growing market segment. Not all of the respondents were readers or subscribers to the magazine, and members of the distilled spirits industry and their advertising agencies were instrumental in devising the questions.\textsuperscript{697} The first question posed to interviewees was about their function as hostesses, and the survey found more women were entertaining than ever before, and the frequency with which they served alcoholic beverages to guests had increased.\textsuperscript{698} The results did not specify if this was based on the women’s anecdotal responses but this may have held true because the report did offer a comparison to older data. Another set of questions related to the women’s drinking profile, and reported they favoured the following in order of preference: vodka, blended whisky or rye, gin, brandy, bourbon, rum and scotch.\textsuperscript{699} Out of 200 women, 160 drank blended whisky, and combined it with ginger ale or chose a whisky sour versus only 9 who consumed it straight.\textsuperscript{700} The respondents who preferred blended whisky liked it because it tasted good, it was versatile in mixed drinks, was mild and helped them relax.\textsuperscript{701} The same study reported only 20 of the 200 women drank or served cordials on a frequent basis and only 64 out

\textsuperscript{695} “Women and Distilled Spirits Revised: March 1964” (Lennen & Newell Inc., 1964), 3. 
\textsuperscript{696} Ibid., 4. 
\textsuperscript{698} Ibid., 4. 
\textsuperscript{699} “Alcoholic Beverages and Women”, 9. 
\textsuperscript{700} Ibid., 19. 
\textsuperscript{701} Ibid.
of 200 used it in food preparation and dessert recipes respectively.\textsuperscript{702} This was inconsistent with the themes laid out in Hiram Walker’s cordial campaigns and marketing efforts but as the decade drew to a close, women’s tastes may have been changing.

\textit{In 1967, Life} magazine conducted a phone survey on women’s alcoholic beverage buying patterns on behalf of the distilled spirits industry. Parameters were similar to those in the \textit{Ladies Home Journal} study but with a sample size of 284 women. Even though trade publications claimed more women were purchasing alcoholic beverages, the study reported men still made the majority of such purchases and when women did purchase liquor, 51% indicated that husbands’ preferences guided their decisions.\textsuperscript{703} When asked specifically about the significance of brand names, the study found 37% of women said it was a “very important” factor in their decisions to select a specific product.\textsuperscript{704} Issues of consumption were not considered in the survey, but it showed that industry excitement over the purchasing power of female consumers may have been exaggerated. \textit{Redbook} released a similar study the same year but included responses from a much larger sample set of 1123 readers. The magazine targeted the 18-34 year old market and focused on at-home entertainment. Out of ten categories, the women served bourbon, vodka, gin, scotch more often than blended whiskies, whereas they served cordials the least.\textsuperscript{705} As in the study performed by \textit{Life}, consumption patterns were not considered but like the \textit{Ladies’ Home Journal} survey, cordials ranked low in terms of preference. However, figures in an article from \textit{Liquor Store Magazine} based on the Brand Rating Index taken from \textit{True} magazine, a men’s publication, indicated women preferred cordials followed by blended whiskies, vodka and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{702} Ibid., 82.
\item \textsuperscript{703} “A Study of the Liquor Buying Habits of Women” (\textit{Life}, 1967), 3.
\item \textsuperscript{704} Ibid., Table 7.
\end{itemize}
Likewise, in a speech to the National Alcoholic Beverage Association in June 1965, Steve Kelly, publisher of *McCall’s* said, “Most women still seem to like sweet mixed drinks and if so, it’s the mix that counts, because they’re happy to have the liquor taste buried.” What this and the other surveys indicate is the women’s market was nuanced, and depending on readership demographics and the types of questions asked, responses varied. Younger readers may have demonstrated a liking for vodka, whereas older women may have chosen blended whiskies. Sample sizes for some of the studies were rather small, with approximately ten women surveyed for every major city, and did not clarify the ages of respondents or household income which could have skewed the responses. The studies did not factor urban versus suburban or rural differences, along with regional variations or preferences. It also implies men may have held pre-conceptions about the type of beverages women preferred versus reality.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Hiram Walker and Seagram were eager to expand their market share, and female consumers were the natural choice. As young married couples inhabited houses in suburban America, and incomes grew, they had the space, leisure time and financial ability to entertain guests at home. Women were often in charge of decorating, food preparation and hospitality in the domestic realm even if they might have rejected these roles. With advertising restrictions, vocal industry critics and a double standard in place, distillers had to find a way to manage these conflicting mores while advertising to women. Seagram and Hiram Walker chose the safe approach by addressing women as hostesses, responsible for entertaining their husbands and guests with ingenious food and beverage recipes, and home décor ideas. As whisky was known as a “man’s drink” and conventionally marketed and advertised with male

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707 "That Ever Growing Women’s Market: *McCall’s* Publisher Kelly Says female buyer is rising; cites vodka and cocktails" *BEV/new York* (15 June 1965), 5.
consumers in mind, the distillers had to encourage new ways for women to use an old beverage. In the mid-1950s, Hiram Walker directed its cordial advertising at women, as the beverages were sweet, brightly coloured and lower in alcohol content than spirits. Through its marketing and advertising initiatives, the distillery urged women to cook with cordials, and offer guests cocktails made with the beverages. In most whisky advertisements, women appeared as accessories to the men, and did not drink. The advertisements often presented women in passive poses, but as companions in social settings, they accorded respectability to the act of consuming whisky. Seagram and Hiram Walker were willing to identify women as “shoppers”, but less so as drinkers, in an effort to abate criticism. It was only in the late 1960s that Hiram Walker classified women as actual drinkers of its whiskies, but even then a man had to sanction the activity. Women were a viable option for broadening market share, and Seagram and Hiram Walker decided to use the safest route to appeal to women as hostesses and housewives, in the hope they would also be imbibers of their spirits.
Conclusion

From the 1920s until the late 1940s, distillers like Hiram Walker and Seagram had to deal with laws and conditions that impeded either their advertising or production capabilities. Some limitations were strict like Prohibition in the 1920s that enforced a complete, nationwide ban on alcoholic beverage production and sales. The distillers were not bound by any specific rules in the 1930s, but were careful about how they advertised alcohol in a tough economic climate, and vocal dry supporters. Throughout the Great Depression, distillers like Seagram advertised whisky as a luxury, but not as a status symbol, a beverage a man purchased only after he met all his familial responsibilities. During World War II, Seagram and Hiram Walker converted their plants to produce alcohol for the war effort, and rationed their existing potable stocks to consumers. They reduced their product advertising but maintained a visible presence through public service announcements. Shortly after the war ended, the federal government asked the distilled spirits industry to curb production. Both distillers had already constructed large distilling facilities in the United States, and once the restrictions lifted at the end of the 1940s, Seagram and Hiram Walker were ready to expand into the American market. After years of saving during the war, American consumers were eager to spend their money in the 1950s.

Although drinking had become a socially acceptable leisure activity by the 1920s, the distilled spirits industry still had vocal critics three decades later. Dry advocates argued that it led to the deterioration of family life, to financial ruination and domestic violence. The threat from dry opponents was minimal in this period but the distillers were trying to improve the reputation of the industry and their products, and were cautious in their marketing and advertising appeals. For much of the 1950s and 1960s, the distillers advertised and marketed whisky as a white, middle class man’s drink. The distillers created varied campaigns in the early 1950s to target
male consumers who might have identified with different versions of masculinity. Although the
distillers advertised to women and African Americans, they were cautious with how they
targeted these segments.

The advertisements sampled for the dissertation reinforced the notion that white, male
middle class consumers were integral to the distillers’ advertising and marketing strategies.
While the distillers sold spirits like gin and rum, and cordials, whisky was central to their product
development and market expansion during the 1950s and 1960s. I focused on the distillers’ top
best-selling whiskies because there were a considerable amount of advertisements and sources
for these brands. Advertisements presented white, middle class men as central characters
enjoying Seagram’s and Hiram Walker’s whiskies, even when they ran in a publication for
African American readers like Ebony. For men in the 1950s and 1960s, appropriate drinking
behaviour was defined by respectable manhood and living the good life through conspicuous
consumption, but not hedonism. The campaigns varied from time to time in order to capture
readers’ attention with new imagery and messages, and to target a range of consumers who might
have identified with some forms of masculinity but not others. Images such as the rugged
friends of Canadian Club, whose failures at adventure poked fun at middle class masculinity. In
other instances, advertisements for Walker’s DeLuxe promoted a suave, elegant masculine ideal
who enjoyed social occasions in upper class environments, much like the men represented in
Seagram’s V.O. whisky advertisements. Regardless of the type of masculinity portrayed in the
advertisements, they all presented men drinking in moderation.

While the alcohol beverage industry in general increasingly endorsed heterosocial
drinking Hiram Walker and Seagram were reluctant to portray women consuming whisky, even
after it was possible to do so. Particularly in Hiram Walker’s Adventure Series, whisky
consumption occurred outside the home, in the presence of other men, with women seldom present. The home was rarely evident in the distillers’ whisky advertisements, and when it was, men tended to be shown drinking in “male spaces” like dens or libraries, either alone or in the company of other men. When women were part of the advertising tableaux, the scenes were often set in semi-public venues like ballrooms, restaurants or sporting events. The advertisements that appeared in Life, Sports Illustrated and Gourmet exclusively featured white models, with the exception of a few like the Walker’s DeLuxe advertisements that included an African American butler, and the Adventure Series campaign that contained foreign hosts in exotic locations.

Promoting particular lifestyles was another prominent feature of the distillers’ advertisements. Luxury and leisure were crucial to the distillers’ messages as advertisements endorsed travel, sports and adventure. In the 1950s and 1960s, men in particular bought consumer goods to display their financial success. Liquor became a status symbol, and hosts who had a cabinet stocked full with foreign and domestic alcoholic beverages showed friends and neighbours that they were cultured and prosperous. Along with their whiskies, Hiram Walker and Seagram sold consumers on the notion that consuming their products was equated with a life of luxury. Although the distillers mainly advertised to a middle class audience, depictions of palatial mansions, opulent ballrooms, upper class sporting events and exotic vacation destinations were a contrast to the lived experiences of many of their consumers. Tied to the idea of gracious living was hospitality, another theme that was significant in the advertisements. The distillers wanted to normalize drinking, and by associating it with upper class sensibilities they hoped to resonate with consumers’ aspirations for higher standards of living. By promoting a culture of leisure that was linked to luxury, the distillers conveyed that
whisky drinking was a desirable and respectable activity, appropriated by posh, upper class consumers or middle class consumers aspiring to a higher social plane. Their advertisements communicated that it was not a beverage preferred by the working classes, the poor or the socially awkward, and in doing so, helped alter Americans’ perceptions of the beverage and the act of drinking.

The absence of African American models in the distilleries’ mainstream advertising was expected, and in keeping with many other advertisements for consumer goods in the period. Due to the official segregationist policies, and attitudes of racism expressed by many Americans at this time, Hiram Walker and Seagram were slow to portray African Americans in positive roles in the early 1950s and 1960s. The distillers were interested in African American consumers, evidenced by the copious amount of advertisements they placed in Ebony, but Seagram and Hiram Walker replicated advertisements from the other three mainstream publications, complete with white models, in the magazine. This was an unexpected discovery at first, but when compared to many other advertisements placed in the magazine in the 1950s, the distillers maintained the status quo. It was only by the 1960s that advertisers of consumer goods began to hire African American models to advertise their products. Seagram and Hiram Walker followed suit, but used African American near the end of the 1960s which coincided with the height of the civil rights’ movement. When the distillers appealed to African American men, they associated drinking with respectable manhood tied to upward social mobility. Instead of focusing on the luxurious lifestyles available in their mainstream advertisements, the distillers likened African American male respectability to professional success. African American men who drank Hiram Walker and Seagram’s products were educated, ambitious and professional individuals who liked sipping and serving whisky on the weekends. Whisky was a status symbol, but it did not trump
the men’s personal achievements. In one respect, these images of dignified African American men drinking were progressive because they diverged significantly from the image of the “savage, black beast” that existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also deviated from the African American male or female model cast as the plantation servant. While African American women appeared in these later advertisements, the distillers did not make specialized appeals to this segment, in the way that Hiram Walker used its cordial advertising to target white, middle class women. In fact, the distillery’s cordial advertisements did not appear in the pages of *Ebony*.

After examining advertisements for other consumer goods in *Ebony* in the late 1960s, Seagram and Hiram Walker’s efforts were rather conventional. By presenting a singular image of African American masculinity, the distillers could have alienated working class members of the community or middle class African Americans who embraced alternative versions of black manhood. At a time when advertisers, especially those from the African American community, presented soul advertising and glorified the notion of “black is beautiful”, Seagram and Hiram Walker presented traditional forms of middle class masculinity. African American models in most Seagram and Hiram Walker advertisements wore subdued clothing and closely trimmed hairstyles. The distillers would eventually adopt some of the fashion styles and imagery favoured by soul advertisers, but this would not occur until the mid-1970s.

As for female alcohol consumption, Seagram and Hiram Walker were keen to appeal to white, middle class women but were reluctant to show them drinking. Whisky had the reputation of being a man’s drink, and the distillers were intent on promoting it as such. Several scholars have shown that middle class women began drinking in public in the 1920s, and had been drinking in their homes much earlier. They were generally moderate drinkers who served and
consumed a range of alcoholic beverages. Hiram Walker intentionally advertised liqueurs to women but both distillers avoided advertising whisky as a woman’s drink. Instead, they showed women alternative ways to use their products. Hiram Walker and Seagram tried to convince women that if they decorated their homes as per their directives, and made tempting meals and tasty cocktails they could be the perfect hostess. The distillers’ advertisements taught women how to shine in front of their peers, and how to be a credit to their husbands. If women followed simple recipes for casseroles and flambés, and purchased apparel that matched their liquor choices, they would be socially desirable. Serving Seagram and Hiram Walker beverages ensured consumers social success, a theme reinforced in the distillers’ advertisements to all market segments. The distillers’ archives demonstrated that female consumers were an important segment, and Hiram Walker’s cordial campaign celebrated domesticity, hospitality and food preparation. This campaign was intended to appeal to a single, mass market, in other words, white, middle class women who were able to conform to the ideal of an accomplished hostess. Hiram Walker, like most other manufacturers of packaged foods in this era, reinforced stereotypical gender roles by associating cooking, decorating and entertaining with femininity. Just as the advertisements whisky advertisements omitted certain categories of men, these advertisements did not address or include working class women, women of colour, lesbians or even white middle class women who refused to conform to these gender ideals. The advertisements reinforced a stereotype that was unrealistic, and marginalized consumers who existed beyond these constructs. Unlike many beer advertisements, and some for distilled spirits, which explicitly showed women drinking, Seagram’s and Hiram Walker’s portrayal of women consuming whisky was infrequent. It had become increasingly acceptable for women to consume distilled spirits, at least in the form of cocktails, yet the distillers shied away from such
endorsements. When women were shown consuming whisky it was always in the company of men, and never by themselves. This was not out of context as hetersocial consumption was a model many within the alcoholic beverage industry wished to present, especially beer producers. Women had to seek men’s approval in order to drink in Hiram Walker’s whisky advertisements, and a couple of those released by Seagram. Simultaneously though, the distillers classified women as “liberated” in some of their publications but did not extend this characterization to their advertising imagery or messages. This could have reflected societal expectations but this was unlikely as demonstrated in the historiography on female alcohol consumption. More likely, it was indicative of the distillers’ desire to uphold an image of respectability, and thwart any potential or imagined forms of criticism.

Analyzing general interest magazines in conjunction with the archives for the Seagram and Hiram Walker brands, demonstrated the significance advertisers and manufacturers accorded the white, middle class. The choice to survey magazines as opposed to newspapers or publications directed at a working class audience meant that these representations were absent from this study. Had I examined the advertising and marketing efforts of some of Hiram Walker’s and Seagram’s subsidiary companies, this segment may have been represented. However, it would have been difficult to support this research as most of the companies’ available sources were for Seagram and Hiram Walker’s most popular products. The advertising found in the magazines showed that middle class consumers were critical to the success of these brands, and the distillers made substantive efforts to appeal to this segment. While the distillers’ advertising and marketing strategies were somewhat nuanced, as they attempted to create multiple images of masculinity, their advertising campaigns targeted middle class consumers who were white, middle class and primarily male. The campaigns excluded those who did not fit
this criteria like ethnic minorities, gay men, lesbians and the working class. Such advertising marginalized these groups and perpetuated stereotypes about masculinity, leisure, gracious living and luxury that were often unattainable, and at times undesirable even to the middle classes they targeted.

Limited in the distilleries’ advertising and absent from the archival record were references to older consumers. A few Hiram Walker, especially for Imperial in the early 1950s, and Seagram whisky advertisements did include older characters, usually men with greying hair but there was no acknowledgement of this segment in the distilleries’ campaigns or archives. Youth and beauty have been vaunted categories in the advertising world therefore it is not unusual that Seagram and Hiram Walker did not value this segment. The distillers promoted their products as geared for the glamorous, youthful yet mature consumer who possessed the spending power to purchase quality goods and embrace an active lifestyle of leisure and gracious living. The advertisements were aspirational, and the distillers nor consumers wanted to associate themselves with aging, and its accompanying complications some superficial such as greying hair and wrinkled skin, and others more serious like illness, disability or death. Based on this evidence, one might conclude that older Americans did not drink alcohol. However, their exclusion from these pages speaks to the distillers’ desire to expound the notion that the younger, attractive consumer with a full head of hair, and features unmarked by the passage of years drank their products. Hiram Walker may have tried to appeal to an older consumer base with its “Man this is whiskey!” campaign for Imperial, but selected extraordinary candidates for the purpose. The campaign was truly aspirational as it featured older men who spent their lives hunting animals in the wild, and would not have been representative of older American consumers.
Similarly, the distillers did not make overt appeals to young, college aged students who were of legal drinking age in the publications analyzed. One could argue that this segment could have been attracted to the messages and imagery found in the distillers’ existing advertisements, and this could be valid. However, the automotive, music and clothing industries made overt and specialized appeals to the large and distinct youth segment. This does not mean that the distillers were ignorant of this market. As with the example of female and African American consumers, they may have been wary that critics would oppose any advertising directed at youth. Archival records show Seagram enlisted market research companies to conduct studies and surveys about youth drinking habits and patterns, but mainly in the 1970s and 1980s. The distillery was beginning to identify young adults as a specialized market that deserved attention, and the industry would eventually credit this segment for changes that would occur in Americans’ drinking habits. In fact, Seagram and Hiram Walker began developing products intended to appeal to younger drinkers’ tendency to favour sweet drinks where the taste of alcohol was negligible or unnoticeable. In the early 1970s, they began advertising and marketing pre-mixed cocktails, new cordials and wine coolers using direct appeals at the youth market. Many of Seagram and Hiram Walker’s advertisements started to reflect countercultural attitudes with their insouciant and irreverent tones, youth slang and fashions. One campaign for Canadian Club in the early 1970s highlighted the generational gap between young residents and their curmudgeonly neighbours. The male models had hair down to their collars, thick mustaches and wore casual clothes. All the old neighbours were bald, wore formal suits and complained about the youths’ long hair, poor hygiene, and radical ideas. Whereas other industries had recognized the youth segment early on, Hiram Walker and Seagram openly began doing so in the 1970s.
By the late 1960s, Americans had become more comfortable with alcohol consumption. As a result, the distillers were not as worried about marketing their products to women and African Americans. The civil rights and women’s movements meant African American and female consumers were no longer willing to be ignored or overlooked by advertisers of manufactured goods. White, middle class men were still the main consumers of whisky but the distillers would have to adapt to changing tastes, and adopt new strategies to deal with new trends in American society. Seagram and Hiram Walker had been using different strategies to target white, middle class men, African American men and white, middle class women. They would eventually implement full-scale market segmentation to target the youth and Latino markets, and identify consumers based on greater demographic variation. However, during most of the 1950s and 1960s, Seagram and Hiram Walker were intent on making whisky drinking a desirable, acceptable activity. They did so by appealing to white and African American middle class men on several levels by disseminating conflicting messages about alcohol consumption and masculinity. Their advertisements were not a reflection of society, although they did mirror broad social trends. They were aspirational, may be even inspirational, as the advertisements tried to evoke Americans’ status seeking behaviour. Hiram Walker and Seagram instructed men and women on what they considered to be appropriate drinking behaviour with the intention of normalizing drinking. What Americans deemed was suitable drinking behaviour had changed over the centuries, and did so again in the 1950s and 1960s. The distillers presented an idealistic and sanitized form of alcohol use in these years in their attempt to alter Americans’ perceptions about drinking. Seagram and Hiram Walker used constructs of gender, race and class to give meaning to alcohol consumption, and make drinking an acceptable, desirable and integral component of middle class leisure pursuits.
Appendix A

Table A - Alcoholic Beverage Sales in the United States, 1950 to 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume in Gallons (x 1000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>250000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Spirits*  
Wines*  
Beer*

**“Annual Spirit Sales 1952-1990 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States compiled from various secondary sources”**  

^“Annual Wine Sales 1967-1990 Wine Institute Data compiled from various secondary sources”  

Table B-Circulation Data for *Life, Ebony, Sports Illustrated* and *Gourmet* 1950-1969
Table C-Number of Advertisements Per Magazine By Company

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Hiram Walker</th>
<th>Seagram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Illustrated</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebony</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourmet</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B - Tables for Seagram Advertisements

Table 1.1 Gender Representation - Seagram Ads - *Life* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender-male</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-female</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2 Gender Representation - Seagram Ads - *Sports Illustrated* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender-male</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-female</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.3 - Gender Representation - Seagram Ads - *Ebony* Magazine

- Gender-male: 63%
- Gender-female: 37%

Table 1.4 - Gender Representation in Seagram Ads - *Gourmet* Magazine

- Gender-male: 58%
- Gender-female: 42%
Table 1.5 - Themes in Seagram Ads - *Life* Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 41%
- Domesticity: 1%
- Sport/Adventure: 15%
- Gracious Living/Luxury: 2%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 8%
- Tradition: 8%
- Quality: 17%
- Gift: 5%
- Convenience: 1%

Table 1.6 - Themes in Seagram Ads - *Sports Illustrated* Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 32%
- Domesticity: 15%
- Sport/Adventure: 0%
- Gracious Living/Luxury: 13%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 0%
- Tradition: 1%
- Quality: 6%
- Gift: 4%
- Convenience: 1%
Table 1.7 Themes in Seagram Ads - Gourmet Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 26%
- Domesticity: 14%
- Gracious Living/Luxury/Elegance: 0%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 0%
- Sport/Adventure: 20%
- Dining: 8%
- Tradition: 0%
- Quality/taste: 0%
- Gift: 0%
- Convenience: 6%

Table 1.8 Themes in Seagram Ads - Ebony Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 49%
- Domesticity: 19%
- Gracious Living/Luxury: 14%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 0%
- Sport/Adventure: 6%
- Dining: 3%
- Tradition: 1%
- Gift: 1%
- Convenience: 6%
There are no tables for race representation for Seagram Advertisements for *Life, Sports Illustrated or Gourmet* as all the models were white.

Table 1.9-Race Representation in Seagram Ads - *Ebony Magazine*

![Pie chart showing race representation]

- White: 57%
- African American: 43%

*There are no tables for race representation for Seagram Advertisements for *Life, Sports Illustrated or Gourmet* as all the models were white.*
Appendix C - Tables for Hiram Walker Advertisements

Table 2.1 Gender Representation Hiram Walker Ads - *Life* Magazine

- Gender-male: 87%
- Gender-female: 13%

Table 2.2 Gender Representation in Hiram Walker Ads - *Sports Illustrated* Magazine

- Gender-male: 72%
- Gender-female: 28%
Table 2.3 Gender Representation in Hiram Walker Ads- *Ebony* Magazine

![Pie Chart for Gender Representation in Ebony Magazine]

- Gender-male: 25%
- Gender-female: 75%

Table 2.4 Gender Representation in Hiram Walker Ads- *Gourmet* Magazine

![Pie Chart for Gender Representation in Gourmet Magazine]

- Gender-male: 42%
- Gender-female: 58%
Table 2.5 Themes in Hiram Walker Ads - *Life* Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 22%
- Domesticity: 0%
- Gracious Living/Luxury: 8%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 1%
- Sport/Adventure: 1%
- Leisure/travel: 7%
- Dining: 18%
- Tradition: 8%
- Gift: 1%
- Convenience: 29%

Table 2.6 Themes in Hiram Walker Ads - *Sports Illustrated* Magazine

- Theme-Hospitality: 20%
- Domesticity: 1%
- Gracious Living/Luxury: 3%
- Leisure/relaxation/travel: 6%
- Sport/Adventure: 63%
- Leisure/travel: 34%
- Dining: 3%
- Tradition: 5%
- Gift: 2%
- Convenience: 17
Table 2.7 Themes in Hiram Walker Ads- *Ebony* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domesticity</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gracious Living/Luxury</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure/relaxation/travel</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport/Adventure</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.8 Themes in Hiram Walker Ads- *Gourmet* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Themes-Hospitality</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domesticity</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gracious Living</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport/Adventure</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.9 Race Representation Hiram Walker Ads - *Life* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race-White</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.10 Race Representation in Hiram Walker Advertisements - *Sports Illustrated* Magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race-White</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.11 Race Representation in Hiram Walker Ads - *Ebony* Magazine

- Race-White: 69%
- African American: 7%
- Other: 24%

Table 2.12 Race Representation in Hiram Walker Ads - *Gourmet* Magazine

- Race-White: 91%
- African-American: 0%
- Other: 9%
Appendix D-Chapter 1 Seagram Advertisements

Figure 1.1- “For Perfect Days” Seagram’s 7 Crown Advertisement *Life* 5 June 1950, 71.
Figure 1.2-Globe 7 Seagram’s 7 Crown Advertisement *Life* 1 June 1959, 18.
Figure 1.3 Sports and 7-Seagram’s 7 Advertisement *Life* 4 June 1965, 53.
Figure 1.4-Mardi Gras Seagram’s V.O. Advertisement, *Sports Illustrated*, 2 February 1959, 75.
Figure 1.5-Art Gallery Seagram’s V.O. Advertisement *Life* 3 March 1961, 14.
Figure 1.6 Formal Dining Seagram’s V.O. Advertisement *Life* 4 November 1966, 41.
Known by the Company it Keeps

Seagram’s VO

Figure 1.7-Cowboys Seagram’s V.O. Advertisement Life 15 October 1956, 114.
Figure 2.1—“to find it in Bombay of all places!” Hiram Walker Archives c. 1935-1936.
Figure 2.2-Adventure on the Amazon-Hiram Walker archives c.1940-1945.
Figure 2.3—“Chant of the Aztecs”—Hiram Walker Archives c. 1940-1945.
Figure 2.4 *Life* 5 June 1950 (28:23), 129.
Figure 2.5 *Life* 3 May 1954 (36:18), 177.
Another adventure in one of the 87 lands where Canadian Club is "The Best In The House"

It's leap or your life in this South American bull ring

1. "Pole-vaulting over a bull may look like a new wrinkle, but 'bull-vaulting' is as old as it is exciting," writes Donald Keene, an American friend of Canadian Club. "Goya, the famous Spanish artist, depicted the stunt in an 1815 etching. When I saw a matador execute a 'Goyesca' last month at the Santa Maria bull ring in Bogota, Colombia, I was fascinated. Why not try it?" my host suggested. So the next day I did.

2. "I'm no bullfighter, but I used to be good at pole vaulting and a practice session refreshed my technique. We were at the Rancho Vista Hermosa outside Bogota. When the bull charged out, I nearly lost my nerve.

3. "I was airborne by the time 'El Toro' reached me, but when I hit the ground I dashed behind the barrier. Cape-wielders distracted the bull as it wheeled to charge again. Repeat performance? Not me. Those long horns had dampened my enthusiasm.

4. "My courage was spared another test when my host appeared with highballs. 'This tastes familiar,' I said. It should have. It was Canadian Club.'

Why this whisky's worldwide popularity? Only Canadian Club has a distinctive flavor that captures in one great whisky the lightness of scotch and the smooth satisfaction of bourbon. That's why no other whisky in all the world tastes quite like it. You can stay with Canadian Club all evening long...in short ones before dinner, tall ones after. Canadian Club is made by Hiram Walker, distillers of fine whiskies for over 100 years. It's "The Best In The House" in 87 lands.

Canadian Club

IMPORTED IN BOTTLE FROM CANADA BY HIRAM WALKER IMPORTERS, INC., DETROIT, MICH., IMPORTED CANADIAN WHISKY.

Figure 2.6 Sports Illustrated (10:9) 2 March 1959, 79.
Our "close-up" of an angry rhino got too close for comfort

1. "You never know how far you can go... until a rhino breaks down your wall," writes Ben Hryby, an American friend of Goodluck Club. "We were more than\n
2. ...and it was as if the sun itself were our witness.\n
3. ...and the sun was already rising above the horizon.\n
4. "What a beautiful day!" the sun seems to be saying. "Let's make the most of it!"
Figure 2.8 Ebony August 1965, 179.
On Sept. 7, 1969, we hid a case of Canadian Club at the heart of The Great Yukon Gold Rush.

Here's how you can get it.
Figure 2.10 *Ebony* May 1960 (XV:7), 81.
Figure 2.11 Hiram Walker Archives, 1966.
Figure 2.12 *Life* 6 February 1950 (28:6), 99.
Figure 2.13 *Life* 6 April 1953 (34:14), 102.
Figure 2.14 *Sports Illustrated* 3 October 1960 (13:14), 51.
Figure 3.1 Robert the butler Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Life* (September 4, 1950), 92.
Figure 3.2 Arthur Treacher as Walker’s DeLuxe butler Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (May 1964), 122.
Figure 3.3 “Add a Festive Note” Canadian Club Advertisement *Ebony* (February 1957), 33.
Figure 3.4 “Carl Morris, managing editor” Canadian Club Advertisement *Ebony* (October 1967), 125.
Figure 3.5 “On the way to success” Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (December 1967), 106.
Figure 3.6 “The Confident Ones” Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (November 1968), 184.
Figure 3.7 “The great bourbon” Walker’s DeLuxe advertisement *Ebony* (November 1969), 133.
Sometimes this great Canadian whisky,
Seagram’s V.O.
tastes even better. Like now.
V.O. does for you what no other whisky can.
It defines smooth once and for all.
Light? Of course.

Figure 3.8 In the Office Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky advertisement *Ebony* (December 1964), 86.
Figure 3.9 “The Sure Ones” Seagram’s 7 Crown advertisement *Ebony* (March 1967), 140.
Figure 3.10 “When your host asks” Seagram’s V.O. Canadian Whisky advertisement *Ebony* (April 1967), 133.
Figure 4.1 “Dinner forecast: Cloudy but clearing” Hiram Walker Advertisement Gourmet (April 1952), 21.
Figure 4.2 “Stepping in this Evening” Hiram Walker Cordial Advertisement *Gourmet* xvi:3 (March 1956), 69.
Figure 4.3 “Dinner Becomes an Event” Hiram Walker advertisement *Gourmet* xvi:10 (October 1956), 81.
Figure 4.4 “Casserole Suppers, Candlelight Charm” Hiram Walker advertisement *Gourmet* xx:1 (January 1960), 57.
Figure 4.5 “6 New Twists” Hiram Walker advertisement *Gourmet* xxi:1 (January 1961), 49.
Figure 4.6 “The most delicious colors you’ve ever worn” Hiram Walker Cordials advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (4 April 1960), 11.
Figure 4.7 Blackberry Bed Hiram Walker advertisement *Gourmet* xxiv:1 (January 1964), 57.
Figure 4.8 “Tonight in San Mateo” Hiram Walker advertisement in *Gourmet* 25:9 (September 1964), 75.
Figure 4.9 “Good as All Outdoors!”-Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (June 1, 1959), 44
Figure 4.10 Polo scene-Walker’s DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (November 7, 1966), 2.
Figure 4.11—“Do I really have to do this sort of thing to earn my Canadian Club?” Hiram Walker Archives, 1967.
INTERNATIONAL SALUTE TO FLAWLESS FORM. At this moment you are a spectator at the North American Ski Championship at Squaw Valley, California. You watch the skiers’ dazzling speed in the downhill race ... and then join the crowd in toasts and celebration. The choice of whisky: Seagram’s V.O., internationally esteemed for its flawless form, its exceptional savor and balance.

Seagram’s imported Canadian VO known by the company it keeps

Figure 4.12 - Ski Championship-Seagram V.O. advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (March 2, 1959), 16.
Does a woman really appreciate the taste of fine whisky?

This woman does.

Before her you see a pen of V.O.—to be sipped as a fine after-dinner drink, slowly and appreciatively. Without ice, soda or tap water. For V.O. is that rarity among whiskies in which true lightness excels—but not at the expense of taste. With V.O., lightness has an incredible brilliance of flavor. Perhaps that’s why most women enjoy V.O. the very first time they taste it. Come to think of it, that’s why most men do, too.

Figure 4.13- Woman and V.O.-Seagram’s V.O. advertisement *Life* (June 7, 1963), 69
Figure 4.14—“Should Malcolm do it?”—Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin advertisement *Sports Illustrated* (May 7, 1962), 12.
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**Dissertations**
