The history of advertising, marketing and consumption is enjoying increasing attention among business historians as well as historians of British culture and society. By its very nature, advertising and consumption challenge and transgress disciplinary boundaries between economics, sociology, political studies and history. The study of advertising campaigns, advertised products and their consumers includes businesses, social attitudes, cultural values, and the political frameworks within which the activities of production, branding, marketing, shopping and consumption take place.

Historians of advertising and consumption often face the problem of finding adequate sources to study their subjects. While archives of political organisations or of manufacturing houses tend to be well-organised and easily accessible, undergraduate and post-graduate students in particular have great difficulties in finding relevant archival material in order to pursue their subjects in the areas of marketing and advertising history. In addition, the lack of accessible sources especially with regard to the organisations that designed and produced advertising campaigns (i.e. advertising agencies, but also manufacturers, retailing businesses and government departments as well as the people working therein) has often resulted in historians resorting to posters and print advertisements as their main primary source. This article aims to be an aid to students and professional researchers interested in the history of British advertising.

The first part of the article provides a very brief introduction into the history of the British advertising industry and the development of advertising agencies. The second part focuses on advertising agency records and other advertising-related archival material at the History of Advertising Trust in Raveningham, Norfolk, and assesses the significance of these collections for historians of advertising. These sources illustrate that the emergence of a modern advertising industry in Britain is largely a result of the nineteenth-century retail and media revolution. The article concludes with a brief list of literature for students of British advertising history.

The rise of an advertising industry in the United Kingdom

The earliest signs of an advertising industry in Britain emerged when a number of advertising agents set up their businesses in London in the late eighteenth century. The earliest advertising agent known is the firm of Charles F. Scripps, founded in London in 1783. Other agents soon followed, such as William Tayler (1786), W. H. Smith (1792), James White (1800) and Charles Barker (1812). Advertising agents mostly operated in the immediate environment of the coffee-houses and newspaper offices in and around Fleet Street. Until the mid-nineteenth century, private individuals and representatives of
businesses wishing to advertise would visit Fleet Street taverns, coffee-houses and agent’s offices and hand over their advertisements to the agents, who would then receive their commission from the newspaper. The Edinburgh Review described this established advertising practice in 1829: ‘There are two newspaper agency offices; the respectable and old established firm of Newton and Co., former Tayler and Newton, in Warwick-square, and that of Barker and Co. in Fleet-street. At these offices, advertisements are received for all the country papers without increased charge to the advertiser, the commission of the agent being paid by the newspaper proprietor, and these agents also send to the country the stamps necessary for the papers, and undertake the collection of accounts owing in London.’3

Rather than conducting advertising campaigns, advertising agents restricted their work to that of space brokers. Agents either solicited advertisements from clients in order to receive a commission of about 10 per cent from newspapers or they bought advertising space in journals, magazines and newspapers in bulk and sold it off at a profit in small sections to retailers and manufacturing companies. Thus before 1900, advertising agents were more concerned with advertisements for sales and auctions, announcements of concerts and shows, insertions by people offering and seeking positions, or invitations to buy shares in newly-built ships etc. Although national advertising campaigns were already conducted in the early nineteenth century by firms such as Schweppes, Crosse & Blackwell, Lea & Perrins, Day & Martin etc., the close connection between consumer goods industries and advertising agents had not been established before the last decades of nineteenth century. Manufacturers advertising their goods to consumers often had to employ one agent to obtain space for press advertisements, pay a printer for the design and distribution of showcards and leaflets and have a specialised bill-poster agency to design, print and put up posters.4

In 1853 and 1855, respectively, the advertisement duty and the newspaper stamp duty were abolished, which increased the turnover of existing agents and invited many others to enter this field. The strongest growth in the numbers of agencies took place in the decades after 1870. Most agencies which dominated British advertising in the twentieth century such as Mather & Crowther (founded in 1850), Sells (1869), Smith’s (1878), T.B. Browne (1880), C. Vernon & Sons (1884), London Press Exchange (1892), S. H. Benson (1893), Samson Clark (1896), Frederick Potter (1897) and many others, were established in the second half of the nineteenth century. The reasons for this exponential growth since the mid-nineteenth century are not only to be sought in the effects of the abolished taxes on newspaper advertising, but mainly in the exploding demand for advertising towards the end of the nineteenth century. This demand was fuelled by producers of branded goods seeking national markets for products such as soap, tea, tobacco, patent medicines, cosmetics, food products and alcoholic beverages, but later for more expensive products as well, such as furniture, pianos, bicycles or holiday travels.5 The rapid growth of metropolitan department stores, such as Barker’s, Selfridge’s and Debenham’s, and of chain stores, such as Maypole’s, Lipton’s, Home & Colonial and Sainsbury’s increased the demand for retail advertising.5 In addition, the introduction of cheap halfpenny newspapers around 1900 (Harmsworth’s Daily Mail started in 1896 and his Daily Mirror in 1903; the popular, pictorial newspaper Daily Sketch started in 1909) increased the competition between newspapers for working class and middle class readers. In this new environment, the periodical press and
newspapers had to attract more advertising, but also more high-quality advertising that was lavishly designed and of news-value to (often female) readers.7

The greater demand for advertising and the increased competition between advertising service providers resulted in the emergence of a new type of service advertising agency before the end of the nineteenth century. Large manufacturing clients or department stores began to demand more from their agencies than just simply to sell advertising space. The new type of agency demanded by advertising clients had to have at its disposal a professional and up-to-date knowledge about different advertising rates and the likely readership of different papers. Service agencies designed different types of advertisements, commissioned artwork from outside studios, undertook research into market conditions, and planned overseas advertising. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, service agencies had emerged which invested in long-term relationships between themselves and clients in the manufacturing and retail industries on the one side and burgeoning print media on the other.

Records at the History of Advertising Trust
The History of Advertising Trust (HAT) was established in 1976 by a small group of people in London in order to preserve the UK’s marketing communications heritage. Two years later, it became an educational research trust and was registered as a charity in order to ‘...encourage and sponsor the study of all aspects of the growth and development of advertising.’ When the Trust left London for Norfolk in 1990, it had already saved archival material covering some 600 square feet from being discarded by advertising agencies and clients. Today, the Trust’s collection occupies a space of over 6,000 square feet. Its three million items make HAT the largest advertising-related archival collection in the world.

HAT’s collection starts with material from the year 1800 and ends with last month’s television commercials. The earliest documents kept by HAT relate to F. R. White’s agency founded in 1800 in London’s Birchin Lane. HAT keeps several types of advertising material, such as print advertisements, TV, radio and cinema commercials, advertising proofs and artwork, story boards, artefacts (e.g. early twentieth-century advertising novelties such as cups, tins, bottles and calendars with brand logos), campaign memoranda, reports and correspondence. The strength of the collection lies in its great visual material. Researchers interested in the visual cultures of products and consumerism, the imagery of gender and affluence in the Victorian age and the post-war era especially will find HAT archive of great use. HAT offers a number of Victorian and Edwardian scrapbooks with pasted advertisements and an even larger number of cut-out advertisements, advertising postcards and leaflets. With regard to the post-war era, all advertisements are ordered according to themes such as household goods, fashion, cosmetics, cars, foodstuffs etc., which greatly aids the research of specific themes in advertising history. HAT has also produced a number of ‘Study Aid’ CD-ROMs containing advertising visuals with relation to specific themes. The most recent one offers 50 examples of how advertisers in the United Kingdom have interpreted ethnic minorities from the 1880s to the present day. The advertisements compiled on the CD-ROM show that it took advertisers more than 25 years after the arrival of the SS ‘Empire Windrush’ before an Afro-Caribbean couple was shown as a pair of relaxing,
westernised consumers and not as servants or ‘natives’. These collections therefore offer a wealth of material for historians interested in the dynamics of the relationship between advertising, consumption, citizenship, and social equality in twentieth-century Britain.

In addition to the available visual material, HAT keeps a number of important corporate archives of firms which had a significant impact on the shape of modern advertising in the United Kingdom. A large proportion of the collection for example relates to retail advertising, an area in which HAT archive has particular strengths. Historians of modern advertising, consumption and retailing will find at HAT the entire marketing material of Selfridge’s (1906-present), the early Bon Marché archive (1889-1900), Jaeger (from 1914), Harrods (from 1962), Fortnum & Mason, as well as the entire marketing archive of C&A from 1924 until the company closed its 120 UK stores in 2000. These collections offer an ideal background for further historical studies into the history of fashion, fashion drawing, shop window design and retailing in Britain since 1900. The completeness and historical continuity of the Selfridge’s collection for example allows an unrivalled insight into the early rise of the marketing concept in British retailing. When Gordon Selfridge opened his department store on Oxford Street in March 1909, he subscribed to the idea that his store needed to exceed the expectations of his consuming audience by offering superior service and an attractive, ever-changing ‘product surround’. He therefore used carpeted floors instead of linoleum, he offered sitting corners, a café, and regular promotions, such as illuminated Christmas installations inside the store. Selfridge also recognised the importance of staff training for the management of the store’s service environment. The archival collection for example contains staffing instructions and designs of uniforms for lift girls. Selfridge openly supported the women’s suffrage movement and their ideals of empowering women as citizens. The archive contains ample material in relation to Selfridge’s support of this cause, such as his regular letters and columns which appeared in the daily press and the staff gazette, as well as samples of the store’s packing paper, which deliberately used the suffrage movement’s colours purple, green and white. Here again the collections invite historians to study subjects of marketing and advertising history in conjunction with broader themes dominating twentieth-century social and political history, such as citizenship and the rise of mass democracy.

Beside the great wealth of advertising and marketing material related to the retail sector, HAT also offers fascinating marketing collections of manufacturers from the traditionally advertising- and branding-intensive sector of fast-moving consumer goods. Researchers at HAT will find campaign material of Beecham’s (1902-1960), Rowntree (1920-1989), HP Foods (1900-1990s), H. J. Heinz Co (1920s-present), Hovis (1870-present), Quaker Oats (1942-1966), Vimto (1908-present), and many other firms. The significance of these collections can hardly be overestimated. The marketing material held in the Heinz and HP Foods collections for example show how twentieth-century manufacturers of fast-moving consumer goods invested in communicating their brands through advertising. Until the mid-twentieth century, in order to expand the market for their product(s) and forge a mass market of undifferentiated consumers for products such as Heinz Beans, manufacturers had to translate the product qualities into major selling points and press them on the consuming population through the then dominant media. Increasingly since the 1950s and 60s, these manufacturers had to use advertising
communication and product development in order to differentiate their products and address specific market segments with different product offers. Heinz, for example, introduced whole ranges of tinned foods in order to adapt to new consumer tastes and demands. What had started over one hundred years go with ‘57 varieties’ became and empire of differentiated products that now includes over 360 different products. The examples of Heinz and HP Foods also show that since the 1950s, producers began to employ a much wider range of marketing tools in addition to simple press advertisements. The post-war era demanded new skills from advertising agencies, such as market research, product design, advertising testing, and the integration of ‘traditional’ advertising with other promotional tools, such as direct marketing, in-store promotion, event marketing etc. Since the 1950s, the overriding aim of advertising agencies and their manufacturing clients became the communication of brand values as opposed to the product qualities in order to fight off the competition and cheaper supermarket brands in the same product range.10

Other industries represented at HAT are British Telecommunications (1960s – present), British Airways advertising (1940s – 1980s), the National Dairy Council (1930s – present), and the Eagle Star Insurance company (1920s – present), a pioneer in film advertising. One of the advertising collections with the highest appeal to cultural historians will be the collection of Shell advertising material. This collection contains proofs, drawings, press advertisements, posters, art work, original advertising photographs, leaflets and film commercials produced by Shell between 1923 and the late 1980s.11 The historical significance of the Shell material lies in its ability to further illustrate the importance of the notion of ‘art’ for the cultures of British interwar advertising. Shell and the interwar marketing merger Shell-Mex & BP were global companies which took great care in adapting to local and national tastes and consumer demands as regards visual styles. Shell UK commissioned artwork for its posters from well-known contemporary commercial artists, such as Edward McKnight Kauffer, Graham Sutherland, Rex Whistler, John Piper and Edward Bawden. It encouraged the use of a modern visual style for its posters, yet ensured that the modernist style would keep a close connection to traditional visual themes, such as the ‘Englishness’ of English landscapes, nature, and metropolitan ‘high’ culture (architecture, theatres etc). Shell’s advertising manager since 1932, Jack Beddington (1893-1959), redefined the role of Shell advertising within the marketing process and turned it into what he interpreted as a form of art for the masses and a tool to elevate and refine the tastes of the mass consumer, the commuter and the city-dweller who would not normally find his way into art galleries and museums. Beddington worked in the genuine belief that advertising by large private companies had to perform a public duty similar to that of the BBC: in order to uplift the social and cultural standards of Britain as a modern mass civilisation, the powerful new forms of communication (radio, posters) needed to be harnessed and guided by principles of cultural and aesthetic values. When Beddington died in April 1959, representatives of a younger generation of artists, such as John Betjeman and Paul Rotha, who owed much to the early encouragement from Beddington, paid him public tribute.12

HAT also keeps a number of collections with more direct relevance to the history of the British advertising industry itself. A whole section of HAT archive consists of the records of professional bodies and trade associations of UK advertising. These are
mainly the collections of the Advertising Association (1926-present), the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (1925-present), the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers (1905-present), the British Direct Marketing Association (1927-present), the Advertising Managers Association (1932-1995), and the International Media Buyers Association (1927-1984). In addition, HAT keeps the records of all major British advertising clubs, such as the Advertising Creative Circle (formed in 1945), the Publicity Club (1913), the Thirty Club (1905), the Regent Club (1951), and the Solus Club (1929). The Women’s Advertising Club of London (WACL), formed in 1923 and later renamed as Women in Advertising and Communication London, has been the major voice and networking space for women employed in the advertising industry. The records of this organisation are also held at HAT and provide an unrivalled insight into how female advertising professionals interpreted their role within the industry as well as the impact of their work on other women. This marvellous collection contains the minutes of meetings and other organisational records, for example with regard to the invitation of public speakers at their meetings, who since the 1920s included David Lloyd George, Stanley Baldwin, Harold Macmillan, Edward Heath, Denis Healey, and a large number of women MPs. This collection in particular would warrant much further attention and virtually asks for a dedicated student at master level in history, media studies or sociology.

The work of the Advertising Association since the mid-1920s is directly linked to the emergence of advertising regulative bodies in the United Kingdom, the records of which are also available at HAT archive. Even before the Advertising Association was formally incorporated, the advertising professionals gathering in the organising committee decided to set up a National Vigilance Committee in 1925. This Committee first consisted of a few people only who in their spare time dealt with complaints from newspaper managers and members of the public about unlawful and misleading advertisements. In 1928, the Committee was formally reorganised, sponsored and staffed by the Advertising Association (as Advertisement Investigation Department). This department co-operated with the police and the major London newspaper houses in order to put pressure on advertisers to withdraw misleading advertisements. In the late 1930s, the Advertising Association began to put more effort into the official formulation and enforcement of advertising standards. This tradition of advertising self-regulation is reflected in the work of the Advertising Standards Authority (since 1962) and the Independent Television Authority (since 1954, now Ofcom), which enforce the Code of Advertising Practice for all marketing communication in the UK.13

Together, these organisational collections reflect the increasing attempts in the interwar period to organise the advertising industry along the lines of an ‘accepted’ and responsible industry with high professional standards. In the interwar period, the industry felt it suffered from the lack of lobby groups which could communicate the views of industry members and it realised that a framework was necessary for the regulation of advertising as well as the regulation of inter-agency competition. The organisational collections at HAT are therefore a very rich source to study how the advertising industry as a whole defined itself and conceptualised its role vis-à-vis advertising media (mainly newspapers), advertising clients, consumers, the state and other actors in politics and civil society. In addition, power negotiations between these actors are a major undercurrent in these sources. Throughout the 1930s, for example,
the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, which represented the advertising agency interests, lobbied for the introduction of commercial radio stations in the UK. These efforts, however, were thwarted by newspaper bodies in connection with the BBC. While the BBC feared the lowering of cultural standards, newspapers feared the loss of advertising revenue. Consequently, advertising agencies had no financial incentive to invest in technical departments that could handle sound recording or the design of broadcasting programmes.

At the same time, broadcasting attracted increasing interest among American agencies such as McCann-Erickson and J. Walter Thompson. While American agencies in the 1930s began to build up expert knowledge in the area of wireless sound and picture transmission, British agencies were artificially restricted by the then major advertising medium, the newspapers, to concentrate almost exclusively on advertising in print. This example shows the tremendous power newspapers exerted over the development of British advertising. The lack of technical expertise in the area of broadcasting (which for American agencies meant both experimenting with radio and television since the mid-1930s) in the interwar years directly resulted in the failure of British agencies to compete with American agencies in the 1950s and 60s in areas such as the production of TV and radio commercials.

In addition to the marketing material of manufacturers and retailers and the records of advertising organisations, HAT archive holds the records of about 25 advertising agencies, amongst them many agencies with a history running back to the nineteenth century. The most valuable collections from the point-of-view of long-term, comparative research are the papers of R. F. White (founded in 1790), Charles Barker (1812), Mather & Crowther (1850), Sells Advertising (1869), the London Press Exchange (1892), S. H. Benson (1893), Samson Clark (1896) and J. Walter Thompson (active in the UK since 1899). The significance of these collections is ultimately to be found in the insight they allow into the development of long-term relationships between advertising clients, advertising media (newspapers, poster designers, printers) and agencies over the course of two centuries of advertising service in the UK. They are also an important source of information with regard to the impact of advertising agencies on the early history of successful consumer brands in the United Kingdom, such as Bovril, Guinness, Dunlop, Lux soap, or Rowntree’s cocoa. All agency collections offer a variety of types of sources, such as guardbooks (with pasted proofs of advertisement designs), correspondence, annual reports and ledgers, minutes of board and group meetings, research reports for clients as well as internally distributed research reports. In addition, most collections contain valuable promotional material produced by the agencies themselves to attract new clients. These brochures and advertisements show that the professionalized and increasingly competitive climate in advertising since the end of World War I necessitated more efforts of advertising service providers to ‘sell’ their skills both to prospective clients and the general public.

A theme which runs through the records of all agencies is the difficulties advertising agencies had in defining and asserting their own, genuine economic role in relation to their clients on the one side and the newspapers on Fleet Street on the other. Until well into the 1950s, newspapers exerted a considerable power over agencies due to the newspapers’ ability to grant or refuse ‘agency recognition’ to the agents. Agents without that recognition received less commission from newspapers and were also
unable to hold an account with publishing houses. Holding such an account was important as it allowed agents to survive periods of financial hardship in case clients had ordered and placed advertisements but failed to pay for the space. In addition, newspapers were an important institution for the early advertising industry as they regularly vouched for the legitimacy and trustworthiness of individual agents and their businesses. A letter written by Samson Clark to the advertisement manager of the *Daily Telegraph* in 1896 shows that without this back-up of connections in Fleet Street it proved difficult for new agencies to attract new clients or build up a relationship to banks and creditors.\(^\text{15}\)

Slowly, however, advertising agencies liberated themselves from the strong dependency on newspapers. This development is reflected in the distribution of agencies in the business geography of London over the last 200 years. Between 1800 and the 1880s, most agencies settled down in London’s newspaper quarter east of Temple Bar, around Fleet Street and Fetter Lane. Around 1900, agencies slowly began to move away from that area further westwards towards the new office worlds of Holborn and Kingsway. The large American agency Dorland (before 1919, Dorland London was part of an American agency network) moved into representative offices on Regent Street in 1907. Samson Clark planned to build up his business as a ‘West End agency’ mainly for clients in the new department store neighbourhood between Oxford Street, Bond Street and Knightsbridge. In 1923, Samson Clark moved into new premises on Mortimer Street in direct proximity to Oxford Circus and its ‘cathedrals of consumption’ (Geoffrey Crossick). After World War II, J. Walter Thompson concluded this ‘westward track’ by settling down in Mayfair’s exclusive Berkeley Square. JWT London used these premises to position itself as the leading agency in the UK and a ‘posh’ place led by Oxbridge graduates.

Even though other agencies smiled at the attempts of JWT London to make itself a little bit ‘more British’ than the British agencies themselves (jokes circulated about the ‘JWT man’ sporting expensive suites with carnations), this American agency succeeded in keeping a number one position amongst its rivals since the 1950s. Active in the UK since 1899, JWT made its name mainly in the 1930s for conducting the advertising campaigns for large American and British clients with great skills in the areas of consumer research and product testing. Because of these skills, JWT soon gained a reputation as a research-driven agency, with academic skills in retail economics, statistics and consumer sociology only to be rivalled by the then largest British agency, the London Press Exchange. The records of JWT at HAT archive reflect the difficulties this American agency had in negotiating its twin identities as an *American*-owned agency in *Britain*. The guardbooks and research reports at HAT documenting JWT’s work for Lever and Rowntree, for example, offer much insight into the rather formulaic American approach that JWT London was using to market sweets and soap in the UK. The advertisements and the research material relating to specific designs reveal that the Rowntree and Lever teams at JWT restricted themselves to the use of a specific set of marketing approaches that had been tested and proven many times before in the United States. On the other hand, a great deal of correspondence which was exchanged between the London agency and its New York headquarters deals with the barriers JWT faced in London due to the fact that it was perceived as an ‘American’ agency and therefore rejected by prospective clients.\(^\text{16}\)
The analysis of agency records shows that British agencies favoured the establishment of subsidiaries and semi-independent branches as a pathway to growth and to the specialisation of supplied advertising services. In the 1950s and 1960s, for example, agencies such as Charles Barker, Crawford’s and the London Press Exchange founded specialised subsidiaries such as agencies dealing only with recruitment advertising, financial advertising (City branches), or public relations services (as independent PR agencies). In other cases, large agencies formed independent subsidiaries in order to avoid a clash of interests between the accounts of similar clients. The specialisation of British advertising agencies since the interwar years into subsidiaries and sub-agencies also meant that even some of the larger agencies, such as Dorland London, Crawford’s or the London Press Exchange had to consult outside specialists for the contracting of poster advertising. In contrast, American agencies both in the US and the UK tended to grow into large and centrally controlled organisations, which delivered all creative and market research services from one hand through a system of account groups. Another difference between British and American agencies that is revealed in the sources is the focus of British agencies on developing and strengthening the artistic and creative side of their services, such as offering printing facilities, trained layout personnel and the latest type face. On the other hand, American agencies such as J. Walter Thompson, McCann-Erickson or Young & Rubicam strongly focussed on technical advertising innovations in the fields of market research, radio and television advertising.

One way of surviving the massively growing threat of American competitors taking over the British advertising market in the late 1950s and 1960s was to form international advertising groups of small and middle-sized agencies with networks spanning from the US, Canada and the UK across Europe and Australia. This strategy was employed by a whole number of formerly very large, now middle-sized British agencies, such as Greenly’s, Spottiswoode or Samson Clark. Thus, by the 1960s it was not so much the total size of an agency that mattered but the ability to serve globally operating clients in large consumer industries with dedicated groups of account executives and creative staff. However, the agency records also show that most clients of this provenience, such as Procter & Gamble, Lever/Unilever, Beecham, Ford UK, Cadbury’s, Rowntree’s and Shell, chose an American agency at some point between the late 1920s and the 1960s. This left most of the formerly successful British agencies with a few prestigious clients, while the mainstay of agency income was provided by large numbers of small and middle-sized clients, such as local manufacturers, local department stores and engineering firms with limited advertising budget.

Conclusion
The collections of the History of Advertising Trust Archive provide an immensely rich source for economic, business, social and cultural historians of modern Britain. Researchers, however, also have to put up with a few fleabites when conducting work at the Archive. First of all, HAT is inconveniently situated in remote village outside Norwich. While the Norfolk landscape will please all visitors, researchers are advised to plan their trip well ahead. The nearest train stations are Norwich and Beccles. Travellers from London or Birmingham should expect more than four hours total journey time. The most convenient way perhaps is to travel by car and stay in a local
bed and breakfast, of which there are two in the immediate neighbourhood. Second, since HAT is a charitable trust, it has only limited access to government funding in order to obtain the £5,000 per week necessary to run the archive. Consequently, researchers are charged an unusually high daily research fee of up to £38 per day and £23.50 for each consecutive day. Young scholars with an interest in conducting long-term research at HAT are strongly advised to apply at the Archive for a bursary which covers the admission fees. Researchers with projects of a more limited scope will find the funding provided by British Academy, the ESRC, AHRB, or the Business Archives Council of great help.


**Further Reading**


E. Sackville Turner,

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1 This article is based on research conducted at the History of Advertising Trust (HAT) in 2004/05 which was made possible by a grant from the Business Archives Council. I would like to express thanks to Terry Gourvish (LSE), Lesley Whitworth (Brighton) and Peter Scott (Reading) for their support. Thanks are also due to Margaret Rose, Chloe Vale and Edward Vanderpump of HAT. The results of the research conducted at HAT over the recent years will be discussed in my forthcoming thesis at Birkbeck College under the title *Advertising, mass democracy and consumer culture in Britain, 1900-1951*.

2 For a review of recent scholarship in these areas see R. Church, ‘New perspectives on the history of products, firms, marketing, and consumers in Britain and the United States since


8 The visual material available at HAT for the Victorian era complements the material available at the John Johnson collection of advertising ephemera at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The series of ‘Study Aid’ CD’s contains Women and advertisers: a record of change from the nineteenth century to today (90 images) and How UK advertisers interpreted ethnic minorities: images of over 100 years of change (50 images). More CD’s on Victorian advertising and the relationship between advertising and art are in preparation.


10 See also R. Tedlow, New and improved: the story of mass marketing in America. New York 1990. The example of the food manufacturers’ marketing material at HAT, however, also points at some of the negative sides of a narrow understanding of “marketing heritage”. By divorcing the marketing and advertising material of a company from the rest of a corporate archive, the wider context in which a marketing strategy is developed might be lost. Robert Fitzgerald’s work on Rowntree for example has shown that the firm’s marketing and advertising strategy can only be understood as the result of the complex interaction between the social, economic and religious beliefs of the Rowntree family members leading the company, the different spheres of managerial decision-making within the firm and their advertising agencies (first S. H. Benson, later J. Walter Thompson). This complex network of actors is now split up: the personal papers of the Rowntree family members are kept at the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Library, York, the company files are at the Borthwick Institute, York University, while Rowntree’s marketing material is kept at HAT.
HAT’s Shell collection is particularly strong on artwork and paper advertisements. Many of
the original interwar posters, however, are housed at the National Motor Museum in Beaulieu.
The Shell Art collection at Beaulieu, one of the most extraordinary collections of commercial
art in Britain, spans the period from the 1920s to the 1960s with most of the posters being produced during the 1930s.

The Times, 22 April and 27 April 1959. See also D. LeMahieu, A culture for democracy: mass

For problem-oriented approaches to the history of advertising regulation see G. Miracle and
T. Nevett, Voluntary regulation of advertising: a comparative analysis of the United Kingdom
and the United States. Lexington 1987, and the special issue of the journal Business History:
“The business of dependency: governments, firms and the consumption of addictive

For further discussion see B. Henry (ed.), British television advertising: the first thirty years.

Letter Books, SAM 2/2.

HAT archive keeps the entire collection of J. Walter Thompson UK, consisting of more than
50 boxes of correspondence and research reports as well as some 630 guard books, which
cover a period from about 1925 to the 1990s. In addition, HAT keeps the papers of the late
George Butler, Head of Art at JWT for over 20 years. The personal papers of John Treasure,
particularly relating to his time at J. Walter Thompson, are also kept at HAT. John Treasure,
who died in 2004, was Chairman of JWT London from 1967 to 1974. Throughout the 1960s,
70s and 80s he was known to a wider audience as “Mr. Advertising” due to his many
appearances on the media defending the position of the advertising industry against its critics.
In the 1970s, Treasure became advertising and communication adviser to the Conservative
party and recommended them to appoint a then little known advertising agency called Saatchi
& Saatchi (whose vice chairman he later became). JWT’s American archive is housed at the
John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History at Duke University,
North Carolina. The Hartman Center awards a number of research grants every year to
allow overseas researchers to study the extensive JWT collection (see