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The Formation of Professional Identity in the British Advertising Industry 1920-1954

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Thesis submitted towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Department of History

Durham University

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Abstract

From 1920 to 1954 British advertising practitioners spoke readily about achieving professional status. Studies have examined sociological processes of professionalization within the advertising industry. This thesis instead addresses the question of what professionalism meant in the context of advertising, a modern occupation whose practitioners claimed expertise in persuasion itself. The meaning of professionalism in advertising matters because the formation of professional identity was fundamental to the way that advertising agents understood, marketed, and sought to develop their practice in the years following the First World War. This is important because their practice – the creation of marketing campaigns based on advertisements – was significant in shaping and supporting the economic growth of twentieth-century consumer culture in Britain.

The thesis has three main dimensions. First, it examines the advertising industry's changing professional narrative by considering how practitioners described their occupation, and the ways in which professionalism was experienced and enacted on an everyday basis in the advertising agency. Second, taking the development of advertising institutions and education programmes, it explores the means by which young people and women presented themselves as practitioners. Third it demonstrates the effect of connections with the global advertising industry and imperial markets on the formation of a professional identity in British advertising from 1920 to 1954.

Understanding the formation of professional identity of advertising practitioners in particular offers insight into the nature of professional identity in an emerging creative occupation. Moreover, it forms an important part in explaining how advertising practitioners helped advertising not only to be tolerated, but to grow in to be a central and 'normal' feature of British consumer society.

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List of Abbreviations

AA	Advertising Association
AAAA	American Association of Advertising Agencies
AAC W	Associated Advertising Clubs of the World
ABAA	Association of British Advertising Agents
BAA	British Association of Advertising
BFBPW	British Federation for Business and Professional Women
EMB	Empire Marketing Board
HAT	History of Advertising Trust archive
IIPA	Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising (until 1954)
IPA	Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (from 1954)
IBSM	Institute of British Sales Managers
ISBA	Incorporated Society of British Advertisers
JWT	J. Walter Thompson
NABS	National Advertisers' Benevolent Fund
NPA	Newspaper and Publishers' Association
PPC	Professional Purposes Committee (of the IIPA)
SCAPA	Society
TNA	The National Archive
TWL	The Women's Library
WACL	Women's Advertising Club of London

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Introduction

> I predict that advertising will very shortly be given its due status and be regarded with the dignity of a profession, so much as accountancy, banking and the bar… It is now an accepted axiom than no business can extend without advertising. The fact has been expressed in a dozen less committal ways, but, reduced to crystals it all means that publicity is in very truth, the motive power of commerce.[1]
>
> G. W. Kettle, director of Dorland's Advertising Agency (1923).

Writing in 1923, G.W. Kettle predicted a great future for advertising. Presenting it as the keystone of the consumer society emerging from the economic ruin of the First World War, and the force that supported and revitalised business, Kettle argued that advertising deserved a status that matched its power. The central concern of this thesis is not, however, whether the advertising industry in Britain ever achieved this status, but rather how and why practitioners, such as Kettle, sought to present and conduct themselves as advertising professionals.

The definition of a profession and professional people is of immediate concern. Scholarship on the professions emerged as sociologists grappled with the question of how order is maintained within the modern social structure. Harold Perkin argues that all professionals, whatever their occupation, are 'selected by merit and trained in expertise'.[2] However, given that different occupations prioritise different traits in employees, it is difficult to be any more specific about professional 'criteria'. As a result, such 'criteria' carry only limited analytical weight.[3] It is important, therefore, to consider professional values in relation to the particular occupation that is articulating them, especially since Perkin observes that professionals 'lived by persuasion and propaganda, by claiming that their particular service is indispensable to the client or employer and to society and the state'.[4] Rather than seeking a concrete definition, Everett Hughes regards 'profession' as a symbolic label for a desired status; he suggests that it is more helpful to ask 'when do

[1] 'Twenty one years of Advertising', *Advertising World*, January 1923, p. 34.
[2] Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (1989), p. 2.
[3] For instance, while in law emphasis may be on the nature of professional-client relationships and sense of public service, accountancy may privilege 'organised control over competence and integrity': Geoffrey Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations: a study in professionalization* (1964), p. 3.
[4] Perkin, *Professional Society*, p. 6.

people begin to apply this label to themselves?'[5] By recognising that 'professional' is an identity that is consciously adopted and applied by practitioners, Hughes avoids constructing professionalization as an abstract and imposed social process, making it possible to place characters back within the historical narrative. Samuel Haber, meanwhile, argues that 'professions offer a way of life. This is the power of their attraction'.[6] Professional identity, then, is (and was) lived and enacted, practiced and performed. Professional people did more than go to work; their identity as professionals influenced their conduct, outlook and aspirations both during and after the working day, as well as in and beyond the physical site of the workplace. The all-encompassing nature of professional identity makes it a significant factor in determining the way that an influential and affluent group of people in society understood themselves. The question of how professional identity is created and sustained in specific historical contexts merits investigation.

Kettle worked in advertising, an occupation whose practitioners started to seek professional status in the first half of the twentieth century. Advertising is an important historical subject because its products – advertisements – are a huge commercial and cultural feature that has become ubiquitous and 'normal'. While advertising has a long history, the growth of 'modern' advertising is specific to the early twentieth-century.[7] During this period, the volume of advertising significantly increased. For example, while the *Sunday Express* had 204.25 column inches of advertising in July 1922, it carried 239.5 by 1932. Similarly, advertising in the *People* increased from 74.5 column inches in 1922 to 200 in July 1932.[8] These advertisements were no longer just short blocs of text, but large parts of the page, with design, drawings and artwork that were part of integrated publicity campaigns. Moreover, advertising became more prominent elsewhere: on billboards, public transport and in the cinema. While practitioners were fond of proclaiming advertising's influence – the agency owner Charles Higham went as far as to claim that 'Advertising is one of the mightiest and consequently one of the most dangerous forces in

[5] Everett Hughes, cited in Philip Elliot, *The Sociology of the Professions* (1972), p. 3.
[6] Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900* (1991), p. 361.
[7] For the history of advertising before the twentieth-century, see T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain* (1982), pp. 3-25; Roy Church, 'Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), pp. 621-45.
[8] 'Have you looked for that slump?' *Advertising World*, September 1932, p. 131.

the modern world' – it is impossible to ignore advertising's growing economic and social presence in the period from 1920 to 1954.[9]

At the same time as this enormous growth occurred, advertising became accepted, not just by producers of goods and services, but also by ruling society and by the public, the consumer. Why was such an intrusion into everyday-life accepted, and treated as normal, even desirable? This thesis suggests that it was possible because advertising provided new forms of justification for itself – as a necessary service for commerce, as an essential contribution to economic growth and so to social wellbeing, as a guide to consumers – which hinged on practitioners' adoption of professional status.

At this time of expansion, the advertising industry was formed broadly of three interdependent interest groups: advertisers, advertising agents, and the press. Advertisers were manufacturers and businesses who paid for advertising campaigns in order to advertise their goods and services. While some manufacturers, notably Unilever, produced advertising in-house through an advertising department, increasingly advertising was outsourced to advertising agencies.[10] Advertising agents emerged during the nineteenth century, primarily in London, as buyers of newspaper space to be resold to companies seeking to place advertising material.[11] However, by 1914, although agencies continued to be paid via commission from the press, the business commentator G. W. Goodall could attest that 'the agency will advise and co-operate with the advertiser at every turn and relieve him of every detail of his publicity'.[12] Thus, by the outbreak of the First World War, advertising agents like Kettle claimed specialist knowledge about the process of advertising.[13] The third element of 'advertising' was the media. Although posters are the most vivid reminders of past advertisements, the press was the major media of the first half of the twentieth century. Newspapers were increasingly reliant on revenue from advertisements to make publications economically viable. The Newspaper Proprietors' Association (NPA) played an early role in regulating advertising agencies by only paying

[9] Charles Higham, *Advertising: its use and abuse* (1925), p. 7.
[10] Len Sharp, *The Lintas Story* (1964).
[11] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, pp. 61-66.
[12] G. W. Goodall, *Advertising: A study of a modern business power* (1914), pp. 56, 58.
[13] Advertising agents were part of a larger trend that saw the rise of middle men in economic transactions. For instance, see Mary Ann Gillies, *The Professional Literary Agent in Britain, 1880-1920* (Toronto, 2007).

commission to those who met recognised standards of practice.[14] In turn, the facilitation of freedom of speech formed an important part of the advertising industry's justification of its practice. This thesis focuses on 'advertising practitioners', specifically the people who identified as professional experts, creators, and managers of advertising.

What, then, did 'professionalism' mean in the context of the advertising industry, a modern occupation whose practitioners claimed expertise in persuasion itself? How and where did practitioners construct and enact professional identity? Given that the advertising industry employed a significant number of female as well as male practitioners, how did women in advertising describe and experience professional identity? And what role did the international environment play in the creation of a professional identity in the British advertising industry? These questions matter because the formation of professional identity was fundamental to the way that advertising agents understood, marketed, and sought to develop their practice. This is important because, as Kettle suggested, their practice – the creation of marketing campaigns based on advertisements – was significant in shaping and supporting the economic growth of consumer culture in Britain following the First World War. Understanding the formation of professional identity of advertising practitioners in particular offers insight into the nature of professional identity in an emerging creative occupation. Moreover, it forms an important part in explaining how advertising practitioners helped advertising to grow into a central and 'normal' feature of British consumer society.

Historical context

These questions are situated in Britain in the years from 1920, when the advertising industry staged the International Advertising Exhibition, the first large-scale effort to showcase advertising as a positive economic and social force in society, until 1954, which marked the end of wartime rationing and austerity, and the start of commercial television. Advertising practitioners spoke more frequently about professional identity and achieving professional status during this period than they had done before or have done since, and it was during this period that the advertising industry established the principal professional institutions and education courses.

[14] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 154.

Practitioners in the 1920s and 1930s characterised the advertising industry as 'young', despite the advertising campaigns and culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[15] In doing so, they acknowledged that change had occurred in the advertising industry during the years following the First World War; this industry was different to its nineteenth century incarnation. In 1919, the advertising consultant Thomas Russell told students gathered at his lecture at the London School of Economics that 'Advertising is as yet in its infancy… [no other career] has, as I see the future of the world, a more expanding future… you have the opportunity to get on the wagon while it is moving forward, but has not yet gathered speed'.[16] Russell articulated the sense that the post-war years were a formative time for advertising, and that individual practitioners could make a difference in creating the values, the purpose and the reputation of the emerging industry. Advertising was a profession of opportunity. Indeed, advertising enjoyed a swift succession of achievements and milestones that came with the establishment of professional organisations and bodies, for which practitioners could take personal credit. For instance, when reporting the knighthood conferred on the advertising agent William Crawford in 1927, *Advertiser's Weekly* described his work in 'building up a great new profession... He had helped win for it the position it now held in the public life of the country'.[17] The contemporary idea that advertising was young and emerging as a profession makes it a striking example of how professional identity informed the creation of occupational status as the profession 'matured'.

Practitioners' sense of the industry 'growing up' was supported by significant increases in business. These increases occurred concurrently with national economic anxieties caused by a severe and chronic slump in 1920-1924, subsequent international economic turbulence and recession 1929-1932, enduring industrial decline, and record levels of unemployment. Nevertheless, John Stevenson and Chris Cook argue that the years following the First World War marked the start of a trajectory of increasing affluence that, although interrupted by the Second World War and austerity years of the late 1940s, continued through into the 1950s and 1960s.[18] From 1920 to 1939, the national income per head in

[15] Ibid., pp. 25-136; Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, 1994).
[16] Thomas Russell, *Commercial Advertising* (1919; 1926 edn.), p. 232.
[17] 'Banquet to Sir William Crawford', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 July 1927.
[18]John Stevenson and Chris Cook, *Britain in the Depression: society and politics, 1929-1939* (1994); Martin Pugh, *We Danced all Night* (2009), p. viii.

Britain increased by approximately a third, and, with mass-production techniques rendering commodities cheaper, those who remained in employment enjoyed greater buying power.[19] Consumers also benefitted from electricity – whereas in 1920 only one house in seventeen was wired for electricity, by 1939, the figure was two houses in three – which gave rise to a whole manner of labour saving and entertainment devices for the home, including refrigerators and vacuum cleaners, radios and gramophones.[20]

In an effort to direct this newfound wealth towards newly manufactured commodities, national expenditure on advertising rose from an estimated £31 million in 1920 to £57 million in 1928, to £59 million by 1938.[21] By 1954 it stood at an estimated £152 million.[22] The advertising agency J. Walter Thompson (JWT) was a case in point: in 1925, its turnover was 'under £10,000', but by 1937, it was handling business 'well over £1.5 million.[23] These increases in spending resulted in the steady rise in the volume of advertising. By the outbreak of the Second World War, advertisements and advertising campaigns were an established cost in business budgets and very much part of the cultural fabric of Britain.

Simultaneously, the number of advertising agents increased. In 1915 *Advertising World* counted 390 agents in the UK. In 1938, the number stood at 1,041.[24] Meanwhile, membership of Regent's Advertising Club (which catered specifically for younger members of the advertising industry) rose from 'about 30 to more than 800' in the period from 1923 to 1929.[25] It is unsurprising, therefore, that it was in the interwar years that practitioners founded advertising clubs, associations and institutions in order to socialise, network, and have their professional interests represented.

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[19] A. R. Prest 'National Income of the United Kingdom 1870-1946', *Economic Journal* (1948), cited in Stevenson and Cook, *Britain in the Depression,* p. 24.
[20] Ibid., p. 17.
[21] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 145. Reliable figures of advertising expenditure before the 1950s are difficult to compile because of a lack of standardisation in record keeping. Nevertheless, the upward trajectory – albeit occasionally halting – is unmistakable. For the methodology of compiling financial statistics for advertising, see David Clayton, 'Advertising expenditure in 1950s Britain', *Business History*, 52 (2010) pp. 651-665.
[22] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain,* p. 177.
[23] 'Largest Staffed agency', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 28 April 1938, p. 122.
[24] 'We had ten advertisers then: now there are 1,041 agencies', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 28 April 1938, p. 116.
[25] 'Club notes', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 10 May 1929, p. 268.

This thesis is not a history of the institutionalisation of advertising. However, in order to understand advertising practitioners' relationship with professional identity, it is necessary to appreciate the mechanisms by which professional identity in advertising was shaped and supported. Clubs, associations, and institutions of advertising practitioners were fundamental to this process. Some operated systems of selection in order to enhance status – for instance, membership was by election in The Thirty Club and the Women's Club of Advertising – while others granted qualifications that ensured standardised expertise.[26] These bodies made it possible for advertisers to differentiate between the growing numbers of advertising practitioners, and for advertising agencies to demonstrate their credentials in an ever-more competitive market. As well as acting as outwards signs of professional status, these bodies facilitated the formulation and definition of professional identity. Shifts in attitude towards identity are most visible when identity is institutionalised, because clubs, associations and institutions kept regular records of their purpose and activities.[27] As a result, clubs, associations and institutions, where the individual voices of advertising practitioners negotiated with collective preferences, provide a wealth of material through which to interrogate professional identity.

While social clubs for advertisers and practitioners existed before 1914, their activities were broadly limited to social gatherings and informal debate in a homo-social male environment.[28] *Advertising World* noted in 1904 that clubs promoted cohesion in the industry through 'the bringing together socially of men engaged in the various branches of the advertising business, and the discussion of topics of practical interest in the fraternity'.[29] In advertising's clubs, the different elements of professional identity in advertising, which Sean Nixon refers to as 'cultural scripts' – the commercial aristocrat, the creative artist, the middle class expert, the learned gentleman – were acted out and co-

[26] Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations*, pp. 13-15.

[27] Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: preserving the past in France, Germany and England* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 17.

[28] The Sphinx Club (founded 1904), The Thirty Club (1905/6), Fleet Street Club (founded 1905), the Aldwych Club (founded 1911), Publicity Club (founded 1913). The founding members of the Sphinx Club, for example, included H. Powell Ress of the Paul E. Derrick Agency, Philip Smith of Smith's Advertising Agency, H. E. Morgan of Spottiswode & Co., G. Wetton of the *Daily Express*, W.E Berry of *Advertising World*, and R.E Bridge of Quaker Oats. See 'the Sphinx Club of London', *Supplement to The Advertising World*, June 1904. Proto-professional organisations included the Advertiser's Protection Society, founded 1900, and the Incorporated Society of Advertising Agencies founded c.1900, but their influence was limited.

[29] 'The Sphinx Club of London', *Supplement to The Advertising World*, June 1904.

existed.[30] The diverse membership of the clubs demonstrates the multiple ways that professional identity in advertising was understood, and the role of the clubs in bringing different sections of the advertising industry together in conversation and mutual interest.

The First World War galvanised the formal organisation of the advertising industry, since, as the advertising agent Philip Benson recounted, status derived from membership of informal clubs was not recognised by the government:

> It was realised that the Government had no regard for individuals or individual firms. Unless you were represented by a trade association you were nobody at all. In the eyes of the Government permanent staff, the principal of an advertising agency was exactly on a par with the man who climbed a ladder and stuck a bill on the hoardings.[31]

Accordingly, the Association of British Advertising Agents (ABAA) was founded and made a limited company in 1917, in order to represent the interests of advertising agents.

Even with fledgling formal professional organisations, however, clubs continued to play a significant role in the organisation of the advertising industry. The Thirty Club, which was formed of thirty leading advertising men in c.1906, 'for the betterment of advertising', was particularly important.[32] As chapter 5 examines, the Club cultivated links with advertising clubs in the United States through the business contacts of its members and observed American advertising culture with interest. When the American-based Associated Advertising Clubs of the America changed its name to Associated Advertising Clubs of the World (AACW) in 1922, the Thirty Club requested membership. As members of the newly formed district, 'District 14', they were eligible to host the AACW's annual convention. In 1924, the AACW's convention was held in London, with nearly 2,000 delegates from around the world in attendance.[33] This event was significant to the British advertising because it hastened the foundation of advertising clubs and societies beyond London: the Manchester, Leeds and Newcastle Publicity Clubs were set up in preparation for the

[30] Sean Nixon, 'In pursuit of the professional ideal: advertising and the construction of commercial expertise in Britain 1953-1964' in Peter Jackson, et al. *Consumer Cultures: Economies, Practices, Spaces* (Oxford, 2000), p. 70.
[31] History of Advertising Archive (hereafter, HAT), IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 2 (June, 1928), p. 9.
[32] Eric Field, *Advertising: the forgotten years* (1959), p. 40.
[33] See 'The Advertising Convention', *The Times*, 18 July 1924, p. 5; 'Convention Creed for Advertising Men' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 25 July 1924, p. 352.

Convention, as well as the Women's Advertising Club of London.[34] Moreover, the 1924 Convention facilitated connections between advertising practitioners from around the globe, who articulated and affirmed a common professional identity and purpose in an Advertising Creed adopted at the Convention's closing ceremony.[35] Significantly, when reflecting on the 1924 Convention, practitioners described it as the moment that they felt advertising achieved 'recognition' from business interests and in the wider British society.[36] Whether or not that was the case, the 1924 Convention was remembered by a generation of practitioners as a time when advertising showed particular professional unity and purpose.

The Advertising Association (AA) grew out of the Organisational Committee of the 1924 Convention and was officially incorporated in 1926. The AA sought to represent British advertising as a whole; however, although there were regional agencies, advertisers and media interests, by 1924 London, the home of Fleet Street and headquarters of many businesses, had already emerged as the undisputed centre of the British advertising industry. *Advertiser's Weekly* defined the AA as 'the totality of the various independent organisations representing advertiser's agents, media owners, the auxiliary trades and specialised services, plus organisations representing a cross section of advertising interests'.[37] This diversity was replicated at the level of governance: advertisers, agents and the Press were all represented on its Executive Committee. The all-encompassing nature of the AA meant that advertising avoided the clashes of professional representation that occurred in accountancy, where strong regional bodies vied for overall control.[38] However, the AA's breadth of interests weakened the organisation's power to take decisive action on behalf of advertising at key junctures.[39] AA's annual convention was designed to bring the

[34] 'A Women's Advertising Club', *The Times,* 7 September 1923.
[35] 'Convention Creed for Advertising Men', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 25 July 1924, pp. 352-3.
[36] Harold Vernon (VP of the Advertising Association; VP of the International Advertising Association) 'What past conventions have accomplished', *Advertising World*, February 1927, p. 500.
[37] 'Conference background – organised advertising: Only a Great Occasion Reveals the Basic Unity of British Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 5 July 1951, p. 12.
[38] See Hugh Willmott, 'Organising the profession: a theoretical and historical examination of the development of the major accountancy bodies in the UK', *Accounting, Organisation and Society,* 11 (1986), pp. 555-80.
[39] Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the AA was criticised for not representing advertising's interests strongly enough to government, when calls for a ministry of propaganda were dismissed, and advertising was overlooked on advisory committees. See Mariel Grant, *Propaganda and the role of the state in inter-war Britain* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 30-35; 'Advertising and the Future - black week', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 3 August 1939, p. 140.

industry together for 'the ventilation of ideas and schemes for commercial and industrial progress', making it a significant place for the articulation of professional identity and purpose, although contemporary opinion was divided on how far it achieved this aim.[40] The AA also strove to raise the standard of advertising practice through an examination syllabus designed to test a good, general knowledge of the theory and practice of advertising.

One of the bodies affiliated to the AA was the Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising (IIPA), which was founded in 1927 and superseded the ABAA in representing the particular interests of advertising agents to the advertising industry and broader society. The IIPA comprised select advertising agencies that were bound to its particular code of standards. Individual membership of the IIPA was through examination, after which associate status was granted. In addition, the IIPA elected fellows annually. The Professional Purposes Committee (PPC) of the IIPA defined professional standards of practice and worked to ensure that they were upheld by members, it dealt with instances where conduct of members was questionable, and it held social events where the 'professional purpose' of advertising was discussed. The PPC was also responsible for formulating the syllabus for entrance examinations. The remit for the PPC makes the minutes of its meetings and its reports a valuable source for understanding how professional identity in advertising was formulated at a bureaucratic level, since decisions were informed by how practitioners theorised professional behaviour.

The outbreak of war in 1939 led to the transformation of Britain from a predominantly free-market economy into a centrally managed economy, as it moved from peace to full-scale war mobilisation.[41] The rationing of goods made the commercial function of advertising largely redundant, since in many instances demand for products was higher than manufacturers could supply. In particular, pooling in the margarine industry (where manufacturers combined effort and resources to produce one uniform product) destroyed the need for brand differentiation and, from the perspective of manufactures, set a

[40] S. H. Vincent, 'Why I go'; Sidney T. Garland 'Why I Don't Go', *Advertising World*, June 1934, p. 219.

[41] Peter Howlett, 'The war-time economy, 1939-1945', in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain vol. III: Structural Change and Growth, 1939-2000* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 1.

dangerous precedent for future models of production.[42] Moreover, paper rationing meant that space for advertising in newspapers was limited and expensive. Increased censorship, to which advertising material was subject, presented a further challenge to the industry's freedom. Nevertheless commercial advertising continued as manufacturers recognised the benefits of 'keeping their names before the public'. Indeed, David Clampin argues that advertising campaigns played a significant role in keeping up morale, through maintaining a sense of normality during the war.[43]

Although peace was declared in 1945, it was not until 1954 that final austerity controls on private-sector consumption were lifted. Advertising, with its economic function to promote consumption, jarred with the politics of austerity and the industry faced hostility from a Labour government trying to curb excess. In 1948, facing the threat of taxation on advertising expenditure, the Federation of British Industries agreed to limit voluntarily the amount that they spent on advertising.[44] Faced with these measures the industry was forced to justify itself and its practice, and, as a result, advertising practitioners articulated their professional purpose and identity with particular clarity.

The years 1939 to 1954 connect the interwar years of progress and signs of professional establishment with the 1950s culture of affluence and consumerism. Analysis of advertising during this period allows for continuities in the study of people, ideas and practices to be established, between what are commonly recognised as two distinct phases. While the power of advertising was limited during this period due to government controls and rationing, and 'professionalization' was put on hold, professional identity persisted. The events of these years demonstrate that the advertising industry contributed to commercial society in war and austerity, as well as in growth and prosperity. They suggest both the resilience of the advertising industry and the adaptability of professional practice to hostile political and economic times. War and austerity brought into focus the

[42] 'Pooling' was first raised under the terms of the Margarine and Cooking Fats (Provisional Control) Order of 4 September 1939 and the Margarine and Cooking Fats (Requisition) Order of 7 October 1939. Margarine firms agreed to pool resources in July 1940: see 'Control Of Oil And Fats' *Times*, 6 October 1939, p. 10; David Clampin, 'The role of commercial advertising in Britain during the Second World War', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth (2007), pp. 52-3.

[43] David Clampin, *Advertising and Propaganda in World War II: Cultural Identity and the Blitz-spirit* (2014).

[44] 'From 1 March 1948 there was a reduction of 15% by all firms spending over £2,500 per annum in certain specified categories… Firms whose expenditure was less than £2,500 undertook not to increase it': Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 177.

professional identity that had been formed during the interwar years of relative plenty, halting the sense of progress and unstoppable development that was expressed by practitioners following the First World War, and instead encouraging reflection and renewed articulation of professional purpose. The experience of war and austerity was significant in shaping the values of the industry that played a leading role in supporting the consumer society of the late 1950s and 1960s.

Historiographical context

Despite the bearing that professional identity has had on how the advertising industry was organised and the way in which advertising campaigns were produced, the subject is absent from the main works on the history of advertising. Instead, the works focus on the relationship of advertising to modernity and progress, and the question of advertising's involvement in American cultural and economic expansion.[45] While sociologists, including Sean Nixon and Brian Moeran, have demonstrated the importance of identities and the workplace in informing the practice of advertising agents in the late twentieth century, these findings have not been applied to the period during which practitioners first formulated a professional identity and sought professional status.[46] The historians T. R. Nevett and Douglas West view the period from 1920 to 1954 largely in light of the advertising industry's financial growth and institutional regulation, while for Stefan Schwarzkopf, these years are characterised by advertising's establishment as a legitimate force within democratic society.[47] By turning attention to the question of how advertising practitioners created and enacted professional identity amidst the institutional and economic changes outlined by current scholarship, the wider social, cultural and economic

[45] Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen and Jonathan R. Zatlin, *Selling modernity: Advertising in twentieth century Germany* (Durham N. C., 2007); Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Transatlantic Invasions or Common Culture? Modes of Culture and Economic Exchange between the American and the British Advertising Industries' in J.W. Wiener, and M. Hampton (eds.), *Anglo-American Media Interactions, 1850-2000*, (Basingstoke, 2007); Sean Nixon, 'Apostles of Americanization? J. Walter Thompson Company Ltd, Advertising and Anglo-American Relations 1945-67', *Contemporary British History*, 22 (2008), pp. 477-499, Sean Nixon, *Hard Sell: advertising, affluence and transatlantic relations, c. 1951-69* (Manchester, 2013); Douglas C. West, 'From T-Square to T-Plan: the London office of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, 1919-1970', *Business History*, 29 (1987), pp. 199-217.

[46] Brian Moeran, *A Japanese Advertising agency* (Honolulu, 1996); Sean Nixon, *Advertising Cultures* (2003).

[47] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders: the advertising industry and British society, 1900-1939', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of London, 2008.

influences to which the advertising industry was subject become more visible, and advertising is placed within the context of other emerging professions.

The writing of a profession's history is important in the development of professional identity as it creates collective narratives and myths that account for and reinforce the occupation's values and status. Since the turn of the twentieth century, advertising agents have been prolific in writing and commissioning historical studies of themselves.[48] However, it was not until the 1980s that historians – rather than sociologists – began to take interest in advertising, as historical research into the nature of consumer societies expanded. Taking the example of the American advertising industry, Roland Marchand portrayed advertising as a form of creation and management of the social anxieties engendered by American modernity, while Daniel Pope demonstrated the advertising industry's close relationship with technological change.[49] This early focus on the United States is unsurprising, given the international dynamism of the American advertising industry and its subsequent influence on the practices of advertising during the first half of the twentieth century. The accessibility and richness of American advertising archives, such as those in the John Hartman Centre for Marketing History at Duke University, in comparison to the relative paucity of British evidence, further exacerbate this trend, which is seen in the volume of studies that explore the effects of American corporate expansion through advertising in peripheral locations.[50]

[48] For instance, Eric Field, *Advertising: the forgotten years* (1959); Sidney Ralph Bernstein; Richard W. Polley, 'Wanted: a history of advertising', *Journal of Advertising Research*, 18 (1978) pp. 63-8; Tom Rayfield, *50 at 40* (1996); Winston Fletcher, *Powers of Persuasion* (Oxford, 2008). HAT, SAM 21/336/2 'New Look... new outlook (1960 – on the move to Ferguson House)'; SAM 21/336/1 'Samson Clark: A history of Progress 1896-1925'.

[49] Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York, 1983); Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: a history of American advertising* (New York, 1984); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: making way for modernity, 1920-1940* (1985).

[50] Douglas C. West, 'From T-Square to T-Plan: the London office of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, 1919-1970', *Business History*, 29 (1987), pp. 199-217; Sean Nixon, 'Apostles of Americanization?', pp. 477-499; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Transatlantic Invasions or Common Culture?'; Eric Clark Hultquist, 'Americans in Paris: The J. Walter Thompson Company in France, 1927-1968' *Enterprise & Society*, 4 (2003), pp. 471-501; Veronique Pouillard, 'American Advertising Agencies in Europe: J Walter Thompson's Belgium business in the inter-war years', *Business History*, 47 (2005), pp. 44-58; D. H. Sutton, *Globalising Ideal Beauty: how female copywriters of the J. Walter Thompson Agency redefined beauty for the twentieth century* (New York, 2009).

T. R. Nevett's *Advertising in Britain* (1982) represents the first work to use archival sources in order to consider the British advertising industry in any depth.[51] Nevett's work was shaped by concerns in the early 1980s about the power of advertising in society. Throughout his study, which traces the history of the industry in Britain from 1800 to 1972, Nevett refutes the notion that advertising was a manipulative influence on consumers and defends the industry against accusations of dishonesty. He shows how historically, moral concerns about advertising arose from the bombastic – and occasionally outright fraudulent – claims of advertisers. Nevett suggests that advertisers of patent medicines were particularly condemned because they targeted consumers with lower incomes, who critics believed were vulnerable and more susceptible to their claims – although the cases brought before the AA's National Vigilance Committee and the IIPA's PPC suggest that the temptation to distort facts in order to promote goods was felt across the industry.[52] This observation points to the moral and ethical necessity of establishing regulation in advertising and gives insight into the context in which professional identity was first formulated. Nevett characterises criticism in the years from 1920 to c.1950 as focused on specific instances of dishonesty and the will to mislead; he argues that it was not until the 1950s and the Cold War that advertising was portrayed by critics as a manipulative social force to be feared.[53]

Advertising in Britain offers a useful chronological framework, but the questions it poses about the nature of change within the British industry are limited since Nevett argues that 'advertising grew naturally out of social, economic and commercial developments which took place at an earlier stage in our history'.[54] Roy Church points out that Nevett's assumption that advertising occurred principally as a result of market surplus, which was broadly the case in the United States, ignores the presence of many smaller agencies serving non-mass producing companies in Britain.[55] However, more problematic is that Nevett's stance assumes organic progress in advertising towards respectability and better

[51] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*. Previous works include Blanche Elliott, *A History of English Advertising* (1962) and E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising!* (1959).

[52] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, pp. 110-137; See History of Advertising Trust Archive (hereafter HAT), IPA/16/5/4.

[53] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'They do it with Mirrors: Advertising and British Cold War Consumer Politics', *Contemporary British History*, 19 (2005), pp. 133-150; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: advertising and the social roots of the consumer culture* (New York, 1976).

[54] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 1.

[55] Roy Church, 'Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), pp. 621-645.

regulation. In doing so, it denies advertising practitioners any agency in seeking growth for themselves: change instead is understood as imposed on the industry by macro-factors. Yet, as the activities of organised advertising demonstrate, practitioners worked hard to create demand for advertising, to raise standards, and to secure their own social status. Moreover, due to a focus on the core economic function of the advertisement and its industry – perhaps a reaction against theorists such as Judith Williamson, who regarded advertisements as cultural rather than economic artefacts – Nevett also overlooks the effects of specific business, economic and political influences on the development of the British advertising industry, most significantly organised consumer groups, international competition, and the state.[56] By ignoring the agenda of individuals and external bodies, Nevett fails to explain adequately the mechanisms by which change in advertising occurred.

Stefan Schwarzkopf accounts for the structural changes in the operation and organisation advertising that Nevett describes – in particular the adoption of the service model of advertising agencies, and their development of market research departments – by looking beyond purely commercial and economic factors to the advertising industry's relationship with British politics. Taking the period from 1900 to 1939, he argues that the behaviour and work practices of leading practitioners was influenced by their desire for recognition by those in politics of the role of advertising in democratic society. Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capitals as a theoretical framework, Schwarzkopf demonstrates how leaders of advertising sought social and cultural capital – such as 'notions of scientific professionalism, social responsibility, political influence and economic competitiveness' – in order to define advertising's place within rapidly changing society.[57] Ultimately, Schwarzkopf suggests that the successful accumulation of such capital by 1939 transformed the advertising industry into a 'central player within the wider system of the governance of consumption in Britain in the twentieth century', due to its work in mediating consumer and citizen demands in a democratic society.[58] This being so, it is pertinent to ask how this shift was supported by practitioners' understanding of professionalism, and how in turn, the occupational ascendency of advertising that Schwarzkopf describes affected the professional identity of those working in the industry.

[56] Judith Williamson, *Decoding advertisements: ideology and meaning in advertising* (1978).
[57] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders', p. 2.
[58] Ibid.

Sean Nixon's research draws different conclusions. His work focuses on the activities of the IPA fifteen years later (from 1951 to 1964), as it sought, with 'limited and partial success', to consolidate professional standards of conduct within the industry. His research reveals both the arbitrary nature of social status and the continuing significance of achieving 'professionalism' for certain leading members of the advertising industry.[59] Nixon's study is one of failure. He attributes the IPA's inability to control the value of professional status in advertising to the success of preeminent advertising agencies. These agencies supplied advertising services to a range of clients, which 'afforded them de facto legitimacy' without the need of IPA's professional rationale.[60] More significant, he argues, was the inherent instability of the 'cultural script' of the 'advertising man', which encompassed both 'skilful and enterprising businessman, artist and gentlemanly professional'.[61] Nixon suggests that many advertising practitioners identified most strongly as business people; achieving professional status was no longer a high priority beyond the leadership of the IPA. Nixon shows, therefore, first, the importance of recognising the multiple social identifications, roles and repertoires that compete to make up a professional identity in advertising, and second, the significance of the relationship (and discrepancies) between the individuals and the institutions that represent them.

There is a gap between Schwarzkopf's thesis, which ends in 1939, and Nixon's work on the IPA from 1951 to 1963, which is more than temporal in nature. Both scholars are interested in the public status of advertising: Schwarzkopf's work focuses on how advertising practitioners sought recognition from political elites, while Nixon emphasises the importance of coherent internal relations in the advertising industry for consolidating its status as a profession. However, while Schwarzkopf argues that the advertising industry achieved respectability and political establishment by 1939, Nixon's work demonstrates that the IPA struggled against apathy within the industry as it sought professional status in the early 1960s. Given that 'professional status' signifies different things in different historical and occupational contexts, this thesis argues that it is more helpful to think in terms of how practitioners perceived themselves and understood the purpose of their work, rather than whether or not an elusive 'professional status' or 'professional ideal' was ever achieved. Rather than focusing on success or failure, this approach enables understandings

[59] The IIPA was renamed the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) in 1954. Nixon, 'In pursuit of the professional ideal', p. 72.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

of changes in professional identity to emerge and be explained. In taking this stance, this thesis moves away from studies of the advertising industry that, like contemporary commentators, sought to ascertain when, if ever, advertising was professionalised.[62]

Towards an alternative approach

While analysis of the structural processes of professionalization represents a theme in scholarship on the history of advertising, existing work is detached from theoretical ideas of professionalism and professionalization processes emanating from sociology. Furthermore, the research is removed from literature that examines the nature and history of other occupations claiming professional status at a similar time to advertising. As a result, advertising practitioners' search for occupational legitimacy, as considered by advertising historians, is understood as a unique development. Yet a cursory glance at the literature about occupations also seeking professional status around the end of the nineteenth century, such as accountancy, experimental science, design, journalism, architecture, and engineering, shows that this is far from the case.[63] Similar to advertising, these groups claimed skill and expertise based on knowledge that required training, education and examination; enforced a code of conduct; constructed their service for the public good; and were organised (through associations, and institutions etc.).[64] Engaging with this body of literature places advertising scholarship in a context beyond its place within the history of consumer society, and opens up the scope of enquiry.

The histories of other professions are an important context for the history of advertising, since professions develop in relation to one another in society; examining them in isolation removes them from the social networks and professional culture of which they were part.

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[62] Jacquie L'Etang, *Public Relations in Britain: a history of professional practice in the twentieth century* (2004); Robert Crawford, *But Wait! There's more* (Melbourne, 2008).

[63] W. F. Chua and C. Poullaos, 'The dynamics of 'closure' amidst the construction of market, profession, empire and nationhood: an historical analysis of an Australian accounting association, 1886 – 1903', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 23 (1998) pp. 155-187; Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: a study in sibling rivalry* (New Haven, CT, 2007); Chris Nottingham, 'The rise of the insecure professionals', *International Review of Social History*, 52 (2007), pp. 445-475; Mark Hampton, 'Journalists and the 'Professional Ideal' in Britain: the Institute of Journalists, 1884-1907', *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), pp. 183-201; Leah Armstrong, 'Designing a profession: the structure, organisation and identity of the design profession in Britain, 1930-2010', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Brighton (2014); Mary Ann Gillies, *The Professional Literary Agent in Britain, 1880-1920* (Toronto, 2007).

[64] Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations*, p. 4.

Indeed, Valerie Fournier argues that 'the professions need to establish and continuously work at maintaining their legitimacy in terms that map over with the norms and values of other action in the network of liberal government'.[65] Given their relational nature, therefore, studying professions with reference to others gives insight into particular norms, behaviours and aspirations, while also recognising contemporary concern about competition for occupational status in society. Kettle, for example, cited 'accountancy, banking and the bar' as professions that he believed had already achieved an established status by 1923. In order to place advertising in the context of professional society, therefore, this thesis draws on scholarship that has explored the history of professional identity in other occupations. In particular, it considers how practitioners in other occupations developed and related to the mechanisms that supported professional identity, including professional institutions and educational standards, in order to draw comparisons with advertising.

It is striking that professional identity across professions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is gendered, although, given the nineteenth century social context from which the desire for professional status initially arose, perhaps it is unsurprising that the roles, repertoires and behaviour associated with professionalism have traditionally been associated with men.[66] In most occupations this has continued to hold true, so that Nixon's work on advertising agencies in the 1990s presents masculinity as the dominant element within the professional identity of 'creatives' in advertising, the staff who design and conceive advertising.[67] Similarly, Michael Roper's work on 'organizational men' presents post-war managers as gendered subjects and reveals the ways in which their 'acted-out' ideas of professionalism interacted with their identity as men.[68] Historically, because professional identity has been intimately linked with masculinity, professionalism has been used as a mechanism by men for limiting women's access to employment in occupations claiming professional status. Helen McCarthy's study of the struggle of women to gain

[65] Valerie Fournier, quoted in Leah Armstrong, 'Designing a profession', p. 44; Perkin, *Professional Society*, p. 6.
[66] Neil McKendrick, '"Gentleman and Players" revisited: the gentlemanly ideal, the business ideal and the professional ideal in English literary culture' in Neil McKendrick, and R. Bouthwait (eds.) *Business life and public policy: essays in honour of D.C. Coleman* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 98-136.
[67] Sean Nixon, *Advertising Cultures: gender, commerce, creativity* (2003).
[68] Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organisation Man since 1945* (Oxford, 1994).

entrance into the diplomatic service as diplomats demonstrates just how powerful and enduring methods of exclusion based on professional values and roles could be.[69]

Yet, despite the relationship between masculinity and professionalism, women did work in professional occupations during the first half of the twentieth century, meaning that professional identity was not solely the preserve of men. Using the example of women farmers and graphic designers respectively, Nicola Verdon and Jill Seddon show how women cultivated professional attributes that were compatible with contemporary ideals of femininity when seeking recognition as professionals by their male colleagues. For instance, women farmers focused their efforts on 'the lighter branches of agriculture: dairying, poultry and horticulture' in an effort to maintain a sense of social refinement and feminine respectability and decorum, while in design women gravitated towards self-employment and craftwork.[70] While Seddon argues that women were marginalised in the professionalization process of design as they were excluded from the profession's bodies of governance, Chris Nottingham's work demonstrates that certain women played significant roles as practitioners in the 'insecure professions', that is, the emerging fields of education, health and social welfare.[71] This is consistent with Pat Thane's research on Girton graduates' career trajectories, which found that, after secretarial work, teaching and social work were the chief occupations recommended to women by the Cambridge University Appointment Board.[72] Therefore, it seems that only a few key individuals enjoyed success as professional women, and that women were more likely to enjoy success when the professional attributes that they adopted complemented contemporary ideals of femininity.[73] Rather than tracing how gender operated in advertising in the period 1920-

[69] Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World* (2014).

[70] Nicola Verdon, 'Business and Pleasure: middle-class women's work and the professionalization of farming in England, 1890-1939', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), p. 402; Jill Seddon, 'Mentioned, but denied significance: women designers and the 'professionalisation' of design in Britain c. 1920-1951', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), p. 431.

[71] Chris Nottingham, 'The rise of the insecure professionals', *International Review of Social History*, 52 (2007), pp. 445 – 475.

[72] Pat Thane, 'The careers of female graduates of Cambridge University, 1920s-1970s' in David Mitch, John Brown and Maro H.D. van Leeuwen (eds.), *Origins of the Modern Career* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 218.

[73] This has led to biographies of professional women which verge on hagiographic. See for example, Mary Redmond, 'The emergence of women in the solicitor's profession in Ireland' in Eamonn G. Hall, and Daire Hogan (eds.), *The Law Society of Ireland, 1952-2002: portrait of a profession* (2002), pp. 97-120; Alice Strickland, 'Ethel Gabain, Evelyn Gibbs and Evelyn Dunbar: three approaches to

1954, this thesis instead explores why, and on what terms, women working in advertising sought not only to adopt a professional identity, but also through their involvement in advertising's institutions, to be instrumental in its formation. In doing so, it contributes to debate about how women balanced professional identity with their identity as women. Moreover, it suggests that, despite Nixon's conclusions about the dominance of masculinity in the 1990s, from 1920 to 1954, at least, women found in advertising an occupation where they could achieve a measure of success.

Research into specific occupations has furthered understanding about how and why professional identities were formed and transformed in particular historical periods. For instance, Herman Paul's work focuses on how, in the nineteenth century, historians started to 'equate historical studies with scholarship based on archival research'. This movement towards the archive, he argues, 'not only affected the profession's epistemological assumptions and day-to-day working manners, but also changed the persona of the historian' because archival research required new virtues and character traits.[74] Paul demonstrates how a change in an occupation's priority or organisation resulted in a shift in the professional identity of practitioners, as the qualities necessary for performing the work and being recognised as an 'historian' changed. Indeed, it is striking that advertising practitioners first started to claim professional status when advertising agencies began to offer services beyond the sale of newspaper space. This raises questions about how the introduction of specialisations in advertising – such as market research and commercial television – affected how professional identity was understood. Paul's focus on the practitioner and subjective nature of doing work captures the all-encompassing nature of professionalism, which is not acknowledged in historical studies of advertising. While advertising practitioners did not generate new knowledge and interpretations, as Paul's historians did, they were intimately connected with the creation and management of cultural artefacts that played an increasing role in the way that consumer society functioned. Understanding how and why the character traits, virtues and values that

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professional art practice in interwar Britain' in Karen Brown (ed.), *Women's contributions to visual culture, 1918-1939* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 139-156.

[74] Herman Paul, 'The heroic study of records: the contested persona of the archival historian', *History of the Human Sciences*, 26, 4 (2013), p. 67; see also Pieter Huistra, 'The trial of Henry of Brederode: Historians, sources and location under discussion in 19th century historiography', *History of the Human Sciences*, 26, 4 (2013), pp. 50-66.

advertising practitioners prioritised changed helps to account for developments in British consumer society from 1920 to 1954.

In a similar vein, a current research project at the University of Leuven on 'Scientific Personae in Cultural Encounters in twentieth century Europe (1920-1970)' is exploring how professional identity in young experimental scientists was fostered through travel and exchange.[75] The project takes 'scientific personae' to mean the way in which science is embodied and performed by practitioners in a convincing manner, and in doing so it draws on Paul's idea that first, professional practice is tightly bound to the sense of self and to 'being', and second, that changes in performance can alter the meaning of professionalism. Rather than exploring how knowledge was transferred, the project seeks to understand how travel promoted new ways of professional practice and new ways of being a scientist. Like Paul's work, the significance of the project lies in its implications for scientific epistemology and knowledge production. More significant to this thesis, however, is the idea that professional identity can be transformed by travel. During the period 1920-1954, advertising was an occupation made up of international agencies and institutions with global connections, and the British advertising industry operated both in Britain and across the Empire. Current research has focused on the influence of American advertising agencies in Britain, but the question of the effect of travel and cultural exchange abroad on British professional identity has not been explored; chapter 5 attempts to address it.

These studies also raise important questions about the location of professional identity formation. Indeed, one of the themes developed in this thesis, and addressed specifically in chapter 2, is how practitioners used different locations within advertising to support and shape ideas of professional identity. Paul regards the archive as the vital place for historians' formation of identity, since this was primarily where the act of doing historical research was performed. In the field of accountancy history, which is dominated by studies of professional regulation and accountancy institutions, David Cooper and Keith Robson emphasise instead the role played by the firm in defining and policing the terms of professional conduct in the office on a day to day basis.[76]

[75] Kirsti Niskananen, 'Scientfic personae in cultural encounters', paper presented at the European Social Sciences History Conference, Vienna, 2014.

[76] David Cooper, and Keith Robson, 'Accounting, professions and regulation: locating the sites of professionalisation', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 31 (2006), pp. 415-444.

With regard to advertising agencies in the 1990s, Nixon demonstrates how the occupational work culture of the agency office affected the 'values, subjective dispositions and attributes' that 'animate working lives'.[77] Nixon's work about near-contemporary advertising practitioners, their work places and identities, was part of a trend in cultural studies in the early 2000s, which saw research focus shift away from the meanings of advertisements – and the power that they may or may not yield in society – to the conditions under which these 'cultural texts' were produced and infused with meaning.[78] Bourdieu's idea of 'cultural intermediaries', that is, 'a group of workers involved in the provision of symbolic goods and services' was particularly influential in this work, which sought to discern how the identities of workers affected the cultural artefacts that they created.[79] The interaction of professional identity and practice is fundamental to this thesis. However, practice is understood as part of the way that professional identity is expressed; the effect of practice on cultural artefacts is not relevant to the research questions. As a result, this research is specifically situated in the historical context of Britain 1920-1954, when advertising practitioners first started referring to themselves as 'professionals', with a focus on people particular to this time. Advertising campaigns produced during this period are not the focus of this thesis.

Sources and methodologies

Professional identity is, ultimately, subjective. Therefore, while this thesis relies on primary sources in which professional identity was written about and institutionalised explicitly – such as the IIPA's code of practice – it also considers how practitioners revealed their professional identity through the ways that they spoke and wrote about their work, the practices of their organisations, clubs and firms, and the ways that they promoted themselves and their services. To do so, the thesis draws on three main bodies of primary sources: institutional materials, the newspapers of the industry, and the archives of advertising agencies.

[77] Nixon, *Advertising Cultures*, p. 6.
[78] William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising* (New York, 1986); Robert Goldman, *Reading Ads Socially* (1992).
[79] Pierre Bourdieu, summarised in Sean Nixon and Paul du Gay, 'Who needs cultural intermediaries?', *Cultural Studies*, 16 (2002), p. 496.

Institutional source material plays a significant role because, as already suggested, change is easier to discern in institutional action rather than in personal testimony, since institutions leave a more comprehensive archive trail of their purposes and actions. Papers of institutions cannot reconstruct subjective lived experience in the way that memoirs are able to, but they do gesture towards the topical issues, concerns and worries that relate to the majority of practitioners. In particular, this thesis relies on the surviving minutes of the Executive Council of the AA, the IIPA's Executive Council, Professional Purposes Committee, and Education Committee, and the Women's Advertising Club of London's (WACL) Executive Committee, which are found in the History of Advertising Trust Archive (HAT). Although elite organisations, these committees were the bodies that dictated where the boundaries of professional identity were formed and decided the virtues of professional identity in advertising through, variously, their codes of conduct, membership criteria, and examination syllabi. Their vigilance committees praised or condemned practitioner behaviour, thus setting standards for professional practice. They sponsored events and gatherings, such as dinners, talks and conventions, where professional purpose was discussed. Moreover, through these activities, these institutions gave legitimacy to practitioners, which bolstered their status in professional society.

Many of the activities of organised advertising were reported in the journals of the advertising industry. These were primarily the *Advertising World* and *Advertiser's Weekly,* which were widely circulated and well-read in advertising; contemporaries recognised them as an important source of news and opinion. The trade press was significant in creating and nurturing an 'imagined community' of advertising practitioners and disseminating values.[80] On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Advertiser's Weekly,* Dorothy Cornforth, then president of WACL, wrote,

> As the *Advertiser' Weekly* you weld together a world of people who are very busy. Without your weekly chronicling of the doings, views, and achievement of this advertising business, what time would there be for any of us to hear of and to appreciate the work that is done? This is a moment when you will have cause to feel how grateful we really are.[81]

The trade press should be approached with some caution, however, since the people expressing views within it were trained in the art of persuasion. It is necessary to be

[80] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983).
[81] 'Women's Advertising Club sends congratulations', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 28 April 1938, p. 135.

attentive to what practitioners were saying, what they mean, and what their motives and the significance of their arguments are. Nevertheless, the papers provide insight into the newsworthy happenings of the industry. Debates about advertising theory and practice can be followed through the letters page, as well as in the editorial columns. Headlines suggest what practitioners felt were the important stories of the day – which can be cross referenced with other contemporary newspapers – while the 'We Hear' and 'Mainly Personal' columns offer glimpses of the 'gossip', characters and personalities of the industry. The Press is a rich source of snippets of information about people and places of advertising that no longer exist in individual agencies or institutional archives. It also represents an important source for tracing the changing content of the annual advertising convention, which was a significant place for the performance and negotiation of professional identity by advertising practitioners. The trade press contains agency adverts, which suggest how individual firms situated their individual corporate values and purpose within the wider sense of professionalism that was shared by the industry as a whole.

The Christmas editions of *Advertiser's Weekly* are particularly useful for getting a sense of the industry, since they present a satire showing what practitioners felt they could say and present behind the cover of humour. As Jonathan Waterlow argues in the context of the Soviet Union, humour is part of 'a complex process of engagement, assessment and eventual adaption' of values.[82] Sharing humour assumed a base of common knowledge and created bonds between those who participated in it. While the advertising industry was not a state dictatorship, it seems, nevertheless, that humour functioned in a similar manner in that it allowed opportunities for practitioners to 'exercise their critical and interpretational faculties' while accepting and adapting to the practices and values laid down by the industry.[83] The Christmas editions, therefore, offer a rare insight into how practitioners publically expressed discontent with particular aspects of the industry, such as nepotism and the figure of the unreasonable client.

This thesis also draws on archival material from advertising agencies. This evidence, including photographs, floor plans, office memoranda, office magazines, and practitioner memoirs, points to the configuration of everyday life in the office. This was another significant place where professional identities were taught and enacted. Advertising agency

[82] Jonathan Waterlow, 'Intimating Trust: popular humour in Stalin's 1930s', *Cultural and Social History*, 10 (2013), p. 211.
[83] Ibid.

archives tend to be are more diverse and eclectic than institutional collections because of the range of work undertaken and haphazard archival practices. The JWT archive in Duke is the most complete and accessible, and as a result many histories of advertising agencies are based on research conducted there. The size and international scope of JWT, however, makes it an anomaly among the advertising firms that operated from 1920 to 1954. Consequently, focus on JWT alone results in a skewed idea of the advertising industry at that time. The History of Advertising Archive offers small amounts of archival material from other agencies active in the first half of the twentieth century, including T. B. Browne, Mather & Crowther, Frederick Cooper, and Samson Clark.

Further sources have also been used. Biographies and memoirs give insight into how professional identity was formed and performed at the level of the advertising agency. G. H. Saxon Mill's *There is a Tide* chronicles the history of W. S. Crawford's and William Crawford's involvement in the Empire Marketing Board, while Len Sharpe's, *The Lintas Story,* and Stanley Pigott's *OMB* tell the institutional histories of the agencies.[84] Similar to humour, fiction featuring advertising agencies written by contemporaries – most notably Dorothy Sayer's *Murder Must Advertise* – suggests the caricatures, gossip and common grievances that practitioners held in common, and which oiled the day to day operation of the agency office.[85]

The thesis is structured thematically with chronology running through each chapter, in order to emphasise the multiplicity of elements within professional identity, and to move emphasis away from a standard narrative of professionalization. By structuring each chapter itself chronologically, the thesis traces the change and continuities that shaped particular aspects professional identity. The thesis has three main dimensions. First, it examines the advertising industry's changing professional narrative – the stories told by the advertising industry's clubs, professional bodies and institutions about the power and purpose of advertising – by considering how advertising practitioners described their occupation, and the ways in which professionalism was experienced and enacted in the different contexts of the advertising agency. Second, taking the development of advertising institutions and education programmes, it explores the means by which young people and

[84] G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954); Stanley Pigott, *OBM: A celebration, one hundred and twenty-five years in Advertising* (1975).
[85] Dorothy L. Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise* (1933). See also C. S. Forester, *Plain Murder* (1930); Roger Longrigg, *A High Pitched Buzz* (1956); Basil D. Nicholson, *Business is Business* (1933).

women presented themselves as practitioners. Third it demonstrates the effect of connections with the global advertising industry and imperial markets on the formation of a professional identity in British advertising from 1920 to 1954.

Chapter 1 begins by exploring the changing ways that advertising practitioners publicly described the social and economic purpose of advertising, while simultaneously putting measures in place to ensure that business and government interests regarded them as experts able to undertake advertising appropriately and responsibly. It argues that the professional identity of advertising practitioners was underpinned by their understanding of the social and economic purpose of advertising, and therefore, it is important to examine how practitioners constructed the role of advertising in society. The speeches at the AA's annual advertising convention form a significant body of evidence, as it was here that advertising practitioners expressed their understanding of professional purpose to colleagues in the industry and, through newspaper coverage, wider society. The minutes of the AA's Executive Committee and the IIPA's PPC are also important, as they reveal how practitioner behaviour was regulated and codified in order to ensure that conduct was appropriate for the task of advertising.

Chapter 2 turns attention to the environment of the advertising agency office, where professional identity was taught and adapted on a day-to-day level. The messiness and multiplicity of life in a professional occupation is apparent, as are the many different attributes, or 'cultural scripts', that make up a professional identity in advertising. The chapter starts by examining the buildings in which agencies were housed, before turning attention to how the community that inhabited them in the interwar years sustained practitioners during the Second World War, and helped in the transition to the reconstruction period that followed. In doing so, the chapter explores how the values and cultures of particular advertising firms interacted with the professional identity institutionalised by the bodies of organised advertising (specifically the AA and the IIPA) across the period.

Having established the advertising industry's professional ideals and how they played out within the advertising agency setting, chapters 3 and 4 explore the mechanisms by which youth and women sought to present themselves as advertising practitioners. A focus on youth, who represented the future of the industry, allows analysis of the traits that advertising looked for in new recruits. Moreover, advertising's education programmes give

insight into the type of knowledge and skill that advertising practitioners were expected to possess, and on which their status as experts was based. Chapter 4, meanwhile, examines how the elite members of the Women's Advertising Club of London adopted professional identity in order to contribute to advertising's development as a profession and move beyond the limitations placed on them by their male colleagues.

Chapter 5 places the British industry in the international context. It argues that professional identity in British advertising was shaped by admiration of American methods and desire for friendship and recognition from American colleagues. In the interwar period, knowledge of favourable Empire markets gave British practitioners confidence to relate to their American counterparts as equals. Meanwhile, after the Second World War, British practitioners pointed to the common purpose of advertising in upholding the democratic values of the USA and the Great Britain. The chapter traces how British practitioners came into contact with the American industry, through international travel, attendance of conventions and the presence of American advertising agencies in Britain. In doing so they observed other ways of being a practitioner, and other ways of doing advertising.

1: The Professional Narrative of Organised Advertising

> 'There have been the Stone Age, the Iron Age, the steam age, the electrical age, and now we inaugurate, with the great Exhibition, the Advertising age.'
>
> *Advertiser's Weekly*.[1]

Professions, argues Harold Perkin, 'live by persuasion and propaganda, by claiming that their particular service is indispensable to the client or employer and to society and the state. By this means they hope to raise their status, and through it their income, authority and psychic rewards (deference and self-respect)'.[2] In a particularly bombastic statement, *Advertiser's Weekly* in 1920 claimed that advertising was not only indispensable to society, but that society was entering an age in which advertising would be the defining feature. As aspiring professionals in the field of communication, it is unsurprising that advertising practitioners were especially vocal in trying to persuade the public, manufacturers, and the government of the importance of their occupation: no other profession held conventions, exhibitions and conferences to such a degree, or dedicated such work to radio broadcast debates and educational outreach.[3]

The vigour of advertising practitioners' professional narrative – the stories told by the advertising industry's clubs, professional bodies and institutions about the power and purpose of advertising – was necessary to counter the enduring and damaging perception of advertising as an unnecessary nuisance, or, more seriously, as dishonest and manipulative. This view was held by some academics, such as Albert Baster (a lecturer in economics) and the Leavises (English specialists), social commentators, notably George

[1] 'Trust Advertising – are we at the dawn of a new age?', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 30 November 1920, p. 9.
[2] Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (1989), p. 6.
[3] While the *Times* had annual coverage of advertising conventions, there is only coverage of engineers meeting in 1928, 1936 and 1938, and accountants in 1929 and 1938. Brodie H. Henderson, 'World Engineering Congress', *Times,* 22 December 1928, p. 11; 'Science As An Aid To Peace,' *Times,* 26 June 1936, p. 18; Our Correspondent, 'Engineering and The Future', *Times,* 22 June 1938, p. 11; 'Institute Of Chartered Accountants,' *Times,* 2 May 1929, p. 25; 'Accountancy Congress In Berlin', *Times,* 22 September 1938, p. 17. See, 'We hear', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 27 April 1933.

Orwell, and by a group of cultural elites including John Reith.[4] The Society for Controlling the Abuses of Public Advertising (SCAPA), which Nevett describes as 'a minority, upper middle-class movement', was set up in 1893 to campaign against the volume of signs and hoardings that it believed spoilt the rural and urban environment; its work ceased in 1948 after the Control of Advertisements Regulations Act was passed.[5] However, as Sean Nixon observes, critics continued to point to the frivolity of advertising in the 1960s.[6]

This chapter argues that the 'persuasion and propaganda' inherent in the industry's public claims of service to the nation were fundamental to practitioners' professional identity, and that this public narrative informed the way that the virtues and behaviour of practitioners were defined and codified in private committee meetings.[7] First, the chapter analyses and accounts for the changing ways in which representatives of organised advertising presented publicly the social, economic and political role of advertising from 1920 to 1939. Second, in light of the public narrative, the chapter examines the private debates of the Incorporated Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IIPA)'s Professional Purposes Committee (PPC), about how an advertising practitioner should behave. Third, it turns attention to the ways in which organised advertising adapted its professional narrative to meet wartime conditions, before finally considering how the narrative was shaped in response to austerity in post-war Britain.

The Advertising Association's (AA) convention, which ran annually from 1925 until 1953, was recognised by the industry as an important platform for disseminating organised advertising's professional narrative: Harold Vernon, then vice-president of the AA, remarked in 1927 that 'our past Conventions, consciously or unconsciously have had as their chief aim the final establishment of advertising as a profession – a recognised, and honoured profession.'[8] Keynote speeches suggest practitioners' ability to present advertising as a positive solution to the nation's changing economic and political needs.

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[4] Albert J. Baster, *Advertising reconsidered: a confession of misgiving* (1935); Joan Robinson, *The economics of imperfect competition* (1933); Dorothea Braithwaite, 'The economic effects of advertisement', *Economic Journal*, 38 (1928), pp. 16-37; *Economist*, 14 September 1929, p. 466; ibid., 21 September 1929, p. 508; George Orwell, *Keep the Aspidistra flying* (1934, 1988 edn), pp. 57-61.

[5] T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain* (1982), p. 117.

[6] Sean Nixon, '"Salesmen of the will to want": Advertising and its Critics in Britain 1951-1967', *Contemporary British History*, 24 (2010), p. 213-233.

[7] Perkin, *Professional Society*, p. 6.

[8] Harold Vernon, 'What past conventions have accomplished', *Advertising World*, February 1927, p. 500.

Variously, speakers demonstrated advertising's contribution to the wealth and prestige of Britain by pointing to how it improved distribution, fostered growth in markets both at home and abroad, educated consumers and, in doing so, acted as a powerful stimulant to the British economy.[9] Exhibitions, which were held alongside conventions in 1927 and 1933, demonstrated the artistic merit and commercial ingenuity of advertising. Given that convention delegates were drawn from across the advertising industry in its broadest sense – including advertising agents, newspapers, retailers, manufacturers and potential advertisers – and that speeches received coverage in both the trade and national press, there was a considerable potential public audience for such claims. Speeches aimed to convince sceptical businessmen to advertise, assure clients that their investment was sound, affirm the calling of those who delivered it, and integrate new practitioners into the ideals of advertising.

The convention setting gave further weight to advertising's professional claims. Networking was an important element of the convention: the editor of *Advertiser's Weekly* observed in 1939 that 'much of the good work of a Convention is through personal contact'.[10] Lavish hospitality and civic engagement gave practitioners a platform to behave as respectable professionals, as they argued the case for the significance of their occupation. This was especially true of the seven conventions organised concurrently with trade fairs or exhibitions.[11] T. J. Boussieu and Abigail Markwyn describe these events as 'important sites for the display of innovative technologies associated with progress, modernity and material prosperity', and as significant 'forums for the articulation of social

[9] For instance, 'The quest for markets: what the Advertising Convention may do for the North East Coast and the Traders of the World', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 14 June 1929, p. 456; 'Best opening session yet: famous speaker cover problems of the Empire market in frank and critical fashion', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 27 June 1930, p. 480; 'Lord Southwood will give prosperity lead to Convention: More than 1,000 delegates assemble in Glasgow', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 23 June 1938, p. 439; J.B. Nicholas 'Creative Advertising and Britain's recovery', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 22 May 1947, p. 350.

[10] 'The Convention: first reactions', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 June 1939, p. 412.

[11] 1924 The Empire Exhibition, Wembley; 1927 The Advertising Exhibition, Olympia; 1929 the North East Coast Exhibition, Newcastle, 1933 The Empire Advertising Exhibition, Olympia; 1938 The Empire Exhibition, Glasgow; 1951 The Festival of Britain; The AA was not the only organisation to pair conference with exhibition. The International Council of Women (ICW) also organised conferences in conjunction with exhibitions in Chicago (1983), Brussels (1897), Paris (1900) and Wembley (1924). Anne Clendinning, 'International Peace Activism at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition' in T. J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (eds.) *Gendering the Fair* (Chicago, 2010), p. 114. The Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Congress and the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers Association also held conferences concurrent to the Empire Exhibition, 'Many Conferences', *Times*, 23 April 1924, p. xxii.

and political change'.[12] Through the pairing of advertising conventions with international exhibitions, convention organisers made powerful claims about advertising's position at the intersection between science and technology, communication, commerce and distribution, and international relations. The rhetoric espoused by practitioners at conventions was supported by the larger experience of the convention.

While the industry was united in its broad articulation of the national importance of advertising, the practice of those who would create and deliver advertising was privately and vigorously contested. Some of this debate took place at conventions themselves: smaller sessions enabled the different 'departments' within advertising – advertising agents, alongside direct mail advertising, film advertising, newspaper managers, and sales managers – to assess and develop their practice by discussing particular concerns within their sub-fields.[13] The agendas for these sessions were set by the clubs and professional bodies of advertising, (among them the Publicity Club, the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers and the Institute of British Sales Managers), linking the annual convention with the daily operation of organised advertising. The IIPA, specifically its PPC, was central in determining and regulating the professional conduct of advertising practitioners. Philip Benson remarked at the IIPA's AGM in 1928 that 'the success of the Institute in establishing Advertising as a profession depends largely upon the work of the Professional Purposes Committee'.[14] Benson recognised the importance of regulated behaviour and educational standards – the remit of the PPC – in securing external recognition of professional status. The private minutes of this committee provide insight into how appropriate professional behaviour was formulated by leading advertising practitioners. From these sources emerges an occupation attempting to balance the business acumen necessary for running agencies successfully, with the professional ideals of service and expertise.

At the heart of this chapter, then, is the question as to how organised advertising defined advertising and, simultaneously, the professional identity of its practitioners. What was advertising's 'official' professional narrative? Who created it, and how? Did its emphasis

[12] T. J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, 'World's Fairs in feminist historical perspective' in T. J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (eds.) *Gendering the Fair* (Chicago, 2010), p. 2.
[13] Duke University, David M Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library (hereafter Duke), Charles W. Hoyt Company Records, Box 1, 'Official Programme of the 20th International Advertising Convention, London 1924'.
[14] HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 2, June 1928, p. 3.

change from 1920 to 1954? If so, how did it change, and why? What claims to service did organised advertising make? How, and by whom, should this service be conducted? These questions matter because they establish the aspirations that leaders of the industry held for professionalism. In order to understand how advertising practitioners – men and women, youth, and those with experience – formulated a professional identity, it is necessary to appreciate the official ideals that they sought to integrate into or to reject. By seeking to understand what 'professional' meant in the context of the advertising industry, according to those who set the industry's agenda, this chapter establishes and accounts for changing ideals of organised advertising.

The public purpose of Advertising: Conventions, exhibitions and public recognition, 1920 -1939

The 1920 International Advertising Exhibition was the first large-scale project that organised advertising, led by the Thirty Club, undertook to raise advertising's profile following the First World War. The *Times* described it as the 'first comprehensive attempt to illustrate to the public the national value of the modern and many sided science of advertising'.[15] From 29 November to 4 December, 261,000 people streamed through the gates at White City, Shepherd's Bush to be entertained by pageants, a grand 'lucky dip' competition, and to see stands of 29 newspaper companies, 47 book and periodical publishers, 31 advertising agents, 22 printers, 9 studios, and 180 'national advertisers and business efficiency firms'.[16] An accompanying lecture series, including talks on 'the basic principles of successful advertising' and 'the value and functions of the Advertising Agent', gave manufacturers considering the use of advertising and interested members of the public further opportunity to learn about advertising.[17] The Exhibition was attended by the King and Queen, who visited with Queen Alexandra, Princess Mary, the King and Queen of Denmark and the Queen of Norway. The *Daily Mail* reported that 'like the many thousands who have visited the Exhibition during the week, the royal visitors found something irresistible about this monster collection of ideas which first catch the eye, then

[15] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times*, 30 November 1920, p. 9.
[16] '£10,000 Lucky Dips', *Daily Mail*, 19 November 1920, p. 5; 'End of Advertising Exhibition', *Times*, 6 December 1920, p. 7; 'A Wonderful Success', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 3 December 1920, p. 360.
[17] 'Evening Talks', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 26 November 1920, p. 271.

amuse, and finally drive home a lesson'. [18] In other words, exhibition organisers used textbook advertising theory to draw in and entertain visitors, before presenting them with persuasive arguments about the potential of advertising in modern life.[19]

The most prominent message running through the Exhibition was that advertising was a 'vital factor' underpinning everyday life.[20] The simplicity of this claim suggests the novelty of advertising in the early 1920s: organisers believed that the public was not aware of the social and economic benefits that advertising could bring. Having looked around the exhibition, Lady Rhondda, editor of *Time and Tide*, remarked that 'there is not one of us… who is not touched by Advertising, in one form or another. We all either advertise ourselves, or use advertisements almost every day of our lives.'[21] Here, Rhondda described the public as active, discerning participants in advertising, who intelligently used the information contained within advertisements as a guide for shopping or as educational material for new, better, ways of living. *Advertiser's Weekly* reinforced the message of the Exhibition: 'as we look around the various sections', their correspondent observed, 'it is forced upon us as never before how largely advertising enters into our daily life. We are advertised into new habits and ideas, into acceptance of new conditions, into the acquisition of new comforts'.[22] Although the consumer was cast in a more passive role (*Advertiser's Weekly* addressed a predominately trade audience), the prevalence of advertising in day-to-day life was emphasised. Significantly, advertising was presented as instrumental in social change: it was *active* in shaping everyday behaviour and habits. A prospective manufacturer made this connection explicitly: 'Advertising is inevitable if progress is to continue; that is the final thought forced on me by the exhibition'.[23]

The exhibition format lent itself to show-casing advertising's artistic merit, the second major element of advertising's professional narrative presented in 1920. In addition to the 'brightly coloured' exhibitors' stands, the 'Poster Academy' displayed the work of 'the younger generation of poster artists', which the Queen deemed was 'beautiful enough for

[18] 'Pride in British Advertising', *Daily Mail*, 4 December 1920, p. 5.
[19] See for example, Thomas Russell, *Commercial Advertising* (1919, 1926 edn).
[20] 'Lady Rhondda looks around' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 December 1920, p. 362.
[21] Ibid.
[22] 'Trust Advertising – are we at the dawn of a new age?', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 30 November 1920.
[23] 'The Sceptic climbs down', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 3 December 1920, p. 372.

an art gallery'.[24] As the 'younger generation', these artists represented the bright, progressive future of advertising's aesthetic. In mounting such a display, the organisers directly confronted critics, such as SCAPA, who claimed that advertising spoilt the countryside. The *Times'* correspondent asserted that 'the exhibition is a proof of the fact that good advertising can never be offensive'.[25] The argument that advertising provided art for the masses was not new; famously Thomas J. Barratt, the advertising manager of Pear's Soap, used John Millais' 1885 'Bubbles' as the basis for an advertising poster. Yet, with the expansion of the franchise in 1918, the role of advertising in supplying men and women of all classes with art and culture was given new significance. As D. L. LeMahieu suggests, advertising artwork – along with newspaper typography and popular radio – played a role in creating a 'common culture' in Britain, which mediated between the 'highbrow' cultures of elites, and 'lowbrow' mass culture.[26] The aesthetics of advertisements became an important component of practitioners' professional narrative of service, as they claimed to make art freely available and accessible to all. Bill posters were also highly regarded as examples of successful advertisements. However, good design meant more than beauty. Advertisements ultimately had to persuade. The *Times* quoted Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labour, as stating that 'No one could fail to be impressed when these examples of advertising art were before him, *with the benefits of publicity*. He regarded the exhibition as one of the greatest possible service to the commerce of the country'. [27]

'Commerce' – the manufacturers, businessmen, and retailers who commissioned advertising campaigns – was the second audience of the exhibition. The exhibition 'assemble[d] in one place the various branches of the profession so that traders and others would have easy access to the experts in the particular branch necessary for their business'.[28] The aim was to persuade manufacturers to advertise, by making relevant practitioners readily available to suggest how advertising could benefit individual businesses. A major difficulty facing the advertising industry was demonstrating the financial results of advertising. Advertising was presented as 'the electricity of trade', the

[24] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 1 December 1920, p. 5; 'Pride in British Advertising', *Daily Mail,* 4 December 1920, p. 5.
[25] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 1 December 1920, p. 5.
[26] D. L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 154-170.
[27] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 30 November 1920, p. 9. Emphasis added.
[28] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 1 December 1920, p. 5.

force that generated and sustained business.[29] Since the turn of the twentieth century, advertising practitioners had drawn on scientific language to describe their work, as such language connected advertising to scientific fact and progress.[30] The allusion to the mysterious and invisible workings of electricity was a particularly useful metaphor because practitioners avoided accounting for how money spent on advertising directly produced results. While advertisers in the 1920s developed 'keying' techniques in mail order advertisements (which allowed them to track which adverts elicited a positive response from consumers), it was impossible to demonstrate detailed correlation between advertising allocation and profit prior to accurate newspaper circulation figures and market research.[31] This inability to predict results accurately was used by the detractors of advertising as evidence that it was little more than a gamble. Instead, the advertising agent Samson Clark justified the cost of advertising by focusing on its role in sustaining goodwill: 'in many cases of widely-advertised articles, the names of which are "household words" there is an association of good feeling and of confidence with the public that no money could buy'.[32] The organisers of the Exhibition aimed to make clear to manufacturers the consequences of not using advertising: 'Today, the firm which fails to make its goods known to the public is handicapped in a ruinous manner. The completeness of the exhibition will do much to drive this home.' [33]

The Exhibition's presentation of advertising as a progressive social force, supporting liberal democratic culture and fundamental to modern business, was made more convincing because practitioners from across the different sections of the industry worked co-operatively 'as hard for the good of all as for the profit of each'.[34] By working collaboratively, organised advertising presented advertising as a 'good cause' that deserved

[29] This was a popular metaphor in the early twentieth century. For instance, E. S. Hole, an author and advertisement manager, used the effect of a booster on voltage ('brought about in an inexplicable manner') to explain how a business can be 'boosted out of all proportion to the actual advertising expenditure' in E. S. Hole and John Hart, *Advertising and Progress* (1914), p. 40. F. A. Wilson-Lawrenson, 'On to London', *Advertising World Special Supplement: On the British Market*, January 1923, p. vi.

[30] For instance, Northcliffe, 'The science of advertising', *Times*, 30 June 1911, p. 7; Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising* (1909); Ibid., *The Theory and Practice of advertising* (1907). The early twentieth century was the context of Marx's scientific political and economic theories, and was when H. G. Wells' popular science fiction works brought science to the arts.

[31] Russell, *Commercial Advertising*, p. 223.

[32] Henry Samson Clark, 'Ten days to go', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 19 November 1920, p. 244.

[33] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times*, 30 November 1920, p. 9.

[34] Samson Clark, 'Ten days to go', p. 244.

'altruistic' study, so that the public, manufacturers, the state, and the nation could all gain from its manifold benefits. Practitioners cast themselves as the experts to undertake this service. Equally, commentators recognised that the Exhibition demonstrated that 'advertising can use its weapons for its own behalf – that men who preach advertising practice it'.[35] From press advertising in the run up to the event and the lucky dip to draw people in, to the presentation of advertising's best-selling points, the exhibition used the most up-to-date advertising techniques of the day. By showcasing their own techniques, the exhibition organisers demonstrated that they believed in their own rhetoric, and that their rhetoric worked.

Newspaper coverage, both trade and national press, was overwhelmingly positive about the Exhibition. Both the *Times* and *Advertiser's Weekly* reported a case of a 'convert' who placed an 'order for advertising space costing £10,000', indicating that the persuasion and propaganda of the industry generated some success. [36] Indeed, 'convert' suggests a transition to a new paradigm or belief system, reinforcing the idea of advertising as a new and better way of conducting business. Another 'convert' was 'a manufacturer who had decided to extend his business by mass production, but could see no way of creating a demand for his products without publicity'.[37] *Advertiser's Weekly* ran an article 'The Sceptic Climbs Down', in which a businessman, Ferdinand Haliday, described how the exhibition had convinced him of the merits of advertising.[38] This enthusiasm for the exhibition by the press is unsurprising: while editorial and advertising content were distinct, newspapers relied heavily on advertising revenue for their income. It was in the interest of the press to promote advertising. Nevertheless, the sheer numbers of visitors (c. 250,000) and amount of net takings (£44,000 on the penultimate day) would suggest that the exhibition was a success in generating interest in advertising.[39]

As part of their coverage, newspapers reported the comments of Sir Eric Geddes, the Unionist MP and Minister for Transport. Before his political career, Geddes had been a

[35] 'The Exhibition Organisers: a demonstration of efficiency and effectiveness and the power of co-operation and mutuality', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 10 December 1920.
[36] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 1 December 1920, p. 5; this anecdote also appeared in 'A Wonderful Success', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 December 1920, p. 360.
[37] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times,* 1 December 1920, p. 5.
[38] Ferdinand Haliday, 'The Sceptic climbs down: the man who did not believe in advertising now eats his words', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 December 1920, p. 372.
[39] 'Advertising Exhibition Closed', *Financial Times,* 6 December 1920; Leslie Harwood, 'A Wonderful Success', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 December 1920, p. 360.

businessman, and, when in office, he remained close to business interests. It is unsurprising that a government minister was at such an exhibition, given that it coincided with a very serious slump and a sharp deterioration in the economy. Speaking at a luncheon hosted by the Organising Committee, Geddes presented advertising as a means of economic revival:

> Advertising is vital to the success of the trade of the country. We are going through many months of difficulty in regard to trade, and for the serious side of propaganda British trade throughout the world is in your hands. You are the doctors. If they [manufacturers] will come to you they find their trouble will pass, their goods will sell, and employment will be increased, and that in the end it will be economical. I wish you great success in your new industry – an industry which has great power in this country.[40]

Geddes' speech demonstrates the importance of the multiple layers within the Exhibition's message: the message of individual financial gain for manufacturers who advertised was incorporated into the wider, and more palatable, narrative of the desire for a healthy national economy, which had the effect of dignifying the role of advertisers too. The Exhibition represented a move away from the presentation of advertising as solely the pursuit of profit, and marked the start of the positioning of advertising within a national framework of importance, which Geddes reflected by describing the industry as 'new'. Geddes placed advertising at the heart of Britain's post-war economic recovery. Moreover, by using the term 'propaganda', he gave advertising political significance, which was further emphasised by his acknowledgment of the power that advertising had in Britain. Despite the lack of advertising regulation in 1920, Geddes' medical metaphor offered assurance that the power of advertising was in expert hands, which were able to diagnose and cure economic malaise

Shortly after the White City exhibition, the Associated Advertising Clubs of America changed its name to the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World (AACW). The Thirty Club became AACW's first overseas members, and the founding members of the AACW's District 14.[41] This membership entitled the Club to invite the AAWC to hold their annual convention in Britain. The Thirty Club recognised that hosting such a convention would demonstrate to the British political and economic elite the international significance of advertising, and would make a fine follow-up to the 1920 exhibition. The AACW accepted

[40] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times*, 1 December 1920, p. 5.
[41] Michael Cudlipp, *The Thirty Club* (Raveningham, 1999), p. 26.

District 14's invitation, and British advertising's first convention opened on 14 July 1924. Over 2,000 delegates attended, and with nearly 1,000 delegates travelling from the USA and Canada alone, and many others from Australia, New Zealand, India, Europe (significantly, including Germany), China, and Japan, it was the first truly international advertising convention.[42] The international dimension of the Convention was emphasised further by it being held at Wembley to coincide with the Empire Exhibition, which showcased the global reach and diversity of Britain's Empire. Although imperial and colonial power were contrary to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, which strove for national sovereignty and independent economic freedoms, there is no evidence that American delegates were overly (or openly) critical of the Empire context of the exhibition.

The scale of the hospitality, which was extended from civic dignitaries as well as the British advertising industry, underpinned the Convention's message that advertising practitioners were forging international goodwill. Not only was friendship understood as vital for continued peace and the rehabilitation of national economies through trade, it was a powerful means of professional identity formation too. Conventions had the potential to be important places of professional development as practitioners learnt from each other and shared professional values, supported by the hospitality programme. They helped to create a sense of shared identity among those who attended and a sense of belonging to a wider community. Given the lack of evidence, it is difficult to assess the extent to which delegates cultivated individual friendships and kept in touch following the convention; nevertheless, the Women's Advertising Club of London, at least, noted the value of the contacts that they made with American advertising women.[43] Moreover, royal receptions and exclusive dinners and balls played an important role in legitimising the advertising industry. Through the extensive social programme, District 14 made a concerted effort to demonstrate advertising's prestige to both foreign delegates and Britain's political and economic elite. Fred Smith, an American delegate, described the extent of the social activities for delegates:

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[42] 'The Prince of Wales on Advertising', *Times*, 15 July 1924, p. 14; Eric Field, *Advertising: the forgotten years* (1959), p. 56.

[43] HAT, WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings and Notes of AGMs', 12 March 1924 and 16 November 1925. At an institutional level, Ethel Wood and Florence Sangster were tasked with maintaining contact with the Federation of Women's Clubs and with the women's representative of the AACW. See chapter 4, p. 180.

> From the Viscount Burnhan's dinner in the Hyde Park Hotel, to the Royal Albert Hall reception, to the dinners, luncheons, garden and theatre parties, to the special trains to Dublin, Ulster, Scotland and Paris, and on to the reception at Buckingham Palace by HRH King George, the Entertainment Committee literally outdid anything anyone had ever heard of before… I do not mention this as the most important item [of the convention], but as being a vital factor in those more significant results which followed.[44]

Smith recognised the central place of hospitality in forging professional identity. By encouraging an atmosphere of friendliness and collaboration between practitioners, the social events of the convention supported the ideal of unity that the speeches of the convention argued was necessary for advertising to achieve professional progress.

The Prince of Wales opened the Convention. Known for his modern ideas and appreciation of progressive thinking and technology, Prince Edward was an ideal figurehead for advertising. His opening speech described the 'general aim' of the convention as

> an effort to provide throughout the world a more free exchange of commodities at a lower cost of distribution. This would result in the elimination of unnecessary waste and a consequent reduction in prices and unemployment. If they [delegates] were to succeed they would go far towards solving some of the great social and economic problems with which the world was confronted today.[45]

As befitted an international convention, the speech presented the advertising industry as an international entity, operating collaboratively to solve economic and related social problems on a global scale. Of course, all parties involved in advertising – agents, manufacturers, press – would benefit from a healthy world economy, but by presenting their contribution as beneficial to 'the world' the Prince gave particular legitimacy to the advertising industry's self-image. This is similar to Perkin's observation that, '*all* social groupings of whatever kind claim a moral superiority to all their rivals, based on the belief that their particular contribution to society's well-being and survival is superior to all others'.[46]

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[44] Fred D. Smith, 'Impressions which abide', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 436.
[45] 'The Prince of Wales on Advertising', *Times*, 15 July 1924, p. 14; 'New Creed', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 392.
[46] Perkin, *Professional Society*, p. 353.

At the 1924 convention, speakers claimed that advertising could restore trade and reduce unemployment.[47] With global trade conditions in recession in 1924, following the slump of 1920, the idea that advertising could stimulate international trade in a virtuous upward cycle, if only manufacturers could be persuaded to engage in it, was woven throughout the Convention. Once trade was operating freely again, the argument went, unemployment would fall, since manufacturers could expand their production once more to meet demand from markets that had been stimulated by advertising. As the Prince noted, unemployment was a particular blight on post-war society, with many former service men struggling to find work on their return as world industries slumped. Although rates varied considerably across the UK and Europe, by 1924, it was estimated that 10% of British men were out of work.[48] It was thought that reducing the numbers of unemployed would lead to higher consumer spending power. Indeed, addressing the general session, Winston Churchill argued that the trade malaise was caused, not by 'foreign competition', but by a 'widespread decline in consuming power'. He asked 'how then to restore the consuming power where it had perished; how to stimulate it where it had languished; and expand it where it had shrunken? There was the task and there was the remedy we [delegates] should seek'.[49] Delegates came to regard advertising as an inevitable restorative economic force, which formed a core component of their professional narrative in subsequent years. For instance, presiding at a dinner for national advertisers, Viscount Leverhulme proposed a toast '"Advertising as a Force in international Trade" [and] jokingly said the man who wrote on the toast list was not an advertising man. Advertising was not 'a' force, but *the* only force'.[50]

For trade to flourish, leaders of advertising recognised that international peace was vital. They also recognised that demands for peace sold more newspapers than the economic intricacies of effective distribution. Internationalism was the *zeitgeist* and the advertising industry understood how to attract an audience. Therefore, it was with calls for peace, rather than for trade, that the international conference culminated. Lou Holland, the

[47] 'Some straight talking at National Advertiser's Dinner: Lord Leverhulme says, "Advertising the only force in International trade" – why advertisers must get around the conference table – witty, but forceful speeches by British and American Business leaders', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 July 1924.
[48] Timothy J. Hatton, 'Unemployment and the labour market, 1870 – 1939' in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain vol II: Economic Maturity, 1860 – 1939* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 348.
[49] 'The Advertising Convention', *Times*, 18 July 1924, p. 5.
[50] 'Some straight talking at National Advertiser's Dinner', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 July 1924.

president of the AACW, read the convention resolutions to the 2,000 delegates gathered, which condemned war as 'futile and unnecessary' and called for intense efforts to promote peace-making, friendship and brotherhood.[51]

More significantly for the development of the British advertising industry itself, alongside resolutions for peace the closing ceremony included the public acceptance by delegates of a 'Creed for Advertising'. Echoing the medical profession's Hippocratic Oath, the Creed proclaimed to the general public the professional ideals that the international industry sought to observe on a daily basis, in order that advertising might realise its potential in sustaining international trade and peace.

1. To dedicate our efforts to the cause of better business and social service.
2. To seek the truth and live to it.
3. To tell the advertising story simply and without exaggeration, and to avoid even a tendency to mislead.
4. To refrain from unfair competitive criticism.
5. To promote a better international understanding based upon recognition of our mutual responsibilities and our inter-dependence.
6. To conserve for ourselves and for posterity ideals of conduct and standards of advertising practice born of the belief that truthful advertising builds both character and good business.[52]

In pledging these points in the public context of the convention, advertising industries affiliated with the AACW described, affirmed, and accepted professional ideals in the context of the higher pursuit for international peace. The Creed represented a concerted effort by the convention organisers to articulate the values and ambitions of the international advertising industry, and to describe a base standard of professional practice. The points were drafted to reflect the goals and achievements of the international convention, which was centred on 'Truth in Advertising'. While it is significant that the organisers sought to codify practice (although there were no sanctions for digression), the creed was a remarkable publicity stunt to present advertising as an honest, upright occupation. At the very least, the international advertising community should be *seen* to have a creed.

[51] 'Convention Creed for Advertising Men' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 25 July 1924, p. 352.
[52] Ibid., pp. 352-3; 'The Advertising Convention' *Times*, 18 July 1924, p. 5.

Through the rhetoric of the creed, convention organisers presented the advertising industry as enabling 'better business,' the prosperity that this would bring, and through it, social service. Advertising was not conceived as a business itself, but rather as an auxiliary arm of expertise that would support it. Written aspirationally, the points reveal much about how the industry understood not only its ambitions, but also its contemporary weaknesses. The focus on truth suggests that advertising industries around the world struggled to maintain an image of integrity, both in the content of advertisements and in the conduct of practitioners. The AACW recognised that the future growth of advertising was dependent on the industry shedding its unscrupulous image. Accordingly, the Creed explicitly distanced advertising from fraudulent claims made by advertisers past and contemporary, and accusations made against its political cousin, propaganda. This public commitment to truth would allow advertising to retain its mystique, which was an important part of its allure. Indeed, it was the veiled nature of British propaganda in the First World War that led to the outcry against it during the interwar period.[53] By setting such standards on an international level, the advertising industry made an important stand on unity of professional ideals above individual commercial competition, and incorporated popular internationalism into advertising's professional narrative. The Creed demonstrated that British advertising practitioners had recognisable international counterparts; by 1924, then, advertising was an occupation that was taking shape on an international scale.

The Creed was proclaimed and signed at the Convention; but it was not forgotten once delegates left Wembley. All members of Publicity Club of London signed a 'handsome Morocco-bound volume', inscribed with 'the Standards of Practice' on 10 November 1924.[54] This indicates the role of the clubs in keeping the ideals of the Convention alive on a local basis, and allowing practitioners of all career stages to engage in the ideals of organised advertising.[55]

[53]Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime,* (1928); P. M. Taylor, 'Propaganda and the origins of the Second World War', in Robert W. D. Boyce and Joseph A. Maiolo (eds.), *The Origins of World War Two: the debate continues* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 342-59; J. Horne and A. Kramer, *German atrocities, 1914: a history of denial* (New Haven, 1991); N. Cull, *Selling War: the British propaganda campaign against American 'neutrality' in World War II* (Oxford, 1995).

[54] HAT, PUB1 'The history of the Publicity Club of London, vol. 1 1913-1953' (1953), p. 55.

[55] Some saw the Creed as useful and sound guidance. For instance, Anne Meerloo wrote, 'I think that the Convention has achieved a wonderful thing by its staunch advocacy of truth and two, at least of the resolutions passes at the closing session deserve it be inscribed and given a prominent place in every

Immediately after the Convention, practitioners were positive about the extent to which it had raised awareness among the business community of the potential of advertising. For instance, the advertising consultant Ella Thompson argued that, as a result of the Convention,

> business is taking a wider interest in advertising; merchant princes and other cautious business men have met us more than half way. Already some of them are seeking information on their own particular problems.[56]

Three years later, its effects were still felt. Harold Vernon reflected in 1927 that

> it was primarily through the Wembley Convention that the general public and the British manufacturer woke up to advertising – its influence, its present power and its future possibilities… Waiting for recognition may be dignified, but it is rarely successful. At Wembley we sought recognition and we achieved it; and with all I think we may flatter ourselves that we in no way imperilled our dignity. [57]

Whereas Vernon portrayed the established professions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – including law and medicine – as waiting for acknowledgment of their social status, he described how advertising practitioners in the twentieth century actively sought professional recognition.[58] Their pursuit of recognition showed the willingness of advertising practitioners to take social risks and break from tradition, in order to make the social progress they desired. By taking an active role in the representation of advertising, organised advertising showed itself to be moving in line with the fast-paced tempo of modernity; traditional social processes were sped up.[59] Vernon suggested that the Convention also drew the Government's attention to the importance of advertising, and put the 'stimulation of new trade and search for new markets' on the policy agenda. [60] As a result of the Convention, some £1,000,000 was allocated to government publicity, which

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advertising office': Anne Meerloo, 'My Impression of the Convention', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 446.

[56] Ella F. Thompson, 'My Impression of the Convention', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 440.

[57] Harold Vernon, 'What past conventions have accomplished', *Advertising World*, February 1927, p. 500.

[58] W. J. Reader, *Professional Men* (1966).

[59] For the ideas about modernity, see Marshall Berman, *All that is solid melts into air* (1983).

[60] Vernon, 'What past conventions have accomplished', *Advertising World*, February 1927, p. 500.

was followed by the creation of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB).[61] As chapter 5 examines, William Crawford's inclusion on the EMB was the first time that an advertising personality had been involved in Government policy making, and suggests that the Government recognised Crawford as a specialist with expertise in advertising and publicity.

Following the success of the 1924 Convention, District 14 resolved to hold an exclusively British gathering in order to maintain the profile of advertising. Vernon hoped that 'by focusing the attention of producers, distributors, and consumers upon the services of British advertising, the Convention will increase its value to every user by enhancing public appreciation of its power and prestige'.[62] 'Advertising: a public service' was chosen as the theme which would be 'a rallying point for our many diverse interests'.[63] This theme was necessarily broad in order to accommodate the multiple interests and specialisms of those gathered as part of organised advertising. Collective endeavour for national good worked to override direct competition between manufacturers who advertised, but who sought to promote the value of advertising without damaging their particular business interests. As a purely British event, the professional narrative expressed at the 1925 Convention shifted from advertising's role in facilitating international accord to its primary importance of stimulating British trade, although advertising's economic potential remained the central message of the Convention. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, the President of the Board of Trade, signalled the Broad's support of this idea by opening proceedings.[64]

Organisers hoped that 'the addresses decided upon [would] prove to manufacturers that we [advertising] can help them profitably to sell more British goods and services for the ultimate good of the British community'.[65] Based in Harrogate and near to important manufacturers in Leeds and Bradford, the 1925 convention enabled advertising agents, who were primarily based in London, to reach out to businesses that did not yet advertise.

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[61] See for example, Robert Self, 'Treasury Control and the Empire Marketing Board The Rise and Fall of Non-Tariff Preference in Britain, 1924-1933', *Twentieth Century British History,* 5 (1994), pp. 153-82; Scott Antony, *Public relations and the Making of Modern Britain* (Manchester, 2012).

[62] Harold Vernon, 'What Harrogate Means to British Advertising: an effective nation-wide advertisement of its power and prestige', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 July 1925, p. 8.

[63] Cecil Chisholm, 'Harrogate After-thoughts' *Advertiser's Weekly,* 17 July 1925.

[64] Vernon, 'What Harrogate Means to British Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 July 1925, p. 8.

[65] H. G. Saward, 'Give your support to the Programme Committee!' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 July 1925, p. 8.

In doing so, advertising practitioners challenged a notion that was at the heart of British manufacturing identity:

> The belief that the superior quality of British goods would sell them had been justified so long as Britain stood relatively alone in the field, but it was no longer warranted in view of the changed conditions. Advertising must be regarded as an investment, and not an expense.[66]

While British manufacturing had dominated world markets in the nineteenth century, the First World War ended the era of a liberal expanding global economy. [67] During the War, British firms turned their resources towards the war effort, and as a result, lost their market share as ignored foreign buyers took their custom elsewhere. The situation was made worse by Britain's return to the pre-war gold standard in 1925, which rendered British exports particularly expensive. Reacting to these unfolding conditions, organised advertising aimed to persuade sceptical manufacturers that in order to sell their goods in foreign markets, they had to convince overseas buyers of the worth of their products; reputation alone was no longer sufficient to generate sales. Advertising practitioners presented themselves as the communication experts who understood how best to respond to this changed economic environment: for instance, E. F. Lawson, the Chairman of District 14, argued that 'the scientific application of publicity could assist the great production trades of the country in this period of depression'.[68] By prescribing the 'scientific application' of publicity, Lawson shifted the focus away from methods of production towards innovative, fact-based means of distribution as a cure to economic malaise.

From 1929 to 1937, however, exports of manufactured goods declined by nearly 20% as a result of the world recession from October 1929.[69] By January 1933 the value of international trade was just one third of the level in January 1929. As a large exporter of manufactured goods, this contraction of world trade hit the British domestic economy particularly hard. Responding to these international economic difficulties, advertising conventions and exhibitions in the late 1920s and 1930s continued to argue that advertising

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[66] 'Advertisers in conference', *Times*, 8 July 1925, p. 18.

[67] C. Knick Harley 'Trade, 1870 – 1939: from globalisation to fragmentation' in Floud and Johnson (eds.) *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain II*, p. 161; Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation* (Oxford, 2008).

[68] 'Lt.-Col. E.F. Lawson's message to the *Advertiser's Weekly*' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 10 July 1925, p. 633.

[69] C. Knick Harley 'Trade, 1870-1939', p. 162.

could invigorate British trade by accompanying manufacturers into new markets, and by helping business exploit existing ones more effectively. In 1927 the theme of the convention was 'The advertising and marketing of British produce and manufactured goods', in 1929 'Quest for Markets', in 1930 'Importance of Market Study', in 1933 'Advertising and World Recovery', in 1934 'Trade Expansion', and in 1936, 'In Search of Markets'. While the 1933 exhibition showcased the good design of advertisements, it was their economic function that was central to advertising's professional narrative. As the *Times* reported, the purpose of the 1933 Convention was

> to pool the best thought of 1933 and to concentrate it on the problems of the day… The whole aim of the exhibition and convention was to facilitate the process of preparation, to revive confidence, and to stimulate the trade of Great Britain with the Dominions and Colonies, and the rest of the world.[70]

Yet while the theme of stimulating trade remained relevant as international free trade deteriorated into tariffs and protectionism, its repetitive nature discouraged innovation. Advertising's professional narrative at conventions grew stale; the convention was no longer the place of ground-breaking ideas or inspiring idealism. As early as 1930, *Advertising World* complained about the increasing propensity of speakers to be reticent, and reliant on past successes:

> The tendency of speakers at Advertising Conventions is to be excessively wary. They will not tell us much; perhaps they felt it unwise to give away any new ideas they may have conceived since last convention. We sympathise with this attitude; plagiarism is not unknown in advertising. Therefore we do not protest too vigorously about the lack of new ideas. But we do suggest to quite a number of speakers that they should endeavour to think in terms of progress rather than in terms of retrospect.[71]

With the continual deterioration of trade, it is perhaps unsurprising that speakers chose to dwell on comfortable past successes when the future seemed comparatively bleak. Moreover, poor economic conditions resulted in fierce competition between manufacturers for market share. Indeed, reticence to share ideas about British trade malaise suggests greater commercial sensitivity among advertisers and their advertising agencies. Also, by 1930, the practices of the British advertising industry were more

[70] 'The Advertising Exhibition', *Times*, 21 June 1933, p. 11.
[71] 'Not all it might be', *Advertising World*, July 1930.

established than in 1920, and as a result, it seems that neither practitioners nor advertisers were willing to exchange ideas about practice in the altruistic manner that they had done previously, when the advertising industry itself was not under threat. This suggests that the corporate identity of advertisers and advertising agencies (examined in chapter 2), and the draw of individual profit, was stronger than affiliation to organised advertising's clubs and associations. Advertising agencies were willing to align themselves with the rhetoric of the convention, but were disinclined to offer concrete solutions to the industry in general.

By the late 1930s the convention had become a source of amusement among the advertising industry, ridiculed for its rhetoric, inefficiency and self-importance. With participants reluctant to discuss innovation, the convention format – which was based on inter-dependence of practitioners, advertisers and the ancillary branches of advertising – broke down. Following the AA's remarkable decision to revitalise the format by holding its 1936 convention while cruising the Baltic (ostentatiously 'in search of new markets') *Advertiser's Weekly* caricatured the convention in their Christmas edition of that year:

> Next year's convention is to be held in an airship. It is understood that the decision was taken for reason of economy, the Finance Committee of the Advertising Association having pointed out that the airship will be able to dispense with helium, as the convention will generate its own gas.[72]

Advertiser's Weekly portrayed the AA's professional narrative at conventions as little more than hot air. Elitist (and aloof), and of little relevance to practitioners, the cruising convention placed advertising's professional narrative out of reach of the majority of the industry, who could afford neither the time (the cruise was 13 days long) nor the money to join the AA on their expensive voyage.[73] The AA was shown to be remote and out of touch with the practitioners that they were supposed to represent, and the manufacturers that they served. The cruising convention demonstrates the loss of the idealism and inclusivity that had characterised organised advertising's expression of its purpose in the

[72] 'You're telling me...?', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 24 December 1924, p. 486.

[73] 'I have always thought that the Advertising Association convention will only serve any useful purpose if it impresses itself on our employers – the advertisers – as a serious effort to meet their problems, For that reason I have always regretted the proportion of entertainment in conventions, although I realise that there must be some social side Therefore, I think that this cruising scheme is really deplorable': Sinclair Wood, quoted in 'Mixed reception for the Cruising convention', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 30 January 1936, p. 150.

1920s, when it had sought to establish advertising as a progressive and scientific force that would sustain peace, complement democracy, and stimulate British trade.

Nevertheless, increasing national expenditure on advertising suggests that the message espoused by the conventions during the 1920s and 1930s – broadly, that using advertising increased profits and market share through improved distribution – was being heard. While national advertising expenditure declined sharply from around £57 million to £53 million between 1928 and 1930, reflecting the onset of depression, this figure was higher than the £43.5 million that was the estimated expenditure in 1924. Moreover, year-on-year increase in expenditure from 1932 meant that by 1937 the figure stood at approximately £61 million.[74] With manufactures spending increasing sums of money on advertising, the manner in which advertising was devised and delivered became a pressing issue. Standards of practice to underpin the rhetoric of the convention were necessary if rhetoric was to translate into practical action and achieve results. How, then, did organised advertising formulate and regulate the behaviour necessary for practitioners to deliver effective advertising that would, ultimately, serve the nation?

Private negotiation of professional practice

The practice of individual advertising practitioners (rather than corporate advertising agencies) was the particular concern of the IIPA's PPC. The activities of the PPC – which included 'professional meetings', where a topical paper was given by an IIPA fellow and then discussed; the Research Committee, which conducted nationwide market surveys; and the drafting of bye-laws and examination syllabi – suggest that the late 1920s and 1930s were a formative period in the development of a professional identity in advertising. The Committee first met in 1928, and it existed until March 1936, when its remit was incorporated into the IIPA's Council's terms of reference (which had previously concentrated on protecting the business interests of registered agencies).[75] This move represented a fusion of the IIPA's corporate and individual concerns, and gave individual fellows – who had been excluded from Council before the merger – a voice in the IIPA's overall strategy. In doing so, it embedded the professional practice developed by the PPC firmly within the business operations of the Institute. Using the PPC's minutes from 1928

[74] 'Table IX' based on David S. Dunbar, *Estimates of Total Advertising*, in Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 146.
[75] HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 18 (August, 1936), p. 2-3.

to 1936, this section examines the different ways in which members described how professionalism operated in the context of the advertising industry, before considering how their understanding of professionalism informed the committee's research and legislative work. The PPC's educational work will be considered in chapter 3.

The range of institutions affiliated to the Advertising Association, and the variety of departmental sessions at its convention, was symptomatic of the specialisation of the advertising industry: in place of 'the advertising man of the old school, [the] jack of all these trades [who] was at best second-rate in everything that he did' there now stood 'a co-ordinated team of specialists'.[76] While specialization within the industry has been recognised as signalling professionalization, it also led to competition over who had the right to define professional status in advertising, and who had the right to claim such status.[77] As the institution that represented practitioners in advertising, the IIPA considered its claim strongest. However, it recognised that the AA was also 'out for professional status and [was] not neglecting to tell the world about it'.[78] This was problematic for practitioners – who created integrated advertising campaigns for clients – since, as Sinclair Wood remarked at a professional meeting,

> If the man who comes to get our orders for half-tone blocks is to be a professional man, then what are you to be? Are you to be, in the eyes of your clients, on the same level? Or are you to go out for super-status? ... Surely the time has come when the creators of advertising must separate from those who supply the tools the creators work with… Would you expect to see the Chartered Accountants banded together with the printers and binders of ledgers?[79]

The challenge for advertising practitioners, if they were to take control of the industry's professional narrative, was to differentiate themselves from the technicians and skilled specialists of the industry who were also affiliated to the AA. However, demarcation was

[76] Sinclair Wood, 'How the Modern Advertising Agent increases the return from Advertising', paper given at the Advertising Agents' Session of the Advertising Convention, Leicester 12 June 1934: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 14 (July, 1934), p. 34.
[77] Harold Wilensky, 'The professionalization of everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (1964), p. 138.
[78] Sinclair Wood, 'The Professional status of the Practitioner in Advertising', paper read at the Professional Meeting of the Institute, 24 April 1929: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 4 (June, 1929), p. 37.
[79] Ibid.

difficult in the absence of a clear formulation of an advertising practitioners' occupational role. At a professional meeting in 1935, Percy Burton asked members

> What are we? Are we a Trade, a Profession, or a Calling? ... An Advertising Practitioner, Agent, Contractor, Consultant or whatever else you call him. I find myself in a permanent difficulty as to what I am. Fellow of the Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising – that sounds fine, but what does it all mean anyhow? [80]

Unlike the Chartered Accountant – to whom practitioners compared themselves, and whose professional behaviour had been defined by exam syllabi and regulations since the end of the nineteenth century – the remit of the advertising practitioner was fluid and still developing.[81] This development was further complicated by the arrival of American advertising agencies in London, which had different work practices and priorities to their British counterparts.[82] The late 1920s and early 1930s were a time of creative discussion about the role of advertising practitioners.

Speakers at the PPC, all of whom were experienced in the setting of a service-oriented advertising agency, regularly addressed what they thought professionalism meant in relation to advertising. At the 1934 AGM of the IIPA's Fellows and Associates, for instance, Max Rittenburg (president of the PPC) brought together the discussions of the previous year, by laying out the qualities of professionalism and by mapping advertising on to them. Echoing rhetoric from conventions, he suggested that the 'first element' of a profession was that

> it does not sell goods: it offers a service. We do not sell space. We offer helpful advice towards increasing turnover and net profits for our Clients, and a very expert service in

[80] P. C. Burton, 'The Problems of our Profession', paper read at the Professional Meeting of the Institute, 20 March 1935: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 16 (July, 1935), p. 38.

[81] Garrie D. Carnegie and John Richard Edwards, 'The construction of the professional accountant: the case of the Incorporated Institute of Accountants, Victoria (1886)' *Accounting, Organisations and Society,* 26 (2001), pp. 301-25.

[82] Terence Nevett, 'American Influences on British Advertising before 1920' in Terence Nevett and Ronald A. Fullerton (eds.), *Historical perspectives in marketing* (Lexington, 1988), pp. 223-40. For further discussion about how British practitioners integrated their professional narrative into that of international advertising, see chapter 5.

> carrying out that advice…. He [the seller of newspaper space] is not responsible for the wise buying nor the wise use of his white space. We are.[83]

While service in advertising was always, in part, commercial – a matter of financial transaction – it could also be offered for its own sake, independent of direct and monetary return. By speaking of service within the context of professional values, Rittenburg conveyed a sense of selflessness and so moral value. With this statement, he distanced contemporary practitioners from their space-selling predecessors, who had facilitated the insertion of advertising into newspapers rather than creating advertising itself. These businesses, or 'space farmers', which continued to exist in the 1920s and 1930s, prioritised newspaper commissions over sound advice to clients. They were a thorn in the side of the practitioners who aspired to professional status, because they often also styled themselves as 'advertising agents'.[84] By emphasising service and responsibility over financial gain, Rittenburg glossed over the fact that, legally, advertising agencies were founded as profit-making limited companies, rather than as partnerships. (The rejection of the Association of British Advertising Agents' application for a Royal Charter in 1926 was largely due to agencies' registration as businesses).[85] A. J. Greenly, speaking at a professional meeting in 1930, also spoke of recognising the responsibilities that advertising practitioners held as professionals: they had 'duties to the advertiser whose money we are spending, to the public on whom we shall still have to depend for further response when this campaign is over, and to the Press who look to us to go on giving them steady business.'[86] By holding themselves accountable for the service that they rendered, practitioners sought recognition from these specific groups of their professional status.

With a commitment to service came aspiration to 'a position of trust'. Taking the examples of a doctor, a lawyer, a barrister, and a chartered accountant, Rittenburg argued that a client should be able to consult a professional man without worry that he 'will "make a case" out of us – that he will not urge us to do this, that, or the other to profit his own

[83] Max Rittenberg, 'Address by Chairman of PPC', 17 April 1934: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 14 (July, 1934), p. 12.
[84] G. W. Goodall, *Advertising: A study of a Modern Business power* (1914), pp. 55-7.
[85] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 153.
[86] A. J. Greenly 'Where does the work of the practitioner in advertising begin and end?', paper read at the Professional Meeting of the Institute, 21 January 1930: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 6 (June, 1930), p. 17.

pocket'. [87] The practices of other recognised professions were often used to emphasise or demolish points in PPC discussions. By carefully referring to the precedence of other professional occupations, practitioners sought to model behaviour on already established professional practice. Again, this points to the fluidity of the professional identity in advertising at this moment, but also the intention of practitioners to acquire cultural and social standing similar to these other occupations. Establishing trust as an intrinsic attribute of advertising practitioners was particularly important, since advertising and its effects were not wholly understood by either practitioners or their clients; although the difficulty of establishing trust in practitioners was compounded because the *raison-d'être* of the industry was persuasion. [88] The explicit mention of 'trust' by Rittenburg suggests the persistence of mistrust of advertising and its practitioners by manufacturers and businessmen, which advertising conventions and the 'truth in advertising' movement had tried to allay in the 1920s.

Members faced the problem of balancing professional ideals with the business environment in which they worked for their clients. While the minutes of the PPC suggest that members wanted to be regarded as not wholly concerned with business and profit, practitioners needed to be in midst of commercial life. Moreover, they themselves needed to obtain salaries and profits. Sinclair Wood emphasised 'the danger' of 'becoming so professional that we are not allowed within the inner doors of business, but are kept in a dignified position on the fringe of it, so that we cannot do the best either for ourselves, or for the clients we serve'.[89] Speaking at a professional meeting, Wood suggested that the accountant was the best role model for advertising practitioners, since '[h]e has turned himself from someone who had, by law, to be employed and paid an annual fee, into someone whose constant advice is sought because it helps in the making of profits'.[90] Greenly argued that often advertising practitioners were called in 'too late': once commercial plans had already been finalised. [91] Rather than be considered as a last resort, Greenly hoped for a partnership between practitioners and their clients, where advertising practitioners were at the heart of the company decision making process:

[87] Rittenberg, 'Address by Chairman of PPC', p. 12.
[88] William Lever is claimed to have said, 'I know that at least half of my advertising money is being wasted. My problem – I do not know which half': Len Sharp, *The Lintas Story* (1964), p. 12.
[89] Sinclair Wood, 'The Professional status of the Practitioner in Advertising', p. 39.
[90] Ibid. Sinclair Wood referred to the Companies Acts.
[91] A. J. Greenly 'Where does the work of the practitioner in advertising begin and end?' p. 18.

> We want to see a perfect understanding on both sides, an obligation on our side not to raise false hopes, and a willingness on his side to accept suggestions as to the best ways of introducing his product to the public, so that, if this is so, we shall begin not at the advertisement stage, but at the packing stage, or, earlier still, at the stage of finding a name for what he has to sell.[92]

Members understood that this position of authority, of board-room partnership and power, could only be achieved if they *collectively* established the need for advertising expertise in the daily running of business; this is what advertising's 'public narrative' at conventions and elsewhere tried to achieve. However, to demonstrate to clients that advertising practitioners would fulfil this role adeptly and with integrity, they had not just to assert but also to enact their ideals. This they did through the work of the Research Committee, which furnished fellows with a factual basis for their claims, and in the drafting and enforcing of the IIPA's bye-laws.

Set up in 1933, following calls by William Crawford at the Liverpool Convention for closer study of the market, the Research Committee buttressed practitioners' claims to specialist knowledge.[93] Membership of the IIPA was through examination, which gave an initial indication of practitioners' expertise in advertising. However, the PPC was clear that an important proviso of professionalism was that a professional was active and kept up-to-date in their practice; 'professional' was not a static status. [94] By pooling the expertise of its members, the Research Committee provided general data about British markets and readerships, designed to complement the more specific research that agencies undertook for their clients' particular campaigns. In doing so, the Committee hoped to 'do away with much duplication of effort which exists in this field at the present time'.[95] The Research Committee is an example of practitioners sharing commercially advantageous knowledge, and working together to bring greater efficiency to advertising practice as a whole. In 1935, the Committee published 'An Analysis of Press Circulations 1934', which it hoped would 'provide Practitioners in Advertising with material which will enable them to plan advertising campaigns with a more exact knowledge of the degree of coverage of the

[92] Ibid.

[93] Initial members of the committee were F. C. Pritchard; H. Broadley, E. B. Gordon, F. W. Isern-Smith, R. J. E. Silvery, Sinclair Wood: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 14 (July, 1934), p. 22.

[94] Ibid., 2 (June, 1928), p. 11.

[95] Norman Moore, 'Should a Central Research Organisation be established within the Institute?', paper read at the Professional Meeting of the Institute, 28 February 1933: Ibid., (July, 1933) p. 31.

different social classes and areas which can be obtained by the use of various papers and periodicals'.[96] Collaborative innovation was transferred from the public convention to a private institutional setting, as rhetoric became codified practice. This shift indicates that practitioners were willing to co-operate initially in order to secure results. This was, after all, the age of pooling and collectivised marketing campaigns organised by bodies including the Empire Marketing Board, the British United Potato Marketing Board and the British Commercial Gas Association.[97] Practitioners understood market research techniques to be in their infancy, and so, as their colleagues had come together to share the cost of the 1920 Exhibition, it made commercial sense to share the cost of initial surveys that would benefit the status of the advertising practitioner. The work of the Research Committee also suggests that innovation was easier to achieve when focus was on a particular issue; the decline of the relevance of conventions can be, in part, accounted for by their increasingly broad aims.

While the Research Committee sought to enforce practitioners' commitment to expertise in their occupation, precautions were also necessary to safeguard against behaviour that fell short of the IIPA's professional narrative. The bye-laws enshrined practitioners' ideals – service, truth, responsibility, knowledge – in professional convention policed by membership rules, which enforced specific behavioural standards. They were live legislation, open to amendment and elaboration, as members refined their practice and closed loop-holes. By 1937, the IIPA's bye-laws were as follows:

1. Every member of the institute shall carry on his profession and business in such a manner as to uphold the dignity and interests of the Institute.
2. Every Member shall refrain from canvassing Advertising or prospective Advertising in such a way as to reflect detrimentally upon the profession or business of Incorporated or Registered Practitioners in Advertising.
3. No member may submit to a client of another Member detailed advertising schemes or selling plans, or make any report concerning his advertising or marketing, except upon the unsolicited and written invitation of the advertiser.
4. No member may submit unpublished copy of designs to any but his own clients, except by way of interpretation of written recommendations and at the request in writing of the advertiser or prospective advertiser, and in consideration of the payment of an adequate fee.

[96] Ibid., 15 (July, 1933), p. 31.
[97] See Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 155.

5. Every Member shall recognise the principle that commission is allowed for the purpose of maintaining the efficiency of the organisations of Practitioners in Advertising. No canvass of an account shall be made on any other basis than that of service and no account may be secured by any form of undercutting or increased credit facilities.
6. Every Member shall act in conformity with the terms of the Recognised Practitioner Agreements as though applying to the whole business of Practitioners in Advertising.[98]

As one would expect from a professional institution, the bye-laws focused on formalities of *doing* advertising. Although they expressed aspiration to dignity, they were not as rhetorical as the AA's Creed of 1924; instead they expressed practical and precise standards of practice that addressed the needs and ideals of a particular group within the advertising industry. Their specificity made them enforceable, (the PPC had a subcommittee that dealt with complaints about fellows who contravened the bye-laws), and PPC minutes recording their amendments suggest that the language used was highly debated.[99] Ideals were easy to talk freely about; it was far harder to rationalise behaviour when it concerned business, growth and profit margins. Of particular interest are bye-laws 2, 3 and 4, which governed the way in which practitioners were permitted to compete for new clients and their business prospects. These areas were covered specifically because they were the most contested, and where standards of practice were lowest: *Advertiser's Weekly* carried weekly reports of accounts changing hands, and the gain or loss of an account could make or break an agency.[100] With so much at stake, practitioners constantly tested the limits of acceptable behaviour enshrined in the bye-laws.

The dilemma facing practitioners seeking new clients was that, although their expertise was publicity and their message was that advertising generated business, it was generally not deemed dignified for professionals to advertise their services. Indeed, some professions, including doctors, accountants and members of the Stock Exchange, were explicitly prohibited by their professional associations from doing so.[101] Refraining from canvassing – enticing new business – therefore, was recognised as an indicating

[98] Ibid., 19 (April, 1937), p. 12.
[99] For instance, Ibid., 9 (February, 1932), p. 2; Ibid., p. 3; Ibid., 17, (March, 1936) p. 12.
[100] For instance, *Advertiser's Weekly*, 24 September 1933, Annual Appropriations number.
[101] Dr Alfred Cox 'Doctors and Advertising', paper read at the Professional Meeting of the Institute, 24 November 1931: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 9 (February, 1932), p. 32.

professional behaviour. This social convention placed advertising agencies in a difficult position: should they adhere to tradition, or forge modern practices appropriate to their profession? In a special meeting to discuss canvassing in 1933, Rittenburg (PPC chair) argued that 'if it was desired to develop Advertising into a profession rather than a business, canvassing should be curtailed'.[102]

Bye-law 2, however, did not ban canvassing; it regulated the use of the widespread and popular practice, by stipulating that it be done in a way as to not 'reflect detrimentally' on advertising practitioners.[103] The IIPA interpreted this to mean that, under the bye-law, members were 'free to inform the world' of the 'services they have to offer, the campaigns they have handled, and the clients they serve.'[104] They could do this by 'written or printed matter, by general advertisement or by particular approach by correspondence' (Image 1.1).[105] Canvassing by offering to cut commission payment was forbidden under bye-law 5. This ensured that agencies kept their full commission, so that they had the capital necessary to develop services offered and advance the profession. Bye-law 2 aimed to 'prevent the unjustifiable disturbance of members' relations with their clients by the employment of undesirable methods of canvass which, besides being mutually harmful to members, would be contrary to the interests of advertisers'.[106] This legislation was necessary since competition for accounts was fierce. In 1934, for instance, the minutes record that 'cases have been brought to the attention of the Council of Members of the Institute having persisted in canvassing the clients of other Members after they had been informed by the Advertisers in question that they were satisfied with the service they were receiving'.[107]

[102] Ibid., 13 (Feb, 1934), p. 4.
[103] Suspect practice was brought before the Council of Members for consideration. See for example, HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 14 (July, 1934), p. 24. The PPC minutes record that 'after a discussion, the view expressed by Mr Fay that canvassing was inevitable and good for Advertising was generally approved', Ibid., 13 (February, 1934), p. 4.
[104] Ibid., 19 (April, 1937), p. 13.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Forbes Kier, reading the Council's interpretation of the first two Bye-laws at the EGM 25 October 1932, 'This meeting would approve legislation by the Council with a view to prohibiting the submission of speculative schemes by Incorporated and Registered Practitioners in Advertising': Ibid., 11 (Feb, 1933) p. 15.
[107] Ibid., 13 (July, 1934), p. 24.

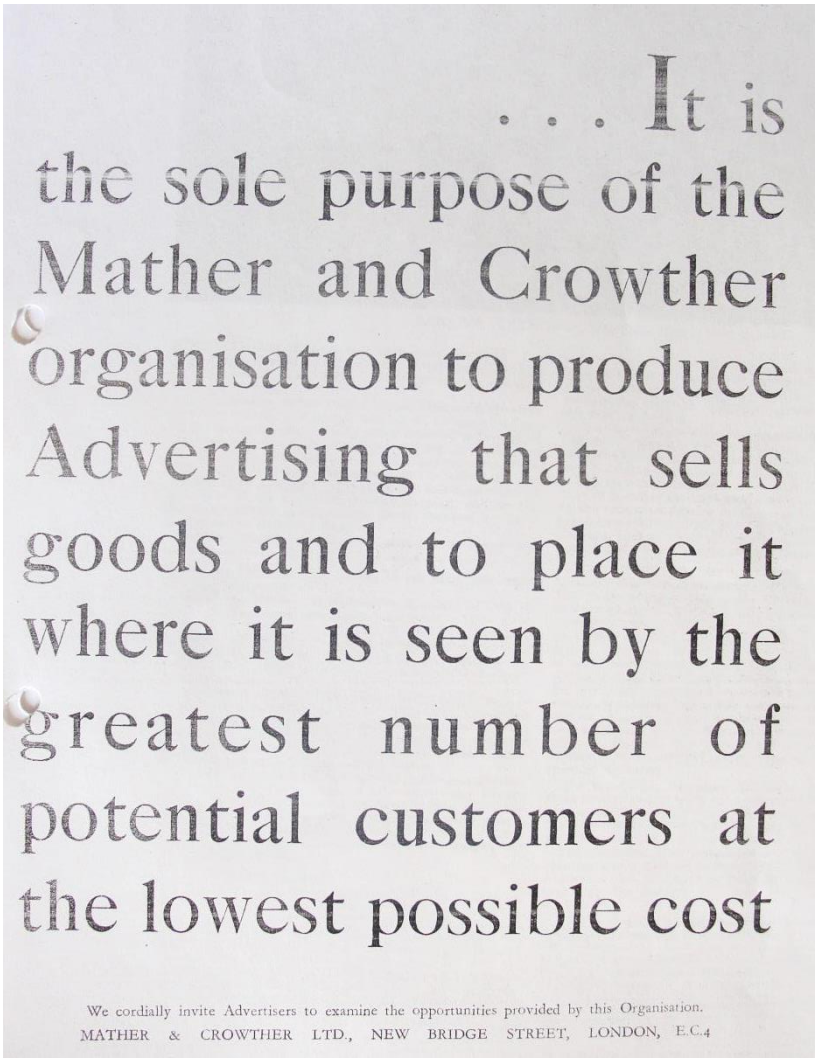

Image 1.1 'Mather & Crowther', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 5 January 1933, p. 9.

While members were permitted to advertise their services widely and specifically, bye-laws 3 and 4 explicitly forbade the submission of unsolicited 'speculative schemes', where advertising agents put together sample advertising campaigns for particular firms, in attempt to win their business. Ideologically, speculative schemes were believed to 'bring advertising into disrepute' because they cheapened advertising's professional claim to expertise. Since schemes were superficial, based only on rudimentary knowledge of a client, they 'fostered the notion that Advertising was not a matter dependent upon a study of the facts and circumstance of each particular case, but a mere question of a catch phrase and an attractive picture'. [108] Again, using scientific metaphor, Lt.-Col. Wilkinson compared the agent who submitted a speculative scheme to a prospective client with 'the

[108] Lt.-Col. Wilkinson: Ibid., 11 (February 1933) p. 11

Doctor who prescribed for a patient whose symptoms he did not know'. [109] In *The Principles and Practice of Advertising* (1935), R. Simmett explained how the bye-laws were put into place:

> The more reputable agents have agreed among themselves that they will not actively solicit the accounts of other agents unless the prospects concerned have expressed their dissatisfaction with existing associations. Although this understanding is 'got around' in a number of ways, nevertheless it is significant that it exists. In short, the reputable advertising agency hopes that by reason of the good work it does for its clients, it will become known to other potential clients, and so secure additional business.[110]

Speculative schemes disrupted the bond of trust between client and agent that Rittenburg had defined as vital to advertising's professional development. Agents trusted that clients would not discharge them, while a client had to be confident that his agent was using resources to pay for the work that he had commissioned, and not to work on chance speculative schemes. Speculative schemes were also regarded as inherently unfair, since it was agencies with 'the larger purse' and spare resources rather than 'the one with the more able and talented staff' that had the better chance of winning the account; small, creative agencies tended to fare badly in competitions. [111] The proviso in bye-law 4 regarding the payment of an 'adequate fee' attempted to mitigate the disadvantage of size and protect the interests of the small firm, by recognising 'the esteem in which a Practitioner's creative service should be held'. [112] On this point, members drew comparisons with architecture: 'when architects submit plans in competition, they were remunerated in accordance with a scale of fees which provided that even the last of them should be paid for the actual technical work he had done and the expenses he had incurred'. [113]

Only members of the IIPA were subject to the bye-laws, however, which is why their terms were so fiercely debated. Members were reluctant to introduce particularly stringent regulations that would curtail competitive advantage in a depressed economy. P. C. Burton, speaking at a professional meeting in March 1935, asked

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[109] Ibid.
[110] R. Simmett, *The Principles and Practice of Advertising* (1935), p. 77.
[111] Lt.-Col. Wilkinson: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 11 (February 1933) p. 11.
[112] HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 19 (April, 1937), p. 13.
[113] R. H. Stevens: ibid., 11 (February 1933), p. 13.

> [w]hat should an Agency do when an advertiser invites him to submit a Speculative Scheme? I believe, under our Standards of Practice, the Agent is allowed to comply with such a request, but what does the Agent do when he is not invited, but learns that several other Agents have been invited and are complying?[114]

Burton's query emphasises the dilemma that members of the IIPA faced between upholding the professional ideals of the IIPA (while potentially losing out on accounts), and the short term gain of actively pursuing business. Giving insight into both the prevalence of speculative schemes, as well as the extent to which the IIPA was a vanguard of professional behaviour, Burton remarked,

> Frankly, I believe they will have a difficult task in prohibiting the practice. It will only be when Agents become conscious of their Professional calling that the submission of Speculative Schemes will be discontinued.[115]

Unable to exercise its jurisdiction over non-members, the IIPA sought instead to eradicate speculative schemes by enlisting the support of the advertisers who commissioned them. Despite the basic nature of speculative schemes, John Gloag observed that 'the idea was undoubtedly only too commonly held [by manufacturers] that speculative schemes could properly be produced, and should be produced, by Advertising Agencies'.[116] To challenge this idea and to curb the commission of speculative schemes by advertisers, the Joint Committee of the Council and the PPC in 1934 produced a pamphlet 'How to Choose an Advertising Agency'.[117] As a result of the Joint Committee's report on Speculative Schemes, the Council also issued a statement entitled 'Canvassing by the submission of Speculative Schemes' to 'all members and interested associations'.[118] In doing so, the IIPA sought to persuade advertising agents and advertisers alike of the damage that speculative schemes caused to the professional status of advertising practitioners.

Through its professional meetings, Research Committee and bye-laws, the IIPA facilitated debate among its members about what professionalism meant in the context of advertising, and how professional practice in advertising could be effectively safeguarded. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of social fields and capitals, Schwarzkopf suggests that by the end of the

[114] P. C. Burton, 'The Problems of our Profession', p. 39.
[115] Ibid., p. 40.
[116] John Gloag: HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 11 (February 1933) p. 11.
[117] Max Rittenburg, 'Address by the Chairman of the PPC', 17 April 1934: ibid., 14 (July, 1934), p. 15.
[118] Ibid., 15 (February, 1935), p. 11.

1930s, practitioners had effectively communicated their credentials to both manufacturers and the state, through the acquisition of social, cultural, and political capital. The activities of the IIPA in regulating practitioner behaviour should be regarded as contributing to this effort. He argues that by 1939, 'advertising had become part of the governance structure of British consumer society, and the political order that underpinned it'.[119] However, while the advertising industry may have been successful in creating and emphasising the need for advertising within the economic and political spheres of society (through activities such as the AA's annual convention) the Government's disregard of advertising practitioners at the outbreak of war suggested that practitioners had not been so effective in convincing those holding economic and political power of their particular ability to deliver such advertising.

Wartime and reconstruction

Three weeks into the Second World War, the editor of *Advertiser's Weekly* complained of the Government's lack of recognition of advertising practitioners' specialist expertise and advertising's hard-won place in the newspaper columns. Lord Camrose – the Chair of Amalgamated Press, which included the *Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times* – was appointed by Neville Chamberlain to 'sort out press relations within a then chaotic Ministry of Information'. [120] By and large, he overlooked advertising practitioners, causing the editor of *Advertiser's Weekly* to complain that

> Advertising men are still ignored. Their especial skill is hardly represented in the Ministry, despite the fact that for years they have contributed a large part of every issue of most newspapers and periodicals; a part, moreover, that the fiercest competition has proved to interest the public as much as, if not more than, what are called news and features. It remains to be seen if Lord Camrose will include in the Ministry that understanding of human needs and interests which modern advertising represents. Today it is not news alone that matter but the manner of its presentation. In that,

[119] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders: the advertising industry and British society, 1900-1939', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (2008), p. 284.
[120] Adrian Smith, 'Berry, William Ewert, first Viscount Camrose (1879-1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30733, accessed 21January 2015].

> whether we admit it or not, the journalist is no longer superior to the advertising man.[121]

Indeed, despite offers of assistance from the IIPA and AA to government departments as war clouds had gathered in the late 1930s, of the thirty journalists and publicists initially appointed to the Ministry of Information (MoI), the only representatives from advertising agencies were R. A. P. Bevan and S. Clarke from S. H. Benson's advertising agency.[122] Benson's was chosen because of their experience in handling poster media campaigns; they were engaged to place campaigns, not to create them.[123] In comparison, ten members of the MoI were from one publishing press, Odhams, alone. As during the First World War, the Ministry selected men (and they were all men) who had experience in working with advertising agencies rather than being advertising practitioners themselves.[124] This suggests that, contrary to the assertions of *Advertiser's Weekly*, the Ministry believed that the journalist remained superior to the advertising man. The MoI's disregard of practitioners as sources of expertise for government wartime publicity and propaganda brought into question the extent to which advertising practitioners had publicly shed their nineteenth-century identity as space sellers, and established themselves instead as communication experts capable of creating complex publicity campaigns. Yet the indignation at being overlooked suggests that many practitioners had assumed a professional identity, and understood themselves as part of a profession able to offer specialist advice and consideration.[125] The war was a rude awakening that Whitehall did not perceive them as such.

In contrast, the War Advertising Council of America had a board of directors chosen from advertising media, agencies and advertises, which Dawn Spring argues 'created a permanent place for advertising in American government'.[126] 'Working closely with the

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[121] 'Lord Camrose's Task at the MOI', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 21 September 1939, p. 296. *Advertiser's Weekly* had also raised concerns about Advertising agents omission from the MoI on its foundation: 'Advertising and the Future - black week', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 3 August 1939, p. 140.

[122] 'S. H. Benson Only Advertising Agency represented among MOI Staff', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 12 October 1939, p. 23.

[123] Ibid.

[124] See for example, Mariel Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (Oxford, 1994), p. 28.

[125] For example, 'Order from Disorder: Advertising's chance', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 7 September 1939, p. 254; 'Unemployment in Advertising – the facts' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 28 September 1939, p. 317.

[126] Dawn Spring, *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: building brand America 1941-1961* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 20.

responsible branches of Government and supported generally by businesses, industry and advertising in all of its branches, it promoted over 150 campaigns.'[127] Although the American advertising practitioners were closer to the centre of power and communication policy making than their British counterparts, it seems that their efforts were largely not remunerated: 'Its supporters gave space, times, material and services in excess of one billion dollars to carry on this programme. Never before in the history of the country had mass communication been voluntarily made available and effectively organised on such a gigantic scale'.[128]

British practitioners may have felt let down by the lack of recognition by the political elite; however, it is remarkable that commercial advertising continued in wartime at all. As this chapter has explained, in the 1920s and 1930s the AA and the IIPA presented advertising as a force that stimulated trade by opening up new markets, creating and nurturing consumer demand, and improving the efficiency of distribution.[129] Advertising, they argued, led to prosperity and supported peace. However, having pinned their professional calling to the pursuit of peace and affluence, war – with a central managed economy, rationing and total mobilisation – made the AA's public claims seem hollow and irrelevant.

Given these circumstances, it was imperative that organised advertising should reconfigure the social and economic role of advertising to meet the needs of total war, while continuing to present themselves as respectable practitioners. At the 1940 AGM of the fellows and associates of the IIPA, William Crawford, as president, praised the Institute's work in representing the interests of agents. In particular, he emphasised how the IIPA had ensured that agents were paid their full commission on government accounts, in return for a discount of 2 ½% off publishers' scale rates. [130] With commercial clients sharply in decline at the start of the war, practitioners turned to government publicity campaigns to keep their agencies running.[131] Crawford argued that the Government's full payment of practitioners

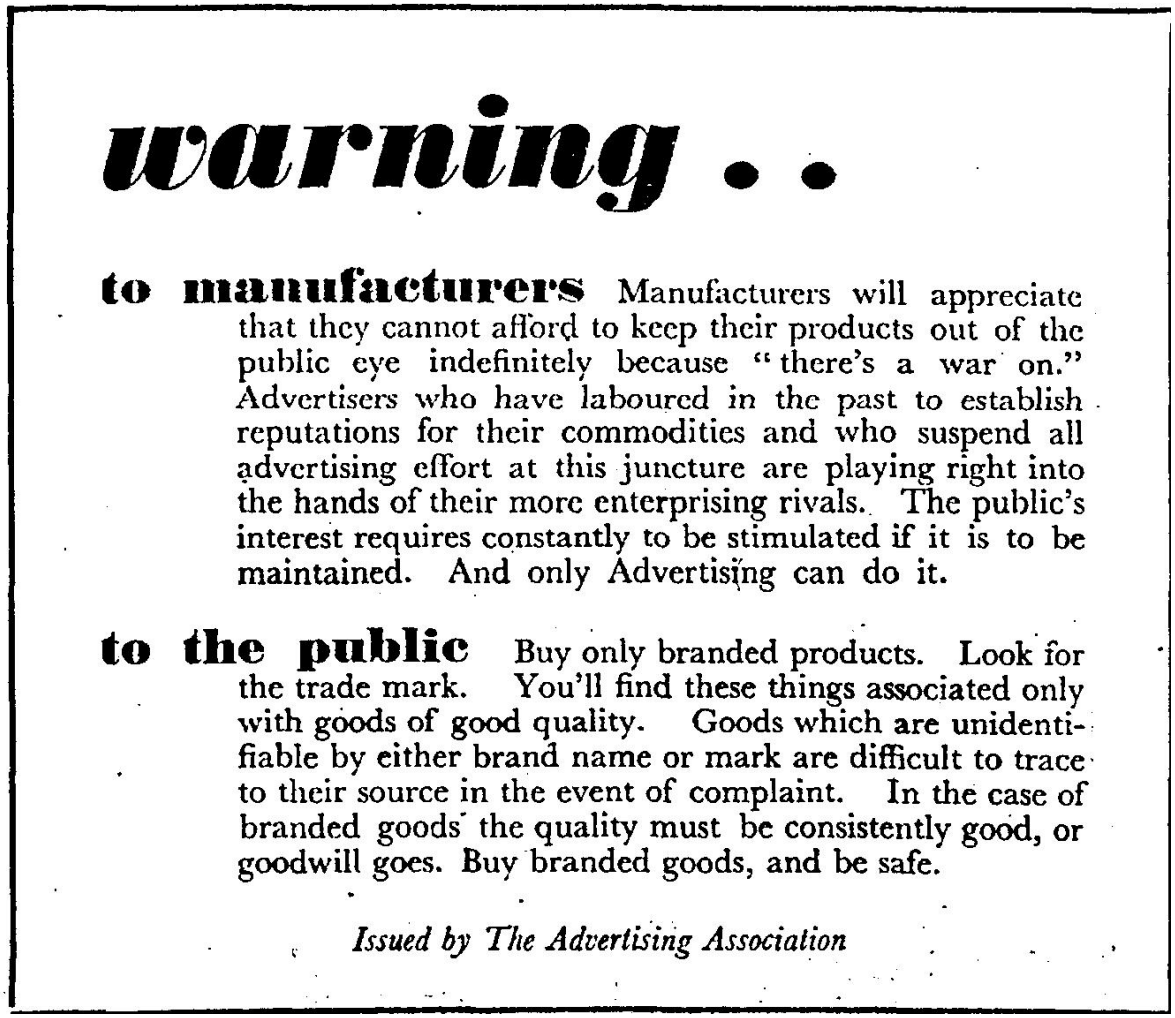
[127] Samuel C. Gale, 'World can be sold on principle of a free dynamic society', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 12 July 1951, p. 84.
[128] Ibid.
[129] For example, 'Some straight talking at National Advertiser's Dinner', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 July 1924; 'The quest for markets', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 14 June 1929, p. 456; 'The Advertising Exhibition' *Times,* 13 April 1933, p. 16.
[130] William Crawford, 'The President's Address': HAT, IPA 16/5/4 'Minutes of the PPC', 16 April 1940.
[131] 'Government spent £750,000 on Advertising in First year of War: Employed about 20 different Agents on 30 campaigns', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 5 September 1940, p. 143.

constituted recognition 'of the power of advertising' and acknowledgment that agents rendered a service worth paying for – which served, perhaps, as some consolation for not being drafted into the MoI in a policy-making capacity at the outset of war. In addition to representing the interests of agents to the government, the IIPA provided an institutional basis, through its Trade Relations Committee, for agents to engage and collaborate with the Press on common points of contention, including the problems of newspaper space, prices and rationing.[132]

While the IIPA focused on protecting the interests of agents, the broader task of remoulding the purpose of commercial advertising, the cornerstone of professional identity, was left to the AA. The AA, however, was slow to react to the changed conditions of war. Its primary focus was to convince advertisers to continue advertising, and in this, at least, it was helped at first by Chamberlain's rhetoric of 'business as usual'.[133] In early 1940, responding to threats of pooling, (where manufacturers combined effort and resources to produce one uniform product), the AA commissioned a series of advertisements to encourage brand awareness among businesses and manufacturers, which were distributed to the Press for use.[134] Addressing advertisers, the fourth advertisement in the series implored them to 'safe guard' their brands through advertising in order to assure the public of the quality of their goods. Judicious advertising, the AA argued, would 'keep alive the goodwill and reputation built up from your products in past years'.[135] Under the heading 'Warning', a second advertisement addressed both 'manufacturers' and 'the public'; the former was told that advertising was necessary to maintain brand awareness, the latter was encouraged to 'buy branded goods, and be safe', (Image 1.2).[136] The advertisements adopted the authoritative and instructive tone of early wartime government propaganda, which included 'your courage, your cheerfulness, your fortitude will bring us victory'. Condescending and scare-mongering, it is unsurprising that newspapers did not publicise the campaign widely (only one of the advertisements appeared in the *Times*, for example, and neither the *Daily Mail* nor *Telegraph* donated space).[137] The campaign's

[132] Crawford, 'The President's address', 16 April 1940.
[133] Mr Emanuel 'drew attention to the fact that the Prime Minister had publicly stressed the vital importance of business being carried on': HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 21 Sept 1939, p. 3.
[134] See for example, 'Warning...', *Times*, 20 January 1940, p. 4.
[135] HAT, AA 13/16 'The Advertising Association Series of Wartime Advertisements', No. 4.
[136] 'Warning...', *Times*, 20 January 1940, p. 4.
[137] Ibid.; 'Display Advertisement', *Times*, 5 March 1940, p. 8.

narrow focus on maintaining customer goodwill in order to guarantee manufacturers profit and post-war prosperity did not sit well in the economic climate of increasing scarcity, and the advertisements did little to show advertising's social or economic relevance.



warning . .

to manufacturers Manufacturers will appreciate that they cannot afford to keep their products out of the public eye indefinitely because "there's a war on." Advertisers who have laboured in the past to establish reputations for their commodities and who suspend all advertising effort at this juncture are playing right into the hands of their more enterprising rivals. The public's interest requires constantly to be stimulated if it is to be maintained. And only Advertising can do it.

to the public Buy only branded products. Look for the trade mark. You'll find these things associated only with goods of good quality. Goods which are unidentifiable by either brand name or mark are difficult to trace to their source in the event of complaint. In the case of branded goods the quality must be consistently good, or goodwill goes. Buy branded goods, and be safe.

Issued by The Advertising Association

Image 1.2 'Warning...' *Times*, 20 January 1940, p. 4.

With the start of the Blitz in May 1940, 'phoney war' gave way to 'total war', accompanied by growing shortages and restrictions. Kingsley Wood's budget of April 1941 was a turning point in the management of the wartime economy. It aimed to close the inflationary gap, which had proved so damaging to European economies, by curbing consumption through increased rationing and public saving.[138] Advertising, which had been presented as a measure to increase consumption, was placed in a difficult situation. Moreover, the AA's emphasis on advertising to preserve pre-war custom (with its connotations of private profit) jarred with the budget's spirit of sacrifice. With paper

[138] Peter Howlett 'The War-Time economy, 1939-1945' in Floud and Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, vol. III*, p. 14.

shortages increasing and newspaper space becoming ever more valuable, questions were asked in parliament by Eleanor Rathbone, Reginald Clarry, Walter Higgs, Alfred Edwards and Gordon MacDonald about the need for 'goodwill' advertising of 'unproducable' goods in wartime economy, especially since these advertisements appeared to be financed through money diverted from the Excess Profits Tax.[139] MPs felt that government announcements should take precedence in newspapers over advertisements.[140] F. R. Bishop, advertisement manager of the *Times,* warned the Executive Committee of the AA that

> there seemed to be a considerable volume of opinion among M.P.s and elsewhere that advertising was a luxury which provided profits for a large number of people in business and had no purpose except the immediate sale of goods.[141]

This view was also observed in the *Times:*

> Advertising [is] so closely associated with the persuasive arts of the salesman, and with a rising standard of living, that many people are puzzled by its continuance in wartime,

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[139] Eleanor Rathbone, 'Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the present system results in a great deal of waste of paper in publications not only wasteful but possibly mischievous, such as advertisements of articles of luxury clothing and so forth?' McMillian replied, 'The present system is based upon the allocation of a proportion of the paper used before the war. If we were to make it a qualitative basis, it would involve difficult questions, and I think we should soon be accused of censorship.': 'Paper (allotments)' HC Deb 15 October 1941 vol. 374 cc1373-4; Reginald Clarry, 'Will my right hon. Friend tell us what is the necessary expenditure in advertising for things which are unprocurable in any circumstances?'. Walter Higgs, 'Is the Chancellor aware that the Government publication known as *Agriculture* contains advertisements for goods that are unprocurable and that one-third of that publication is devoted to advertisements?': 'Unnecessary advertising expenditure', HC Deb 25 November 1941 vol. 376 cc597-8.
The tax, introduced in the September 1939 budget, fixed non-taxable profits at pre-war levels, and consequently, some companies invested increased profits in advertising expenditure, rather than give them to taxation.

[140] Gordon MacDonald, 'Would it not be better if the Government were to claim these stocks, which are being used for purposes which are not in the national interest?': 'Paper Control (hoarding advertisements)', HC Deb 19 November 1941 vol. 376 c300; Alfred Edwards, 'asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply whether he is aware that a number of periodicals continue to appear and consume paper in advertising unobtainable commodities; and what steps he proposes to take to put an end to this waste?': 'Publications (paper allowance)', HC Deb 11 November 1941 vol. 374 cc2080-1W.

[141] HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 18 December 1941; Mary Gowing also wrote a strong letter to the *Advertiser's Weekly* voicing her concern about the AA's inability to respond to the attacks on advertising from MPs, see 'Mary Gowing', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 22 January 1942, p. 64.

> when every unnecessary purchase is rightly condemned and the duty of the citizen is to tighten his belt.[142]

To address explicitly the public hostility to advertising, Bishop suggested that the AA produce a pamphlet. Launched in March 1942, the resulting memorandum, 'Advertising in War-time', moved away from the AA's focus on maintaining advertisers' profits. Instead, it explained clearly how the AA envisaged advertising's social and economic role in wartime conditions.[143] The publication was taken up enthusiastically by the press, which was keen to protect the industry that provided it with a valuable source of revenue: over 1,400 copies were produced and distributed among newspapers and the affiliated members of the AA, and 'the memorandum [was] reprinted in part or whole in many publications'.[144] The publication demonstrates how the AA positioned the purpose of advertising during the war. It therefore reveals much about how the professional identity of advertising practitioners was adjusted to wartime austerity.

First, in order to justify commercial advertising in newspapers, the pamphlet emphasised the role that advertising had played historically in building up and maintaining a press free from government control. It argued that, in contrast to 'political parties and private interests', advertisers' motives were plain to see in their advertisements, and, moreover, advertisers had 'neither the desire nor the power to influence the freedom of editorial expression'.[145] Alice Goldfarb Marquis has demonstrated, in the context of the First World War, the importance of a seemingly free press in maintaining public morale.[146] Moreover, a free press increased the credibility of Government announcements that did appear, which had the potential to increase their effect. The pamphlet argued that increased newspaper dependence on Government announcements for income would further compromise the independence of the press, which was already bound by strict censorship rules. Advertising, then, was presented as an expression of and support for democracy, through its sustenance of a free press.

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[142] 'Advertising In War-Time', *Times*, 20 March 1942, p. 2.
[143] The National Archives (hereafter TNA), BT 60/68/4, *Advertising in War-Time* (1942).
[144] 'Allied Newspapers', *Times*, 28 May 1940, p. 11; HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 18 December 1941.
[145] 'Advertising In War-Time', *Times*, 20 March 1942, p. 2.
[146] A. Goldfarb Marquis, 'Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13 (1978), pp. 467-98; M. L. Sanders and P. M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-18* (Basingstoke, 1982).

Secondly, the pamphlet pointed to the positive contribution that advertisements made to the war effort through the guidance that they offered to the public 'in the difficult task of adaption to war conditions'. [147] Indeed, in the absence of goods to sell, many firms were imaginative in keeping their names before the public. Despite the pooling initiative, Stork margarine continued to advertise, through the 'Stork Margarine Cookery Service'.[148] In this campaign, which ran from August 1940, when 'Stork margarine join[ed] up', until May 1954, Stork offered printed recipes, cooking tips, and coupons for recipe books to help make rationed foods go further and taste better. Equally, Sunlight Soap's 'Thro' the Sunlight Window' campaign (May 1940) featured notable authors, including J. B. Priestley (who at the time was also presenting his *Postscripts*) giving 'talks in print' that offered 'an outlook on today's problems'.[149] Therefore, the AA could claim with confidence that 'much other commercial advertising is in fact doing a job which would otherwise have to be done in other ways'.[150] The benefit to the advertisers in running such campaigns was, of course, maintaining consumer goodwill, but unlike the AA's 1940 campaign, the pamphlet placed emphasis firmly on how advertising served the public interest.

When the financial benefits of sustaining consumer goodwill were referenced, it was in the context of the future economic health of the nation:

> firms which are advertising now to preserve the probability that their customers will come back to them after the war are not only consulting their own interests but the national interests as well.[151]

This was the third aim of the pamphlet: to demonstrate how advertising benefitted the nation. In wartime, the pamphlet argued, advertising helped sustain morale: advertising's cheerful hints and tips provided 'variety and relief' in the contents of a newspaper, which otherwise carried grave news. More obscurely, the AA also claimed that advertising could raise the morale of industrial workers, if they saw the fruits of their efforts advertised. The pamphlet ended with a statement that, once again, committed advertising to the service of the nation, and called for an end to attacks on advertising that worked to achieve that end:

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[147] 'Advertising In War-Time' *Times*, 20 March 1942, p. 2.
[148] 'Stork Margarine Joins Up', *Times*, 1 August 1940, p. 3; 'The Stork Margarine Cookery Service', *Times* 11 October 1940, p. 3; Ibid., *Times*, 8 January 1943, p. 6.
[149] For instance, 'Multiple Display Advertising Items', *Daily Mail*, 6 May 1940, p. 7; See Clampin, 'The role of commercial advertising', pp. 66-9.
[150] 'Advertising In War-Time' *Times*, 20 March 1942, p. 2.
[151] Ibid.

> In so far as it represents a hindrance to the war effort or a dissipation of resources or energy on unessential things, [advertising] is justly condemned. In so far as it can be shown to be helping in the war effort, however indirectly, or in the preservation of the things for which we are fighting, it should be protected and encouraged so far as circumstances will allow.[152]

Despite the positive reaction of the press to the pamphlet, the debate raised fundamental concerns about the public perception of advertising, which had implications for how the professional role that its practitioners undertook was understood. Were advertising practitioners servants of the public? Or were they slaves of private commerce? This indicates the damage caused by the AA's delay in responding publicaly to changed economic conditions with a renewed narrative of professional purpose. In a meeting of the Executive Council of the AA in July 1942, F. R. Bishop emphasised the extent of the criticism raised against advertising on both sides of the Atlantic by 'economists and other critics', who suggested that 'it was extravagant, wasteful and had an injurious effect on the country'.[153] The advertising industry was accustomed to condemnation. What was concerning about this emerging body of criticism, however, was that it focused not only on the wartime role of advertising, but on its place in society following the war, and that it included the voices of leading industrialists, such as Samuel Courtauld.[154] During the war, Britain's future economic direction was uncertain, and, given the extent of socialist and fascist planned economies, it is unsurprising that some envisaged that the post-war economy would 'have planned consumption, planned distribution and planned production which will oust advertising completely'.[155] Minutes of that meeting record that, while the Association felt that 'such criticisms could not be ignored, they were difficult to answer in the absence of an accepted body of facts which only a systematic inquiry could make available.'[156] Despite advances in market research before the war, which individual firms had used to secure markets, no factual basis existed for the advertising industry to argue the benefits of advertising more broadly.

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[152] Ibid.

[153] Bishop said that there was a 'large body of opinion on this matter': HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 3 July 1942, p. 2.

[154] 'A scientific inquiry into the economic effects of advertising: summary': ibid., 29 December 1942.

[155] Ibid., 3 July 1942, p. 2.

[156] 'A scientific inquiry', 29 December 1942.

Prompted by uncertainty about the position of advertising in the post-war world, the AA commissioned the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, as a body independent of the AA, to conduct a 'scientific study', at a cost of £2,000.[157] It was hoped that this study would 'constitute an answer to those who, from lack of knowledge, condemned advertising as uneconomic and not in the public interest'.[158] The AA deliberately used an impartial body so that the survey results and analysis would be given greater authority. For the first time, the AA sought a systematically collected body of factual evidence to furnish its professional claims.

The Institute accepted the project on 29 December 1942.[159] A memorandum outlined its scope:

> The sole guiding principle in the proposed inquiry on the economics of advertising is the public interest, and the purpose of the inquiry is to establish the economic facts about advertising and to examine the effects of advertising, or of particular methods of advertising, on social welfare in all its aspects. [160]

More specifically, the study asked:

> How far has the desire to reduce advertising costs contributed to the suppression of competition and the growth of monopoly? How far have the fluctuations in advertising expenditure accentuated the movements of the trade cycle? What has been its effects on the costs of distribution, upon prices, upon the quality and range of products offered to the consumer? What part has advertising played in affording a link between the ownership and management of capital in an age of joint stock organisations?[161]

By seeking answers to specific questions relating to business, finance, and customer relations, the AA hoped to demonstrate that advertising contributed positively to the national economy, and on this basis, suggest that, in addition to sustaining profit for advertisers, advertising and advertising practitioners worked 'for the good of the community' and, therefore, had an essential role in the post-war economy. [162] Questions about advertising's aesthetics and ethics were deliberately placed beyond the scope of the

[157] 'A scientific inquiry into the economic effects of advertising': HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 29 December 1942, p. 1.
[158] Ibid.
[159] HAT AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 29 December 1942.
[160] 'A scientific inquiry', p. 1.
[161] 'City Notes', *Times*, 12 July 1943, p. 7.
[162] 'A scientific inquiry', p. 3.

study; the AA sought to argue its case in purely economic terms. An economic enquiry would yield seemingly concrete statistics, which would be easier to use as evidence than the more subjective philosophical ideas about aesthetic merit or ethical value. Following a press release by the AA on 3 June 1943, the *Times* made public the aims of the inquiry in its 'City Notes' section, which placed the study firmly in the context of the financial sector.[163] The AA also used the investigation as positive publicity for the advertising industry: advertising was presented as an occupation that, despite the difficulties of war, was subjecting itself to independent critical appraisal of its practice and social role.

The study, published in 1946 under the heading 'Statistics of Advertising', did not have immediate significant effects. It is important in terms of organised advertising's professional narrative, however, since the AA committed time and money to create independent evidence to support its professional claims. Among the findings were that 'almost 60% of net revenue of the press in this country – and over 65% in America – was derived from advertising'.[164] Given the importance of the free press in sustaining democracy, an ideal for which the Second World War was fought, this was an important statistic; advertising made a substantial contribution to the press's revenue, which enabled the press to keep prices down and make newspapers affordable for all. With regard to advertising's contribution to the economy, the survey also 'seemed to suggest that certain manufactures – such as manufactures of baby goods, health salts, tonic wine, shampoos and dentifrices – spend in advertising more than 40% of the value of their sales'.[165] This statistic did not automatically suggest causation, that spending on advertising resulted in profit, but it at least established a link between money spent on advertising and profit yielded across several commercial sectors. Moreover, the study set a precedent for further statistical analysis: the *Times* argued that 'the regular provision of data of these and similar kinds, independently and regularly collected and analysed, would be of the highest value'.[166] Indeed, the collection of statistics about the influence of advertising would form an important part in the AA's defence of advertising against mounting political criticism following the Second World War.

[163] 'City Notes', *Times*, 12 July 1943, p. 7.
[164] 'Analysis of Advertising', *Times*, 14 November 1946, p. 5.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

‘The challenge to advertising’: Advertising answers its critics

The professional narrative of organised advertising emerged from the Second World War with an emphasis on advertising’s contribution to ‘the public good’ through its support of a free press and public morale, the provision of consumer guidance, and its work in sustaining consumer loyalty for the post-war period. However, the election of a Labour government ‘critical to private enterprise’ and the continuation of rationing and wartime controls led to fears among organised advertising that advertising practitioners were being made redundant in business.[167] The editor of *Advertiser’s Weekly* argued in 1947 that ‘[t]he whole climate of the country has changed towards our profession, not without reason. For seven years every form of advertising has been painfully restricted in volume, and therefore in vigour and attack. A generation has grown up which has no memory of advertising operating with the full range of its powers’.[168] Feeling increasingly marginalised, the industry once more made a concerted effort to draw attention to the contribution that advertising could make to a re-envisaged post-war society, and the ability of practitioners to deliver such advertising. Echoing the debates of the PPC during the interwar years, J. B. Nicholas, a director of Rumble, Crowther and Nicholas, addressed the 1947 Convention on the subject of ‘Advertising: vital stimulus to recovery’. He argued that advertising practitioners’ expertise should be used when making economic policy:

> The time has come when people outside our profession should try to acquire a more intelligent understanding of what we advertising men are about – what we are trying to do, what we can do, and what we should be *allowed* to do… One of our aims is to convince responsible men in Government and industry that advertising is something more than a sort of cafeteria service for the provision of layouts and posters and slogans. The new advertising is something *very much more*. And the modern advertising man is not merely a person to be called in to write copy and order blocks *after* policy has been decided. His place is *in* at the beginning – on the initial conference that decides the policy. I assert our claim boldly: we modern advertising men are not only specialists in the arts of persuasion and presentation; we are specialists in public opinion, experienced watchers of mass psychology, and meteorologists of the popular weather.[169]

[167] ‘Convention Target’, *Advertiser’s Weekly,* 6 February 1947, p. 260.
[168] Ibid.
[169] J. B. Nicholas, ‘Creative Advertising and Britain’s recovery’, *Advertisers’ Weekly*, 22 May 1947, p. 350.

This was an explicit statement of professional purpose. Not only did Nicholas claim expertise in the 'arts' of 'persuasion and presentation', he presented advertising practitioners as 'experienced' experts in distilling and interpreting public opinion, which the war had demonstrated to be vital for maintaining morale. With rationing rendering commercial goods scarce, Nicholas instead emphasised the role of practitioners in selling ideas and business and strategies, arguing that practitioners deserved a place in commercial policy making. This speech affirmed the professional identity of practitioners and sought to strengthen them against mounting criticism in post-war Britain.

Attacks against advertising took on new force as the peace after the Second World War descended into Cold War, bringing the rhetoric of 'freedom' and 'choice' to the forefront of debate. In 1947, the Royal Commission on the Press was tasked 'with the object of furthering the free expression of opinion through the Press and the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news'.[170] The Commission criticised the Press for presenting over-simplistic accounts rather than trying to educate readers, but dismissed claims that advertisers had undue influence in news reportage. More inflammatory, however, was the Beveridge Committee on Broadcasting (1951), which investigated the possibility of commercial television in Britain. Although ultimately the report recommended the continuation of the BBC's monopoly in the short term, the advertising industry found itself subject to intense criticism through the Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary lobbying which followed the publication.[171] Reacting against the continued restrictions placed on business and advertising by the Labour Government's austerity measures, and the debate about media control and governance, organised advertising reframed its professional narrative in terms of advocating consumer freedom, choice and education. This line was pursued and reinforced by prominent right-wing speakers at advertising clubs; however, it was most evident at two advertising conventions: the AA's 1951 International Conference in London, and its 1953 Conference at Margate. [172]

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[170] His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), *Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-49: Report* (1949), p. 3.

[171] 'House Of Commons', *Times*, 20 July 1951, p. 4; Sean Nixon, '"Salesmen of the will to want": Advertising and its Critics in Britain 1951-1967', *Contemporary British History*, 24 (2010), p. 216.

[172] See, for example, 'Role of advertising: Mr. Stanley's defence of consumer's choice', *Times*, 16 December 1947, p.2; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'They do it with Mirrors: Advertising and British Cold War Consumer Politics', *Contemporary British History*, 19 (2005), pp. 133-50.

The 1951 International Conference was dedicated to 'The Task of Advertising in a Free World'. It was attended by 2,824 advertising men and women from 38 nations, who gathered in Westminster's Central Hall from 7 to 13 July 1951.[173] The Duke of Gloucester opened the Convention and praised its aim of bolstering international trade. Lord Mackintosh, president of the Organising Committee, placed the Conference in the wider political context: 'the fundamental struggle convulsing the nations today', he said, 'is whether the liberty and freedom for which our forefathers fought so long and ardently is to prevail, and I think that anything that any of us can so do to preserve that free way of life we should do'.[174] Sir Frank Soskice, Attorney-General to the Labour Government, also spoke at the opening ceremony:

> Advertising contributed greatly to the enjoyment, comfort, and fullness of our lives. Good advertising did not persuade people to buy more than they required; it taught them how, adequately to satisfy their needs. It helped to make taste selective. Good advertising did not bludgeon the will – it refined and cajoled the taste. [175]

Given that Soskice was a member of the Labour Party, these comments are remarkable. Rather than characterising advertising as economically wasteful or misleading to consumers, he presented it as educational: a tool for prompting rational consumption and cultural refinement. H. A. Oughton, president of the IIPA and director of Crawford's, developed the idea of advertising as education in his paper, 'The educational responsibilities of the agency', in which, pointing to the National Saving, Road Safety and Diphtheria Immunisation campaigns, he argued that 'much advertising was of an exclusively and intentionally educational character'.[176] Soskice's comments suggest it is not possible to divide opinion of advertising simply between the political left and right, as Schwarzkopf has a tendency to do.[177] Indeed, a third speaker at the opening ceremony was Lord Beveridge, protagonist of the welfare state and author of the 1942 Beveridge Report, as well as chairman of the government's investigation into broadcasting.[178] The choice to invite Beveridge as a speaker demonstrated the AA's desire to associate advertising with the social justice that Beveridge represented and promoted. To set a focus for the

[173] 'Conference summing up', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 19 July 1951, p. 132.
[174] 'How to Make Life Full and Free', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 10 July 1951, p. 2
[175] Ibid.; 'Advertisers Can Keep the World Free', *Daily Mail*, 10 July 1951, p. 3.
[176] 'Hubert A Oughton: Keep watch on Advertising that plays on Ignorance and Fear', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 12 July 1951, p. 92.
[177] Schwarzkopf, 'They do it with Mirrors', pp. 133-50.
[178] 'The Beveridge Challenge to Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 10 July 1951, p. 3.

department sessions of the Conference, Beveridge set a 'challenge to advertising', which echoed Soskice's remarks:

> The challenge to advertising in a free world is that those who conduct it shall recognise responsibilities and shall take as their overriding purpose, the aim of helping consumers to exercise freedom of spending wisely.[179]

By pointing to advertising's 'responsibilities', Beveridge recognised that advertising did indeed wield influence in democratic societies; a decade of economic hardship had not rendered it impotent. This challenge enabled delegates to reaffirm the commitment to truth in advertising that had been made in 1924, and to demonstrate how, through advertising, practitioners supported individual choice and opinion (which the Royal Commission had criticised newspaper for not doing enough). This line of reasoning chimed with theories advanced by economists including Schumpeter and Hayek, 'in which the freedom of economic activity featured as one of the most important pillars of democratic society'.[180] Indeed, when reporting on the Conference, the *Times* argued that the danger facing consumers was not wasteful advertisement, but rather too *little* choice and descent to monopoly, leaving no space for consumer sovereignty: 'Advertisement, where it represents a genuine effort to please the customer and a real rivalry to gain his custom, provides a healthy restraint… on this growing tendency.' If the advertiser was 'reputable', argued the paper, he 'ranks as a useful and active partner in the economic systems of all free nations'.[181] While sessions about international trade and markets formed a staple of the Conference programme (as they had done in the interwar years) the focus on the advertising industry's responsibility to the consumer gave practitioners' a rhetoric to contribute to wider Cold War debates about the position of the individual in society.

While the 1951 Conference was an international jubilee, the 1953 Conference was a much smaller gathering, limited to the British advertising industry. It was 'designed to find out… the nature of the criticism which had been dogging advertising so long, so that it could be answered'.[182] By 1953, there was a Conservative government and public reaction against austerity. Yet, public debates about commercial television had sparked interrogation of

[179] Ibid.
[180] Schwarzkopf, 'They do it with Mirrors', p. 140.
[181] 'Advertisers Take Stock', *Times*, 9 July 1951, p. 7.
[182] 'Why Bevan was invited: conference organiser explains policy', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 May 1953, p. 233.

advertising more generally, revealing critics' fears about the role of advertising in supporting an American-style culture, which it was deemed would 'lower standards and debase morals'.[183] Striving to create controversy and gain maximum publicity for the industry as it mounted its defence, the AA invited the fiery Aneurin (Nye) Bevan, 'darling of the Labour Left' who was known for his opposition to advertising, to set 'the challenge' for the Conference.[184]

However, critics and supporters alike agreed that the 1953 Convention was a public relations disaster for the AA. Taunting delegates, Bevan portrayed advertising 'one of the most evil consequences of modern society, which [was] itself intrinsically evil'.[185] 'I know you are exceedingly successful people not only individually, but as a profession', he said. 'In many ways you are *the* utmost successful profession in modern society. You are almost ubiquitous.'[186] Bevan shattered the image of advertising as a positive social influence that organised advertising sought to create. However, the basis of his attack indicates that by 1953, at least, the advertising industry was commonly regarded as an intrinsic part of modern society, albeit one that Bevan viewed as fatally flawed.

The industry was unable to match Bevan's flair; the flamboyant orators of the interwar years – among them Higham, Crawford, and Akerman – were retired or dead. Consequently, it was Bevan and his rhetoric that made national news headlines; the bold but careful rebuttal of P. L. Stobo (director, S. H. Benson) received no coverage beyond the trade press. Nevertheless, Stobo's response reveals a marked change in how the advertising industry justified the purpose of advertising. While during the interwar years, organised advertising had presented advertising as vital for stimulating economic recovery, Stobo in 1953 stressed the role of advertising in prompting individual freedoms – of choice, taste and morality – in democratic economies:

> If we are to preserve our British way of life, we must be prepared to work for it; to work harder, more efficiently, more enthusiastically than ever before, and we must be able to enjoy the rewards of that work or it won't seem worthwhile. To accomplish this in a democracy advertising is the greatest thing – in fact almost the only thing at our

[183] Nixon, 'Salesmen of the will to want', p. 217.
[184] Ibid.
[185] 'Bevan Says: Advertisers Harnessed to Evil Machine', *Daily Mail,* 2 May 1953, p. 2; 'Role Of Advertising In Commerce', *Times*, 2 May 1953, p. 3.
[186] 'Bevan blasts advertising – "an evil service"', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 May 1953, p. 234.

> command. Only totalitarian states can make men work by fear – or force. Advertising can make men want to work by stimulating them to want the reward of that work… Forget Bevan. Forget our other critics too. We are not economic planners of the people's spending. We are not the custodians of morality. We are not the arbiters of taste. We are salesmen of the will to want.[187]

Stobo presented advertising as encouraging 'progressive improvements in the material standards of life' and, unlike Bevan, insisted that consumer dreams of 'the good life' were legitimate, worth pursuing and fundamental to the preservation of the British way of life.[188] Indeed, Stobo's response reveals a gulf between the particular 'British way of life' that the advertising industry sought to promote and the socialist vision of the ideal society. Stobo also differed from Bevan in how he understood advertising's relationship with consumers: he described advertising practitioners as respecting the rights of consumers to make informed decisions about how to spend their income; not judging or prescribing consumer choice. In doing so, Stobo introduced themes about the social value of advertising – in particular its role in stimulating desire for self-betterment – that repeatedly resurfaced into the 1960s, as part of the industry's rebuttal again critics of advertising and commercial television.

In his defence of advertising in 1953, Stobo refined the arguments used by the industry against its critics, and recast the professional identity of the advertising practitioner. Scientific language was gone. Continuing statistical research into the effects of advertising, conducted by the AA and the market research departments of individual advertising agencies, meant that the scientific metaphor used by organised advertising in the interwar years to present advertising as a business tool to manufacturers was no longer central to how advertising's professional claims were expressed, because evidence was available. Equally, the 'expert' status of practitioners, which scientific language had emphasised, had been reinforced by foundation of the IIPA with its exacting entry requirements and code of conduct. Where scientific rhetoric was used following the Second World War, it was mostly used to refer to market research and the advertising industry's understanding of the consumer. By 1953, the sense of scientific progress towards modernity that had

[187] 'Stobo flays Bevan: Selling "will to want" better than buying votes with wigs', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 7 May 1953, p. 236.
[188] Nixon, 'Salesmen of the will to want', p. 218.

characterised the interwar years had been replaced by a desire for affluence and ‘the good life’.

Change in organised advertising’s professional narrative can also be explained by shifts in audience. Although the general public was a target audience in the 1920 Advertising Exhibition, suggesting the novelty of advertising campaigns at that time, in the interwar years organised advertising largely directed its narrative towards manufacturers and businesses, with an eye also on the political elite. Seeking to expand the use of advertising, and therefore increase profits and economic influence, the industry presented advertising to businesses and manufacturers as essential for streamlining distribution, making successful inroads into new markets and for sustaining consumer good will. This was expressed in terms of revitalising the national economy, which dignified the profit-making ventures of advertisers. The latter was particularly emphasised during the Second World War, when the AA recast the purpose of advertising as supporting public morale in the face of government pressure. By the early 1950s, influenced by rhetoric of the Cold War and fuelled by the debate about commercial broadcasting, the audience of advertising’s professional narrative had once again broadened, as the debate shifted to portray advertising as assisting the consumer to make informed choices in a society that was democratically elected and upheld freedom of speech.

2: The Office and Professional Identity

In 1904, Philip Smith read a paper at the Sphinx Club entitled, 'What is an Advertising Agent?' He quoted the requirements 'lately adopted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which included that "he shall maintain an office for the particular purpose of conducting a general advertising agency business, properly equipped".[1] Since the turn of the twentieth century, then, an office from which to conduct business has been an important indication of a *bona fide* advertising agent. In the years immediately following the First World War, as their firms grew, a steady stream of leading advertising agencies moved from suites of rooms into new, often purpose-built, office accommodation.[2] Part studio, part bureau, and part showroom these buildings housed production and administrative departments together in office communities, enabling agencies to offer a full advertising service to their clients, rather than merely the purchase of newspaper and media space. By incorporating multiple types of staff expertise on-site, offices supported agencies' move towards offering service-oriented advertising, on which the professional identity of modern advertising practitioners was founded. While chapter 1 examined the changing rhetoric that organised advertising used to construct advertising's professional narrative, this chapter is concerned with how the values described were embedded in architecture and played out in the lived reality of advertising agency offices.

Stefan Schwarzkopf and Sean Nixon have shown how advertising agents used buildings to project corporate values and secure public recognition of advertising's respectability.[3] However, they overlook the role that offices – the architecture and the community – played in supporting practitioners' own professional behaviour. Architectural scholarship suggests that there is dynamic interplay between how buildings, space and people shape and inform one another.[4] Angel Kwolek-Folland argues that the office building was 'an avenue for controlling experience and behaviour… as well as being symbolic of values and beliefs'.[5]

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[1] Eric Fields, *Advertising: the forgotten years* (1954), pp. 39-40.

[2] Samson Clark moved offices in 1922, and JWT in 1923 W. S. Crawford's in 1927.

[3] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Creativity, Capital and tacit knowledge', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1 (2008), pp. 190, 195; Sean Nixon, 'In pursuit of the Professional Ideal: advertising and the construction of commercial expertise in Britain 1953-1964' in Peter Jackson et al., (eds.) *Commercial Cultures* (2000), p. 58.

[4] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, (2008); Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: mediating power in built form* (1999).

[5] Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business* (1994), p. 95.

While office buildings acted as status symbols intended to impress clients and the public, directors of firms could also use them to reinforce professional values, mediate power relationships within a company, and denote a person's place within them through the spatial layout of office buildings. Literature about professionalization, however, focuses too readily on professional associations and their regulatory processes when questioning the elements of professionalism, since these represent the ideals of particular occupations that are easily comparable.[6] Yet the office was a significant alternative site for the production of professional identity because it was through daily work and interaction with colleagues in office buildings that professional practices emerged and were standardised, and where standards and ideals were translated into practice.[7] The office was where professionalism *happened*.

A focus on the advertising agency office and its everyday rhythms provides a different sense of continuity and change in how professional identity was experienced in advertising from 1920 until 1954 to that offered by a history of advertising's regulatory reform or creative output. Many staff members had careers that bridged commonly demarcated periods of time, such as the economic depression, the Second World War or particular advertising campaigns, but this sense of base continuity is lost in the desire to find change and progress in advertising. While the history of everyday life has enjoyed renewed interest from cultural historians, research has largely concentrated on the private domestic sphere.[8] Much of everyday life, however, for those employed by the advertising industry specifically and in professional culture more generally, was spent in the office – and much more time was spent in the office than attending the events or committee meetings of organised advertising. This in itself makes the office a significant place for the formation of professional identity. Moreover, since the advertising agency was a profit-driven organisation, a focus on how professionalism was constructed at the agency level (instead of at the level of organised advertising) enables historians to look beyond whether

[6] For instance, W. F. Chua and C. Poullaos, 'The dynamics of 'closure' amidst the construction of market, profession, empire and nationhood: an historical analysis of an Australian accounting association, 1886-1903', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 23 (1998), pp. 155-87; Mark Hampton, 'Journalists and the "Professional Ideal" in Britain: the Institute of Journalists, 1884-1907', *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), pp. 183 – 201.

[7] David Cooper and Keith Robson, 'Accounting, professions and regulation: locating the sites of professionalisation', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 31 (2006), pp. 415-444.

[8] David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (eds.), *Sites of everyday life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford, 2002); Paul Betts, *Within Walls: Private life in the GDR* (Oxford, 2010).

advertising agents were ultimately concerned with 'the public interest', to investigate and account for how other particular components of advertising's professional narrative – such as creativity, modernity and efficiency – interacted and evolved.

This chapter mobilizes a wide range of new archival evidence in order to consider these issues. A large body of the source material refers to JWT, since its archive is most complete. However, it is still possible to gain insight into work practices across the wider industry through unearthing further evidence from less comprehensive agency archives and other sources, such as news items, the personal column and satire in *Advertiser's Weekly*. The architecture of agency buildings and their interiors can be seen in photographs and line drawings, some of which survive as images in their own right; others illustrate agency biographies and internal staff newsletters; and still others form the basis of advertisements and publicity material for agencies. These images give a physical context to the services described by the advertisement, and serve to emphasise the status of the agency. Office buildings can also be visualised through textual description and architectural floor plans, which show how space was demarcated and allocated, suggesting the ways in which the building supported hierarchy.

The culture that resided within the office is harder to establish because surviving sources remain silent about day-to-day intricacies; the mundane is rarely recorded. However, accounts of everyday life appear in correspondence between agency staff and in staff memorandums. Fragments of day-to-day life can also be glimpsed in the trade press through interviews and comments, and in the notices and announcements in surviving staff newsletters, specifically the *Samson Clark Staff Gazette* from the 1920s and JWT's *Round the Square* in the post-war era. Given that advertising agencies harboured aspiring writers, it is probable that other agencies would have had some sort of newsletter, even though they do not survive today. The fragmentary nature of primary evidence makes Dorothy Sayer's *Murder Must Advertise* (1933) a particularly useful insight into the tensions and relationships characteristic of agency office life. Sayers worked at S. H. Bensons from 1925 to 1934, and the fictional format of her writing enabled candid descriptions of office life. She suggests the accuracy of her view in a letter to her publisher Harold Bell in 1933: 'the advertising part is sound enough. I was nine years in an advertising agency, so I ought to know the ground!'[9]

[9] Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers* (ed.) Barbara Reynolds (1995), p. 330.

Using these sources, this chapter considers how professional identity in advertising was created at an agency – rather than industry – level. How did the office support and shape professional identity in advertising? And how did the multiple corporate identities cultivated by individual firms intersect with an overriding professional identity in advertising? The first section considers how the professional environment of the office building – the architecture and its interior – contributed to the formation of professional identity, through the allocation of office space and décor. The second section turns to how office culture moulded the professional identity of agency staff. The third section suggests the importance of the collective office identity formed during the interwar years for the years during and after the Second World War, during which office space was disbanded, transformed, destroyed and recreated. The chapter is concerned with how leaders of the advertising industry created, instilled and sustained the multiple values of professionalism, through the environments that staff inhabited together, and how staff responded to this narrative. How were those working in advertising taught to be 'professional' (and in turn, learnt to be professional), and to what extent did staff adopt and adapt professionalism as a social and cultural identification from 1920 to 1954?

Buildings and interiors

The modern office building functioned as an important mark of status for service agencies: the office was the outward projection of the advertising agency's corporate identity. Place can embody power, and in London aspiring advertising agencies sought out grand buildings with impressive addresses on and around Fleet Street, Holborn, Aldwych and the West End in order to generate symbolic capital for their flourishing firms. Originally, during the nineteenth century, agencies were clustered predominately on and around Fleet Street because of their historic connections with press and printers. However, as advertising agencies sought professional status following the First World War, they began to relocate westwards to buildings on the more desirable streets around Holborn and Aldwych. Poking fun at the vanity of some agencies, Sayers located her fictional advertising agency, Pym's, in a building which 'ha[d] a solid stone parapet all round about three feet high, to give an air of still greater magnificence'.[10] The connection between

[10] Dorothy L. Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise* (1933), p. 68.

building capacity and personal business prowess is clear in Louise Morgan's description of Jessie Reynolds, director of Samson Clark, as 'the only woman in the country who is head of a great advertising agency, with a complete modern seven-storey building near Oxford Circus as offices'.[11]

Image 2.1: Samson Clark, 57-61 Mortimer Street: HAT, SAM 1/336/1, p. 7.

Image 2.2: W. S. Crawford, 233 High Holborn: G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954), p. 40.

At the opening of his agency's purpose-built offices on Mortimer Street in 1922 (Image 2.1), Henry Samson Clark made explicit the links between the new building and his belief in the advertising industry's respectability. 'I desired to build in the West End a house sufficiently spacious and noble to do honour to the business and profession of advertising', he said. 'I wanted to give a physical demonstration as splendid as could be concerning all the processes and equipment that the modern energy of publicity has applied to commerce implies.'[12] Samson Clark's new building, which was specifically based on the 'dignified' and 'welcoming' architecture of a bank, sought to convey the prestige associated with the banking profession.[13] Although not purpose-built, Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne also occupied office accommodation of similarly elaborate architecture. Publicity materials emphasised their onsite facilities, which included the 'literary department', an art studio,

[11] Louise Morgan, 'Key Women: Jessie Reynolds', *News Chronicle*, 30 January 1936.
[12] HAT, SAM 21/336/2 'Samson Clark: Marketing and Advertising. New Look… new outlook (1960, on the move to Ferguson House)'.
[13] HAT, SAM 21/336/1 'Samson Clark: A history of Progress 1896-1925'.

and printing and engraving departments, as well as the Empire and overseas department and the trademark, patents, designs and copyright department.[14] As a part of an emerging profession, Samson Clark attempted to make up for advertising's lack of traditions by presenting it as an occupation that, like banking, was a firmly established part of society and the economy. The commission of accommodation to the agency's particular requirements suggests not only the wealth of the firm, but also a desire to demarcate advertising as a distinct occupation with need for specialist facilities to support the specialist expertise of practitioners.

In contrast to the ornate design of Samson Clark's offices, and the office accommodation of Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne, W. S. Crawford's choice of purpose-built accommodation on 233 High Holborn was modernist in style, reflecting the firm's dedication to creativity and innovation (Image 2.2).[15] Designed by Frederick Etchells in 1927, the building was 'constructed mainly of concrete, black marble, stainless steel and glass'. The clean façade was matched by a 'modern interior, complete with built-in furniture and stainless steel'.[16] Eschewing tradition, the building positioned advertising within narratives of progress and the future, and 'confirmed Crawford's reputation as a lavish patron of modernism'.[17] Indeed, Crawford was influenced by the distinct visual identity of the Bauhaus Movement, and its commitment to producing well-designed everyday items and environments. He believed that well thought out advertisements made a positive contribution to the cultural life of the masses. Yet Crawford's patronage of Etchells, a renowned architect, also suggests a desire to be recognised as part of the traditional cultural establishment. Like Samson Clark, it was important to G. H. Saxon Mills, the author of Crawford's biography, that 'the heart and headquarters' of the creatively driven W. S. Crawford's was in a suitably 'strong building', that had been built specifically for advertising.[18] Both buildings were visions of professionalism within advertising: Samson Clark's office was respectable and with rich tradition, pedigree and

[14] HAT, T. B. Browne *The ABC of Advertising* (1920), pp. 100-17.
[15] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Creativity, Capital and tacit knowledge', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1 (2008), pp. 190, 195.
[16] G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a tide* (1954), p. 53; Nicholas Bullock, 'Etchells, Frederick (1886-1973)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, May 2011. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63132, accessed 16 October 2014]
[17] Scott Anthony, 'Crawford, Sir William Smith (1878–1950)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40828, accessed 16 October 2014].
[18] Saxon Mills, *There is a tide*, p. 53.

continuity, while Crawford's embodied creativity, progress and modernity. Taken together, these two purpose-built offices suggest the multiple elements and attributes that could constitute professional identity in advertising in the interwar years.

It was in these ideologically charged buildings, which conveyed the corporate identities of advertising agencies, that professional identity was practiced and performed by those working in advertising on a daily basis. The following section explores how directors of advertising agencies used their offices to support professional hierarchy and convey the professional values of efficiency, creativity and continued learning to their staff, through the layout and furnishing of the interior environment.

Harold Perkin envisaged modern society as made up of 'career hierarchies of specialised occupations', which 'reach much further down the social pyramid than ever landlordship or even business capital did'.[19] In advertising specifically, a hierarchy of educated and experienced experts, creatives, and managers were assisted by administrative and technical staff. While it was possible to progress between the two groups over the course of a career in advertising, indeed clerical work was a recognised entry point for a career in advertising, the office environment supported this hierarchy in both its physical layout – the overt physical boundaries of walls, stairs, doors and moveable objects – and 'the spatial articulations of social division, status or position'.[20] In JWT's accommodation in Bush House, it is unsurprising that the spacious, sunny offices which faced southwards towards the Strand were commandeered by senior management.[21] As directors of the firm, they were entitled to privacy, a precious commodity in office life. The rooms on north, east and west walls of Bush House were used by copywriters, art directors, and departmental managers.[22] Shared workspace for those in non-managerial positions in agencies was common: photographs of the copy department, main office and checking and registration department at Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne agencies show men and women working side by side.[23] This was the most economic use of space, and allowed staff in departments to work together efficiently. With individual offices lining the exterior walls

[19] Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (1989), p. 3.

[20] For a fuller discussion on career progression in advertising, see Chapter 3, pp.137-9 and Chapter 4, pp 162 ; Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: men and women in the corporate office* (1994), p. 95.

[21] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Plans of Bush House' (c.1931).

[22] Ibid.

[23] Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, pp. 113 - 125; Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising* (1921), p. xix.

of Bush House, the centre floor space was occupied by a large general office, where junior staff started work. Sam Soper, a controller, described the space as being stuffy and slightly dim: daylight, which shone through the glazed doors of the individual offices to the space in the middle, was insufficient to work by, so it was supplemented by white opaque pendant lights; there was no source of fresh air.[24]

The way that spatial arrangement promoted hierarchy within the interior of the office is shown neatly in a photograph of the interior of JWT's accommodation at Berkley Square.[25] A smartly dressed man poses thoughtfully in his spacious, well lit office, while his secretary, half obscured by the doorway, sits as gate-keeper just outside with telephone and typewriter at her desk. Floor plans of Bush House offices also show secretaries' desks positioned outside their boss' rooms. By sitting outside on view, the secretary enhanced the status of the employer; only senior members of staff had personal secretaries. The private secretary was the highest clerical position, and, to be successful in this role, had to 'practice deference [and] understand the hierarchy of corporate social skills.'[26] The overall vision of the efficient service agency was, therefore, comprised of multiple dove-tailing roles and attributes; practitioners required administrative support staff to help them achieve as professionals. The individual relationship between the private secretary and executive was important. With regards to office culture more broadly, Kwolek-Folland suggests that 'the private secretary had to give up his or her own identity and become one with the employers''.[27] A small insight into how the relationship between executive and secretary was displayed in advertising is provided by a comment in *Advertiser's Weekly* about the issue of women's pay: 'How many famous advertising men have owed most of their success to their clever, tactful, indefatigable and incorruptible (oh yes, and *loyal*) women secretaries?'[28] This suggests that advertising was part of wider trends common to other office based occupations. Despite the promise of advancement beyond secretarial work in advertising (which was achieved by W. S. Crawford's managing director, Florence Sangster, for example), the threshold of the office door provided a very physical division differentiating the positions of secretary and executive. Similarly, in a second photograph,

[24] Duke, JWT, The Papers of Sam Soper, Box 1, 'My JWT Life', unpublished manuscript (1996), p. 12.
[25] Duke, JWT, London Office records, Box 3, 'Miscellaneous photograph' (c.1940). Found in a collection of miscellaneous photographs in the London Office archive, the purpose of the photograph is not clear.
[26] Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business,* p. 60.
[27] Ibid.
[28] HAT, WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 19 January 1944.

the man is positioned behind a solid wooden desk, while his secretary perches on a chair in front, balancing her notes on her knee, the desk acting as a physical divide between the status of secretary and executive (Image 2.3).

Image 2.3: JWT interior, 'Miscellaneous photograph' (c.1940).

In *Plain Murder*, C. S. Forester uses furniture to denote the superior status of the supervisor. He describes Mr Harrison's chair and table as 'the seat of power', which were 'set on a low dais, symbolically, perhaps, or perhaps so that he could better supervise the work of his juniors'.[29] The spatial arrangement of the general office space, where the work of more junior clerical staff members was monitored, also supported professional hierarchy. Unlike the private office space of those in higher positions, the open area of JWT's general office made workers visible, observable and open to correction. Furniture and room layout, then, also worked to support the professional hierarchy of the advertising agency office and denote a person's place within it.

Advertising agencies claimed that advertising made business more effective for their clients, since it improved distribution systems. 'Efficiency' became a fundamental ideal of professional identity in advertising. For the benefit of new clients, Mather & Crowther's

[29] C. S. Forester, *Plain Murder* (1930, 1970 edn.), p. 15.

Practical Advertising described how advertising 'builds and ensures business; it reduces expenses, strengthens credit, eliminates waste and endows with more vitality all the efforts of the business man'.[30] Significantly, this passage was illustrated by photographs of the interiors of Mather & Crowther's offices, suggesting that the benefits of efficiency promised to clients through advertising started with the organisation of the office. T. B. Browne was more explicit. In the chapter on 'Efficiency in Advertising' in *ABC of Advertising,* the agency set out to demonstrate that it was 'the most perfectly equipped Advertising Agency in the world' (a title which the agency claimed an American advertising agent had bestowed on them) by describing 'the various departments of our organisation', complete with illustrations of the interior spaces.[31] The message was clear: efficiency was woven throughout the operations of the firm, from the board of directors down to the filing clerks.

In the run up to the 1920 White City advertising exhibition, *Advertiser's Weekly* observed:

> it is a truism that the advertising agents and consultants are among the best missionaries of the business efficiency specialists and of manufacturers of office appliances and equipments [sic]. Many an agent has had to re-organise the office of his client's sales department before he could issue a single advertisement.[32]

Drawing on this belief, organisers installed a model of an ideal office at the White City exhibition, where the professional advertising agent was represented as an expert in business management, as well as a salesman and master of communication. Models of offices and demonstrations of advertising practitioners at work also featured in the 1927 and 1933 Advertising exhibitions.[33] These suggest curiosity about how advertising was created on the part of manufacturers and an attempt by agencies to normalise advertising as a routine part of business practice.[34] By giving insight into how advertising campaigns

[30] HAT, Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising*, (1921), p. xix.
[31] For instance, Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising* (1920); T. B. Brown, *ABC of Advertising* (1920).
[32] 'The White City Model Office: A living exhibit of Modern Business Efficiency that will draw crowds at the Great Adverting Exhibition' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 29 October 1920.
[33] 'Club notes', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 July 1927, p. 30; 'We can't take Fleet Street to Olympia: working models of Advertising agencies the next best thing', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 2 March 1933, p. 252.
[34] T. B. Browne illustrated *ABC of Advertising* (1920) with pictures of practitioners working, which also sought to demystify the process of producing an advertising campaign. Similarly, Samson Clark and

were devised, agencies demonstrated that good advertising comprised originally produced material, based on calculated decisions and supported by talented art work; not merely luck. Advertising was presented as operating on a scientific, planned basis. In doing so, agencies contributed to creating a sense of transparency in a 'mystical' profession. The trappings of office efficiency were used to enhance the status of advertising in the office setting: Forester describes how Mr Campbell, director of the fictitious middle-ranking Universal Agency, had 'displayed painstakingly all the latest devices in office equipment which could conceivably find a place in a managing director's private room'.[35] Such technology, including Dictaphones and mechanised mailing machines, presented advertising as modern and vital to business productivity, and worked to counter ideas that advertising was 'a doubtful speculation'. [36]

Time was ever present in the office: clocks are seen in every photograph of the interior of Mather & Crowther. [37] Punctuality was linked with efficiency: management required agency staff to sign their names each working day in an attendance book in reception. Similar to clocking in and out, Soper recalls how 'a red line was drawn at 9.30am every day so that those arriving after than had to sign below the line and were easily identified as being LATE! Three times late in a month meant you were called upon to explain and improve.'[38] In maintaining this practice, the management of JWT dictated the time keeping of their staff, clearly demarcating work time from their leisure. While directors and executives were free to merge leisure with business (for example, with working lunches, entertaining clients, and transatlantic voyages), clerical staff and junior agency staff were expected to adhere to a regime laid down by superiors. It was a recurrent point of rebellion among some: frequent memoranda in the staff note book at Fredk E. Potter's reminded staff that tardiness was 'most undesirable and detrimental to the future of those who persist in coming in late'.[39] Being late was unprofessional. Aileen Cutting, of JWT, was proud that 'in the twenty five years she's been with the firm, the switchboard has always opened on time, in war and peace'.[40] Sayers evokes the humiliation felt by those who strove to live up

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Saward, Barker agencies offered tours of their offices so that clients could see how advertising was produced. HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 11 September1925.

[35] Forester, *Plain Murder*, p. 14.

[36] Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising* (1921), p. xix.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Soper, *'*My JWT Life*'*, p. 12.

[39] HAT, Fredk. Potter, 'Staff notice book', 21 May 1928.

[40] 'Profile: Aileen Cutting': Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box IN7, *Round the square*, 2, 1 (1952), p. 6.

to this part of professional behaviour, but, on occasion, failed: 'Mr Copely, savagely sign[ed] his name far away below the red line which divided the punctual from the dilatory'.[41]

As a creative industry, however, time operated slightly differently for those producing advertising materials. In particular, concessions were made for the peculiar needs of creative staff, who were 'liable to be called upon to work through the night when planning a new campaign, or to meet a deadline: it was seen as reasonable to be flexible towards their time of arrival'.[42] Press deadlines had to be met; when an agency failed to deliver material on time, newspapers printed 'space reserved for x company', which was a damning indictment on the agency's ability to deliver the service promised to the client. Flexibility was necessary, but sometimes resented by other staff. Soper, who, as a controller responsible for the collation of campaign material, was also occasionally asked to work late but had to adhere to a 9.30am start, reflected that 'I always felt they took unfair advantage of this'.[43] By being given greater control of their time, creatives were placed in a position of privilege within the advertising agency.

Creativity was a significant part of advertising's specific vision of professionalism, and it is this creative element that made advertising agencies different from other office-based white collar work. In an agency advertisement, the London office of American firm Lord & Thomas explained to potential clients the importance of original creativity in advertising:

> FIRST people are apt to imagine that the advertising of brands which are literally world-famous is merely 'copied' from somewhere else. SECOND – and this is much more important – such adverting often has a simplicity which seems elementary, so that the inventive power behind it is not always readily discernible. In actual fact it is elementary but only in the best sense of the word.[44]

The construction and layout of the agency office was designed to support such creativity. Both T. B. Browne and S. H. Bensons, which employed the authors Michael Barsley, Pamela Frankau and Dorothy L. Sayers, referred to their copy rooms as 'the literary

[41] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise*, p. 112.
[42] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 12.
[43] Ibid.
[44] 'Lord and Thomas Advertisement', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 20 February 1936, p. 269.

department'.[45] In *Murder Must Advertise*, Sayers imagines that 'the copy department on the whole worked happily together, writing each other's headlines in a helpful spirit and invading each other's room at all hours of the day'.[46] In doing so, she captures the sense of collective identity in sub-groups within the organisation. At JWT collaborative behaviour was specifically encouraged. Margaret Tempest recalled that the Resors, the directors of the agency, had, since the 1920s, 'thought in terms of freedom of thought [with regards to office layout]. Freedom of ideas, with people popping their heads in'.[47] Architectural plans of JWT's offices at Bush House show how this ideal was reflected in the allocation of space: departments were collected together, with staff sharing offices with multiple interconnecting doors.[48] A *Fortune* magazine feature on the JWT London office related that 'this sort of cross-pollenization serves Thompson as its major liaison system; a formal committee meeting is called only when the drift-in-drift-out habit fails to bring enough thoughts to bear on a thorny problem'.[49] Rather than the prescriptive, static behaviour expected by the corporate firms explored by studies of banks and insurance companies, in advertising agencies there was more movement of people around the building.[50] Indeed, Sayers used the constant flow of people around Pym's to complicate Lord Peter Wimsey's search for alibis in *Murder Must Advertise*.[51] It was recognised that this collective working led to a house style of copy: for instance, when the copywriter C. F. Deemuth moved agencies, *Advertiser's Weekly* speculated that 'ground-floor Barker copy should stand him in versatile stead for varied Higham ads'.[52] Similar to the secretary who blended with the employer, copywriters (and designers) surrendered individual creativity to the collective style of the agency.

Recognising the value that education brought to professional life, Samson Clark's offices included a lecture hall for 'the instruction' of staff; respect for continued learning was built into the architecture, with specific rooms designed for especially for professional

[45] T. B. Browne *The ABC of Advertising* (1920); Stanley Pigott, *OBM: A celebration, one hundred and twenty-five years in Advertising* (1975), p. 37.
[46] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise*, pp.12, 33.
[47] Duke, JWT, Sidney Ralph Bernstein Company History file, Box 1, 'Interview with Margaret Tempest', 6 Nov 1963.
[48] 'Plans of Bush House' (c.1931).
[49] Duke, JWT, Colin Dawkins Papers, Box 14, *Fortune magazine* (1947), p. 214.
[50] Gregory Anderson (ed.) *The white blouse revolution: female office workers since 1879* (Manchester, 1988); Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*.
[51] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise*, p. 138.
[52] 'Mainly Personal: CFD to CFH', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 30 January 1936, p. 158.

development.[53] A pamphlet describes how the hall had 'been the scene of business lectures by many well-known people, among them Wickham Steed, late Editor of *The Times,* and Sir Lawrence Weaver, director of the UK Exhibitions at Wembley.'[54] Lecture programmes brought external visitors to the Agency, enabling Samson Clark to showcase their building to important outsiders, as well as exposing staff to ideas of significant figures related to advertising. Although it is impossible to know how lectures were received by staff, it is striking that provision was made to keep them informed and educated in affairs beyond the remit of their everyday jobs. This underlines the idea that professional identity was a dominant identity for those who cultivated it; while being professional denoted possessing expertise in a particular skill or service, it was also all-encompassing. Professional identity stretched beyond the working day. When not being used for presentations, the hall was used for recitals and dances, and, in keeping with the professional ethos of charity, for parties attended by 'the children whose interests are guarded by the National Advertising Benevolent Society (NABS) and poor children of the neighbourhood'.[55] The hall provided a place for the staff to come together in a different configuration to the everyday environment.

The office community and professional identity

The connection between the ethos of a firm and the firm's success or failure is well established. Charles Dellheim's work on Cadbury's company culture, for example, shows how the founders' Quaker ethic and their desire for 'industrial betterment' led to prosperity for the business.[56] With regard to advertising, Pearson and Turner's 1965 ethnographic portrait of the industry points to the diversity of agency cultures in London, and the pivotal role that the corporate culture of an agency could play in winning – or losing – accounts. For instance, Pearson and Turner described how in 1965 JWT had 'earned a reputation for hiring Etonians with carnations rather than people with brains', doing 'honest-to-goodness "value for money" advertising, in which copy was sober, rational and down-to-earth', while suggesting that 'if a British tradition of advertising does survive [against America take-over] Benson's is its undoubted repository', due to the understated use of humour in

[53] SAM 21/336/1 'A history of Progress 1896-1925'.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Charles Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: *Cadburys,* 1861-1931', *The American Historical Review,* 92 (1987), pp. 13-44.

its copy.[57] Using the example of the competition for the Ford account in 1960, they recount how Ford executives toured potential advertising agencies, with a check list that included: 'Does the building in which the agency is housed and the service personnel that man it suggest modernity, efficiency and progress? ... Was the agency philosophy sound and convincing?'[58] Advertising agencies' corporate cultures and subcultures expressed the particular ideals and specialisms of a firm and its directorate, which, when taken collectively, contributed to the professional identity of the industry as a whole. Professional identity was composed of values and practices that agencies held in common. Yet, as Clark Davis' work on emerging corporations in Los Angeles shows, leaders 'often struggled to persuade salaried employees to act with the sense of ownership in a firm'.[59] A similar struggle was faced by directors of advertising agencies: the need to draw employees into a particular professional narrative and allow them to make it their own. As this section argues, the office community was significant in determining how employees responded to the corporate idea of professional identity envisaged by directors.

Stylised versions of office communities are represented in advertising agencies' self-publicity. There was a spate of advertisements by agencies advertising their services in the trade press in the 1930s. Competition for new business was fierce during the economic depression, and was made even fiercer by American agencies in London. While the branch office of the American agency Lord & Thomas attempted indigenisation by stressing that original creative work was produced in their London office, C. R. Casson and JWT made the office community a specific selling point of their firms. C. R. Casson's advertisement read:

> A mammoth advertising agency is ideal if you like a machine without the personal attention of the people who matter. A vest pocket agency is ideal if you like the personal attention of people who don't matter without the machine. There are 39 of us here at C. R. Casson, excluding Charladies. We're large enough to be an efficient machine and small enough to be personally interested in you and your problems.

[57] John Pearson and Graham Turner, *The Persuasion Industry*, (1965), pp. 46-7, 83.
[58] Ibid. p. 21.
[59] Clark Davis, '"You are the Company": The demands of employment in the emerging corporate culture, Los Angeles, 1900-1930', *Business History Review*, 70 (1996), pp. 328-62.

> There's nothing we can't give you that a larger agency can, and plenty we can give you that a smaller agency can't.[60]

Casson made a point of claiming to be an optimum size, of striking a balance between the anonymous bureaucracy of a larger firm (for instance, as early as 1925, Samson Clark boasted 250 staff members) and limitations of efficiency in smaller organisations.[61] The language used by the advertisement is warm and friendly – 'personal' is used three times in fifty-three words – and presents Casson as the antithesis to the faceless, mechanical and modern office evoked by Marshall Berman.[62] In particular, the phrase '39 of us' suggests that all thirty-nine staff members were known to one another and made a particular individual contribution to the firm to which they belonged. The mention of charladies gives the description of their office a touch of homeliness and hospitality, but points to the hierarchal nature of professionalism and the multiple experiences of being at work. Charladies supported the professional identity of practitioners in advertising, and, in this case, were explicitly excluded from the professional narrative. By casting the firm as a sum of the people employed, Casson's advertisement emphasises the importance of personality in advertising, and indeed, business, and presents the firm as friendly and approachable.

While Casson's described their office, JWT depicted it in a campaign entitled 'Agency in Action'.[63] A full page spread in a supplement to the 1937 Empire Exhibition included a photograph of the Bush House offices on Aldwych displayed at the top of the page. Below, a dense cartoon strip, with boxes filled with JWT's characteristic 'reason-why' copy, shows staff at work within the building. The office building is presented as a marker, a context for the activity that goes on within, like a scene-setting shot in film. Here, again, the office is made up of people, their ideas and their possessions: their collective function is to produce advertising. The agency is shown to have comprehensively adapted the building to serve its needs best. A wide range of departments are presented at work, with staff animatedly discussing work around a table, as well as working together to use the agency's cutting-edge facility: the radio studio, which had been converted from the basement swimming pool, on the foundation of Radio Luxembourg. The tension between public and private spheres of the agency is also evident in the presence of the consumer

[60] 'C. R. Casson advertisement', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 11 June 1936, p. 373.
[61] 'A history of Progress 1896-1925', p. 12.
[62] Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid melts into Air: the experience of modernity* (New York, 1982).
[63] 'Agency in Action', *Daily Mail*, 14 June 1937 (Souvenir Edition of The Empire Advertising Convention), p. vi.

within the advertisement: JWT staff went out beyond the bounds of office 'into the field' in order to conduct market research to create advertising. In doing so, they opened up a dialogue between not only the client and the agency, but the consumer and the agency too. In this advertisement, although the building is used to situate the agency and showcase the vast resources at its disposal, JWT explicitly identifies itself instead with the talent and ability of its professional and well-trained staff: the productive office culture, housed inside its architecture, operating within its interior.

The professional behaviour of staff members was modelled by those at the top of agencies, who set the terms of the dialogue with employees about the meaning of professional identity in their firms. Nevett describes the interwar years as 'an era of powerful personalities'.[64] Certainly, the 1920s and 1930s were a period when many advertising agencies, including W. S. Crawford, Samson Clark, Charles F. Higham, and Fredk. E. Potter, carried the names of incumbent directors and founders, and these directors stamped their personalities on to their firm. Saxon Mills described in Crawford's biography how William Crawford personified the culture he wished to create: while Crawford's 'assembled within itself all the conventional departments of an established agency, it bore certain definite marks of its unconventional chief. It was very much an extension of his personality'.[65] He recalled how Crawford, 'rumbustious himself in nature', set the tone for the creative atmosphere that Crawford's became renowned for. Crawford 'positively encouraged and enjoyed battles of opinions in the house... "we're always quarrelling in Crawford's," he said, "that's how we produce our best work. But we're all good friends"'.[66] Henry Samson Clark was remembered for his work in creating a calmer culture at his agency, where 'everyone – from those who had worked here for years to the latest arrival – belonged'.[67] Soper recalled fondly in his memoir the 'perfect working environment' at JWT created, in part, by managers who were dedicated to 'a genuinely professional attitude'. Inviting shared recollection from his former colleagues, he proclaimed, 'What inspired people were leading us!'[68]

[64] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 145.
[65] Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide*, p. 46.
[66] Ibid.
[67] 'Henry Samson Clark: Nov 10th 1868 - February 9th 1925', *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 13 February 1925.
[68] Soper, *'My JWT Life'*, p. 93.

Kwolek-Folland has shown that many American corporations sought to model the family in structure.[69] It seems that advertising directors in Great Britain also found the emphasis of loyalty, community and hierarchy inherent in familial language helpful in the organisation of their firms, since it easily complemented the professional attributes of service, duty and personal responsibility. Agency directors often cast themselves as paternalistic figures: Saxon Mills recalled how Crawford would say to staff, 'I am your father, and you can always bring all your problems to me'.[70] As chapter 3 demonstrates, since formal advertising education was only just being established in the interwar years, agencies played an important role in training young staff. Staff loyalty, as practitioners grew in their careers, was a point of pride: 'Experience counts for so much in publicity', read a Fredk E. Potter pamphlet, 'that it is a matter of satisfaction to record that the heads of the chief departments of this Agency have "grown up with the firm"'.[71] Meanwhile, alluding to the family unit, Samson Clark ensured that every member of staff had 'been trained to realise that everything is subservient to the interests of the House, which are firstly, lastly and all the time the interests of the clients it serves'.[72]

Social occasions organised by the agency were significant opportunities for directors to mould professional behaviour of their staff by rewarding success, as well as court loyalty to the firm. [73] In *Murder Must Advertise,* the initial summons to Mr Pym's office to hear his 'sermon on Service in Advertising' was part of a long line of inter-departmental activities designed to inculcate a sense of pride in advertising in general and loyalty to the firm in particular, which culminated in the 'the Grand Annual Dinner and Dance for the whole staff'.[74] Sayers recounts the process somewhat sardonically, suggesting that staff did not necessarily accept their directors' rhetoric, but, nevertheless, understood and took part in the rituals involved in professional behaviour. Indeed, the regular announcements of agency dinners and dances in *Advertiser's Weekly* point to their importance in sustaining advertising's social life: 'More than 150 members of the staff and friends attended a dance held by Rumble, Crowther & Nicholas, Ltd., at the Place Rooms, Bloomsbury on December 10; so successful was the occasion that many inquiries have already been

[69] Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*.
[70] Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide*, p. 49.
[71] 'Expert Advertising Service': HAT, Fredk E. Potter, *World-Wide Publicity* (1916), p. 2.
[72] 'Samson Clark: A history of Progress 1896-1925', p. 5.
[73] Dellheim, 'Creation of a Company Culture', p. 30.
[74] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise*, p. 41.

received as to the day of the next one, and it is hoped to arrange this in February.'[75] Although sometimes contrived, dinners and parties during the interwar period provided a dignified occasion for the office staff to socialise together, and for directors to thank staff for the work carried out. Through this collective experience directors sought to reinforce loyalty to the firm and its values.

Samson Clark went further for his staff, arranging 'entertainment and holidays', so that 'everyone should be as happy and comfortable and interested in his or her individual job as was possible, and…the organisation should not merely represent a means of livelihood to those connected with it.'[76] By encouraging staff to develop interests and activities, Samson Clark approached staff welfare holistically, while also encouraging relationships to bind staff to the firm. Great sadness was expressed in the *Staff Gazette* when the firm's holiday house was given up for sale in February 1924:

> dear old Moleside will always be associated with pleasant memories, probably the happiest times being when we used to go up the Mole foraging for 'flotsam' through the trees that had overgrown the river and needed cutting away to enable us to get further on our exploring excursions.[77]

Image 2.4: Sabazia was the social club of Saward, Baker & co. In June 1924 members arranged a complete weekend away to Swanage: 'Sabazia take a week-end off', *Advertising World*, July 1924, p. 322.

[75] 'We Hear', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 23 December 1937, p. 436.
[76] 'Henry Samson Clark: Nov 10th 1868 – February 9th 1925': HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 13 February 1925.
[77] *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 14 December 1923.

Trips to Moleside, and the activities of Sabazia, were similar to the American corporate 'away days' examined by Kwolek-Folland, in that they helped to build relationships between staff in a relaxed, natural environment beyond the formal hierarchy of the office.[78] However, unlike away days, excursions to Moleside (and to other rural houses once Moleside had been sold) were voluntary. With young, ambitious staff, it is perhaps unsurprising that trips away were popular, since they gave staff opportunity to network, be seen, and to demonstrate their enthusiasm about the firm. Yet the voluntary nature of the trips – and the manner in which they featured in reminiscences – might also suggest a degree of friendship between staff members. Friendship is a recurring theme in the formation of professional identity: it is difficult to locate in sources, given the lack of surviving evidence (personal correspondence, for example), but it was nevertheless a vital influence in how staff negotiated professional identity on an individual basis. It was a wise director, therefore, that made provision for staff entertainment and trips away, where staff could interact with one another in an environment beyond work.

The reaction of staff to Samson Clark's untimely death while on a business trip to Kenya in 1925 suggests that he was successful in courting their respect.[79] 'Stunned', and 'full of sorrow', they wrote in tribute to him in the *Staff Gazette*. Although this is the accepted response to a death, it is significant that loyalty was not just to Samson Clark himself; staff also searched to 'find practical ways to express […] loyalty and devotion' to Miss Reynolds, his deputy. This suggests that he managed to cultivate a culture of duty to the firm as a whole.[80] Given the metaphor of the family that Samson Clark applied to his agency, it is perhaps unsurprising that he left in his will 'many small gifts to employees'.[81] Similarly, on the death of Charles Higham in December 1938, *Advertiser's Weekly* emphasised his relationship with his staff. The paper speculated that 'it is doubtful any other agency can lay claim to finer staff devotion than C. F. Higham Ltd. The great man knew his staff from highest to lowest and their welfare was his pride.'[82]

However, discerning how those working in advertising responded to the professional bounds in which they were placed is not straightforward. While directors actively courted

[78] Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, pp. 144-48.
[79] 'Henry Samson Clark', *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 13 February 1925.
[80] Ibid.
[81] More substantial was the £10,000 bequest to his 'friend and long-term colleague' Jessie Reynolds, his esteemed deputy: 'Obiturary: Samson Clark', *Times*, 9 March 1925, p. 17.
[82] 'Farewell to Sir Charles', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 29 December 1938, p. 452.

staff loyalty, not all staff members were as steadfast as Higham's were alleged to be. To progress in a career in advertising, contemporaries thought it necessary to move agencies regularly: the personal columns of *Advertiser's Weekly* show a high turnover of agency staff, with agencies sometimes actively recruiting staff from rivals firms. For instance in 1936, *Advertiser's Weekly* warned that

> any agency with a woman of no uncommon merit on its staff should be on the watch. A week or so ago I wrote of Colman, Prentis and Varley luring Miss Train from Regent… Now I hear that they have snaffled Miss Bird from Stuarts.[83]

In addition to poaching, larger agencies also faced the risk of 'breakaways', since employees forged close working relationships with individual clients as well as with agency colleagues. In February 1937, David Graham (a director and account representative) and David Gillies (copy head) left JWT to form Graham and Gillies. Initially taking twenty of JWT's staff, they were joined by several other directors in the following months.[84] More significantly, Graham and Gillies took three of JWT's big accounts: Rose's, Windolite, and Clavert's.[85] However, the betrayal expressed by staff of JWT (Soper later described the staff who left as 'renegades') suggests that for most the breakaway was an unpleasant and unsettling surprise that violated the loyalty that they felt to their firm, which, for many, had provided them with training and advertising education. Bill Gooderham, who joined the firm in 1934, recalled that 'for the first time Thompson's was under the hammer. Why were people leaving, why was a new company being set up? For a young person this was the first major worry of my life.'[86] Soper praised Doug Saunders (then joint managing director) who 'dealt fearlessly and skilfully with the G&G departure… [His] reassuring charm triumphed over any residual shock felt by the staff who stayed at JWT.'[87] Saunders was able to settle the staff community, and affirm their importance as staff members of JWT.

While some staff felt personal loyalty to their directors, this did not necessarily extend to loyalty to the profession as a whole. This was especially so with regards to creative staff, many of whom did not view advertising as compatible with the high culture to which they

[83] 'Mainly Personal', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 27 February 1936, p. 300.
[84] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 45.
[85] Douglas C. West, 'From T-Square to T-Plan', *Business History,* 29 (1987), p. 206.
[86] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Interview with Bill Gooderham', 19 Oct 1972, p. 5.
[87] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 45.

aspired. For instance, the novelist and copywriter Antonia White, on applying for a job at Erwin Wasey, conceded that she feared 'that I shall become really interested [in advertising]; nothing but a successful advertising woman, [and] lose all interest in art'.[88] White viewed art as fundamentally incompatible with advertising, and commercial success as addictive and destructive to her high calling as a novelist. Writers had to be pragmatic, however. Stanley Pigott, who worked for Ogilvy Mather and Benson, recounts how copywriters at Bensons used the agency as a starting point for their literary careers, since they found employment at Bensons 'more congenial and better-paid than teaching while making a start in their own profession'.[89] In a sense, these copywriters challenged the idea of tradition and legitimacy from within the industry.

Thus, despite the enthusiasm of agency directors, identification with the advertising industry and commitment to its professional ideal was varied among staff. Orwell's *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, where aspiring poet Gordon 'watched his own development [as a copywriter], first with surprise, then with amusement, and finally with a kind of horror', spoke to a residual distaste of advertising and the belief that business was uncultured. [90] This makes the exhibitions of advertising artwork (in particular in the exhibitions organised by the AA in 1920, 1927 and 1933) important, as they presented advertising artwork in a gallery setting – normally reserved for paintings – that emphasised the creative value and beauty of the artwork. Since creative practitioners were perhaps most aware of the public perception of their jobs, these exhibitions worked to persuade creative practitioners of the dignity of advertising's professional narrative by celebrating the creative merit of advertising. Creative practitioners had to strike a balance between financial success and creative freedom and integrity. Advertising's professional narrative was flexible enough to include creative practitioners, who opted in and out more frequently than other staff, and for whom professional identity was secondary to a deeper felt creative identity.

Poems expressing dissatisfaction with the creative limits under which creative staff operated occasionally appeared in *Advertiser's Weekly*. This stanza, for example, criticises the use of bombastic language in advertising copy:

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[88] Susan Chitty, *Antonia White*: *Diaries 1926 – 1957* (1991), p. 114.
[89] Pigott, *OBM*, p. 37
[90] George Orwell, *Keep the Aspidistra flying* (1936, 1988 edn.), p. 58.

Lines written in dejection

I loathe the categorical imperative
Why must conditions always be 'ideal?
I hate this 'meltitufinous' and 'territive'
Why is a Price reduction always 'real'?
Why all these beastly notes of exclamation?
Why this confounded 'from the shoulder' stuff?
Can't the Practitioners' Incorporation
Have done with all mock heartiness and bluff? [91]

Written partly in jest, the stanza protests against some of the absurdities present in advertising copy, and suggests weariness with demands for dramatic, and formulaic, claims for brands. The poem was part of *Advertiser's Weekly* annual satirical Christmas edition, which was full of tongue in cheek humour and industry-in jokes. Through this edition, practitioners gently mocked themselves, their caricatures and the clients that they worked for, revealing an industry that felt comfortable enough with itself to poke fun at its own foibles. However, as Jonathan Waterlow's work demonstrates, humour could also be used as a means of expressing what cannot be expressed ordinarily due to social conditions.[92] While Waterlow's research focuses on Soviet Russia in the 1930s, the tight cultures of loyalty within the advertising industry that this chapter has examined and the all-encompassing nature of the professional identity made it difficult to express 'dejection' openly, while remaining within the community. Unlike the disillusionment expressed by Antonia White, this poem is by someone exasperated by, but ultimately engaged with, the advertising industry and its professional structures (note the appeal to the Practitioners' Incorporation, the IIPA). As David Haigh recognises in his work, *The Office*, discontent with work was part of everyday office life: common gripes made fertile material for building friendships and alliances, and humour acted as a means of releasing repressed views.[93]

Piecing together what professional identity meant to people at the bottom of the hierarchy in the day-to-day life of the office is not straightforward, given that that this culture was

[91] R. A. Usborne, 'Lines written in dejection', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 21 December 1933, p. 404.
[92] Jonathan Waterlow, 'Intimating Trust: popular humour in Stalin's 1930s', *Cultural and Social History*, 10 (2013), pp. 211-29.
[93] Gideon Haigh, *The Office* (Melbourne, 2012), p. 344.

based largely on transient conversations and small, mostly unrecorded everyday concerns and grievances – trivial matters that went unrecorded. Sayers' correspondence with her parents, however, gives glimpses into the ebb and flow of the office life that she translated so vividly into *Murder Must Advertise*. In November 1922, just after she started at S. H. Benson's, she observed that, 'the office is always an amusement… Of course, some days are dull with nothing doing (today, for instance) but others are full of energy and rush – and all the people continue to be nice to me'.[94] Sayer's relief at colleagues' kindness suggests the importance of relationships between staff in creating an enjoyable environment where people could grow and develop in their careers. These relationships were created through the shared experience of working in the office, and lubricated by news and gossip.

Gossip has an uncomfortable relationship with professionalism. It suggests indiscretion and the cultivation of rumour and speculation, which are fundamentally at odds with the ideals of trust and truthfulness that sat at the heart of the professional behaviour that advertising sought to cultivate. Yet, given the often mundane reality of office life, the role that gossip played in bonding people together in shared confidence, and the strong personalities of those who worked in agencies in particular, it is inevitable that gossip played an important role in advertising's professional environment. Frustratingly, however (in the words of Melanie Tebbutt), 'the voices that we hear are, on the whole, only faint echoes of reality, and straining to understand the thoughts and feeling which give them meaning can be rather like eavesdropping on whispers and half-heard conversations'.[95] This makes Sayers' account of everyday life at Pym's a valuable supplementary source, since she includes gossip and light-hearted exchange in order to bring her imaginary office to life.

In the following exchange, she shows how quickly – and willingly – gossip could be disseminated around an office. It is striking that it is Mr Bredon who Sayers, a female author, portrays as gossiping; usually only women were referred to as gossips. Indeed the casual labelling of women as 'gossips' was one of the ways in which men excluded women from the advertising's professional ideal, for instance, by not promoting young women beyond the position of secretary.[96] Equally, it is significant that Mr Bredon went to the

[94] Sayers to her parents, 28 November 1922, in Sayers, *The Letters*, p. 197.
[95] Melanie Tebbutt, *Women's Talk?* (Guildford, 1995), p. 1.
[96] For a discussion about women and professional identity in advertising, see Chapter 4.

room of the typists (who supported professionalism in others rather than cultivating it as a particular identity themselves) where gossip was expected, to start spreading the word:

> Naturally, in five minutes time, the insinuating Mr Bredon was in possession of the whole story.
> 'But you needn't go and spread it all round the office', said Mrs Johnson.
> 'Of course I needn't' said Mr Bredon.
> 'Hullo! Is that the lad with our coffee?' He hastened into the typists' room, where Miss Parton was detailing to a prick-eared audience the more juicy details of the morning's scene with Mr. Armstrong.
> 'That's nothing' announced Mr Bredon. 'You haven't heard the latest development.'
> 'Oh! What is it?' cried Miss Rossiter.
> 'I've promised not to tell' said Mr Bredon.
> 'Shame! Shame!'
> 'At least, I didn't exactly promise. I was asked not to.'
> 'Is it about Mr. Tallboy's money?'
> 'Oh! You do know, then? What a disappointment!' [...] 'Here's Mr. Ingleby. Coffee Mr. Ingleby? I say, have you heard about old Copley pinching Mr Tallboy's fifty quid?'[97]

Staff newsletters, which published the less scandalous gossip of the office, along with business news and social opportunities, show the different layers of gossip and informal news that circulated the office and sought to bind staff together in a common identity. The ephemeral nature of newsletters means that few survive, but, given that advertising agency offices were hives of creativity with easy access to printing facilities, it is highly unlikely that Samson Clark and JWT were the only agencies to produce an in-house staff publication. The JWT Company published an international newsletter, which functioned as means of integrating the local branch offices with the global organisation. However, JWT Ltd. (the London office of the American firm) recognised that because 'New York's "JWT NEWS" is a distinguished effort in the interest of the company as a whole… it can't be expected to publish all of London's gossip'.[98] London's 'small news' was local, personal and of value only to those who knew the characters involved; in contrast, the purpose of the JWT NEWS was to set standards across the international firm, share good practice, and

[97] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise*, p. 120.
[98] Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box 1, *JWT/BRMB News* (1950).

draw the multiple branch offices into the company's particular professional narrative. It is a dry read. However, it was not until after the Second World War and a move to Berkeley Square – a time when the office community was in particular disarray – that a London newsletter was set up by staff, for staff.

The *Samson Clark Staff Gazette* survives from the 1920s, and was delivered to all staff along with their pay envelope on Fridays. The newsletter was a regular bulletin with notices to keep all up to date with the activities in the agency. The need for such communication suggests the size of the agency staff, and a desire to reinforce a sense of common purpose. The publication was a directive of management, but staff were free to contribute notices and news items. The heterogeneity of office life seen in its pages suggests the multiple contexts in which professionalism grew and developed, both in and outside of the advertising agency. In addition to the dinners and dances arranged by directors, the newsletters show the many activities and clubs that were organised by staff themselves: the Samson Clark Athletics and Social Club, for example, as well as a group of women who met to go swimming together.[99] There was a strong emphasis on exercise and sport among the societies, to complement sedentary office work, provide a competitive outlet for office rivalries and cultivate team spirit. Organised sport between different corporations and firms was a contemporary trend, and playing in such matches enabled advertising practitioners to participate in wider professional behaviour.[100] Sayers shows how tensions and jealousies in the office could be translated on to the playing field. For instance, in *Murder Must Advertise* when Mr McAllister protested that he could not play in the staff cricket match against client the Brotherhood Ltd. because his supervisor had not been approached, Mr Tallboy retorted, 'Position in the office has nothing to do with playing cricket'.[101] While Tallboy sought to put together the best team to defend the honour of the agency, McAllister's concern – that overriding office hierarchy by playing in the match would make his position in the office difficult – suggested that the opposite was true.

Personal news was a staple in newsletters. In 1923, the marriage of a George Simonesen to Miss Violet Saville of the front office was recorded, prompting the *Gazette* to ask, 'are we

[99] *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 2 July 1923.
[100] Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business* (1994).
[101] Sayers, *Murder Must Advertiser*, p. 146.

a business house or a matrimonial bureau?'.[102] 'The vogue in matrimony in the art department continue[d]' with the wedding of Miss Holdith to Mr W. A. Gatheridge.[103] This gives a glimpse into the romantic undertones of work in the advertising agency office, which was one of the first professional environments where men and women worked side by side (as Anderson's work demonstrates, clerical staff in the British banking sector and the civil service during the 1920s and 1930s remained largely segregated by gender).[104] Not all pairings were so successful, however: Soper recalls that 'secretaries in tears were a regular phenomenon. Some took weeks to get over their rejection or desertion or whatever'.[105] Given the length of the working day, and the close working relationships between, for example, creative practitioners, and executives and personal secretaries, perhaps it is unsurprising that romantic liaisons flourished within agency offices.

Commentary about the dinners and sporting events organised within and for the agency, together with news of people past and present, provided further opportunity for staff reminiscences about shared experiences and acquaintances, which strengthen a sense of belonging and shared past. As the *Gazette* mused on the sale of Moleside, 'those of us who took part on those occasions will surely never forget them'.[106] Following the Second World War, however, the nostalgic value of social occasions and friendships were heightened, as they helped a war-weary office remember its youth and a more innocent and carefree time.

The office at war

Advertising agencies faced grave decisions about how to respond to the outbreak of the Second World War. The maintenance of clients' confidence (and advertising budgets) was of particular concern. A memorandum circulated at JWT read: 'the great majority of our clients cancelled all advertising immediately on the declaration of war. In the case of several of them, it is almost certain that they will be unable to resume advertising until the end of the war'.[107] As a result of uncertain business, *Advertiser's Weekly* estimated at the

[102] *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 21 September 1923.
[103] Ibid., 24 August 1923.
[104] Gregory Anderson, (ed.) *The white blouse revolution: female office workers since 1879* (Manchester, 1988).
[105] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 35.
[106] *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 14 December 1923.
[107] 'A memorandum to all Directors and Employees of the JWT Agency' in Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 58.

end of September 1939 that 'since war was declared more than 2,000 advertising technicians, previously earning from 5 to 20 or more pounds a week have been thrown out of work... the figure is considered as a minimum by most of the profession's authorities'.[108] Those who retained their jobs had to adapt advertising to meet the changing needs of their clients in wartime. In terms of professional practice, increasing paper rationing meant that practitioners had to work with diminishing sizes of advertisements.[109] More subtlety, the War altered advertising agencies' mechanisms or 'sites' of professionalism that been established in the preceding decades. While the office community was depleted by redundancy, as well as by staff who left to join the armed and auxiliary forces, office buildings, which were a notable part of both the projection and formation of professional identity, were made vulnerable during the Blitz, at its height between September 1940 and May 1941. Chapter 1 argued that practitioners' professional standing depended on the AA's ability to adjust the theoretical purpose of advertising to suit the political and economic contexts of total war; it was also necessary, however, for practitioners to adapt their professional behaviour to respond to new conditions. The office community provided a foundation on which to do this.

The acute shortage of newsprint meant that the most common available size of advertisements shrank to just three or four column inches, and insertion rates dropped. A memorandum at JWT indicated that, 'it is a very favoured client who gets better than monthly insertion in any important publication, a more usual period being one in two months or longer in any of the Nationals or leading magazines'. [110] To compensate, schedules for campaigns 'expanded voluminously' to include upwards of 300 publications. As a result, the type of work engaged in by those who remained in the office shifted from creative to mechanical. Whereas before the war the layout of original designs typically had to be adapted to six different sizes to match the design requirements of publications, increased schedules meant that in wartime the figure was closer to twenty. Reflecting on how these changes affected professional practice in advertising, a staff member at JWT wrote, 'I think we have learned to deal with a large quantity of work more efficiently than before. One of the main problems [on the return of peace] will be to get back the old spirit of enterprise and experiment without some of the wasteful expenditure of time and effort

[108] 'Unemployment in Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 28 September 1939, p. 317.
[109] 'What you'll come back to in production', in Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 90.
[110] Ibid.

which used to occur'.[111] Given the changing conditions, professionalism in advertising became characterised by initiative and flexibility in work – especially an awareness of changing media demands.

Flexibility also extended to working conditions and use of physical space. The function of buildings to impress new clients was made largely redundant: commissions fell drastically at the outbreak of war, and Crawford (then President of the IIPA) called for the end of canvassing of clients among agencies.[112] Moreover, the ability of office buildings to provide shelter and equipment for staff could no longer be taken for granted during the Blitz, and agencies extended their work space to include air-raid shelters. *Advertiser's Weekly* described how at S. H. Bensons half of the staff worked in the shelter all day, while the other half moved down to the shelter when a spotter sounded the warning. Staff at T. B. Brown found alerts too disruptive, however, so 'on the 10 September, the first typewriters were moved to the shelter. Later more equipment and staff movement down until now business goes on "in the cellar" all day'. [113] In a letter to Howard Henderson, who worked at the New York office of JWT, Bill Hinks, a director of the London office, described how the Blitz affected the everyday operations of the advertising office:

> Broadly speaking, we go down to the office in the morning around 9:30, though many people are inevitably later because communications get upset every now and then and sometimes it takes two or three hours to get there. We probably get five or six warnings during the day. We don't go down to the shelters now until we get the special warning from overhead. [...] We have to get away around five because as soon as it is dark the sirens go (about 6:30 now) and broadly speaking it doesn't finish until about 7:00 in the morning. [...] Of course, we have had them [shells] all around the office, but no direct hit as yet.[114]

With the working day punctuated by air raid warnings, time operated differently. Since staff hours were 'indefinable, as they get in at all times', the sign-in book and the red line were temporarily suspended, although messages from director Fredk. E. Potter in the staff

[111] 'The media situation as compared to pre-war' in Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 86.
[112] 'Order form Disorder: Advertising's chance', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 September 1939, p. 254.
[113] 'How London Agencies "Carry on" Now despite the Air raids', *Advertisers' Weekly,* 3 October 1940, p. 189.
[114] Bill Hinks to Howard Henderson, 15 October 1940: Duke, JWT, The Papers of Howard Henderson, Box 3.

book from 1943 and 1944 reverted to urging punctuality among staff.[115] Yet despite the chaos caused by the bombing – or perhaps because of it – Hink's letter speaks of a desire for order; staff seemed to have carved out as much of a work routine as possible. Their jobs were precious and precarious.

Image 2.5: View from Bill Hink's office: Duke, JWT, Papers of Howard Henderson, Box 3

While *Advertising's Weekly* offered 'space and vacant desks' and 'use of our premises, telephone switchboard and enquiry desks' until 'fresh arrangements' were made to agencies who had been bombed, some agencies chose (or were forced to) relocate particular departments out of London. [116] For example, from 1941 Lintas conducted business from a golf course in Chester, while JWT operated between London, Oxley and Manchester until 1942.[117] JWT also moved office in London to 6 Grafton Square, since the government requisitioned Bush House.[118] Consequently, the body of staff was geographically dislocated, and operated in very different contexts. While the office building's role in the public promotion of the agency's professional identity was made redundant in war, at JWT at least, the office building assumed an important focal point in the imagination of its dispersed office community. With former staff away, and a high turnover of junior members, it became increasingly important to maintain contact between

[115]'How London Agencies "Carry on" Now despite the Air raids', *Advertisers' Weekly,* 3 October 1940, p. 189; HAT, Fredk. E. Potter papers, 'Staff Notice Book'.
[116] 'Editorial' *Advertiser's Weekly,* 17 October 1940, p. 36.
[117] Len Sharp, *The Lintas Story* (1964), pp. 60-1.
[118] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, Tom Rayfield, 'Fifty at Forty', unpublished manuscript, (1996), p. 44,

staff in order to sustain the collective and coherent identity of a firm.[119] Just as national news was believed to be vital in maintaining morale, and bridging the gap between the home front and the front line, so local (arguably more personal) news performed a powerful role in maintaining the bonds between the scattered office community.[120] In a remarkable effort, Doris Grundy, copy group head at JWT, produced a news bulletin for the troops, which was sent out to all staff members who had enlisted and were serving in the military, both in Britain and overseas.[121] Significantly, the London office building, first Bush House, then 6 Grafton Street and finally 40 Berkeley Square, was depicted in the newsletters, variously in line drawing, in photographs and in cartoons. The image of the office located the source of news from office community, situating it by association with the professional narrative.

An image of the office at 6, Grafton Street is particular striking (Image 2.5). A tag line at the bottom read, 'hoping you return home soon'. 'Home' suggests a sense of community, which reinforced by images of staff members waving from each window, evoking the friendship and friendliness of the office community. Doris Grundy stands in the central window directly above the door, her arms open in welcome, with the managing director, Bill Hinks, to her left. 'Cutts', Aileen Cutting, is shown grinning with telephone in hand on the second floor. (A matronly figure who was popular among staff, Cutting's ability in keeping the switchboard running during the Blitz became legendary.[122]) Harold Stansbury, the American creative director is pictured running in, late again, with a clock in his hand, while Reg White is shown with raised arms, a beer in either hand (Collie Colwell recalled that 'when you popped in [during the War] Reg would take you out for lunch, buy you drinks').[123] These little reminders of office culture – time-keeping, socialising, and the reliability of the switchboard – and personalities fuelled nostalgia for a more stable time. Thus the office – the building and its incumbent community – provided constancy in times of great uncertainty.

[119] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 84.
[120] BBC Written Archive Centre, R28/280/3, 'War Reporting in North Africa', 3 January 1943.
[121] Duke, JWT, The Papers of Sam Soper, Box 1, 'Supplement to "My JWT Life"', unpublished manuscript (1996), pp. 14-64.
[122] 'Profile: Aileen Cutting', *Round the square*, 2, 1 (1952), p. 6.
[123] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Interview with George "Collie" Colwell', 19 Oct 1972, p. 8.

Image 2.6: 'Best wishes from the Troop Fund': Soper, 'Supplement to My JWT Life', p. 10

The popularity of news bulletins for the troops suggests the importance of office life as a source of comfort and morale to those away from its physical location. As in peacetime, the newsletter included news and light-hearted stories from the offices, but now also the personal news of the troops, received and redistributed by the London office. For those on leave, the office became a place to return to exchange news in person, while absent staff members included news in correspondence to colleagues: Hinks wrote to Soper, 'I will send your letter around the office, as I am sure that they will all be interested to read it'.[124] A bundle of unmarked photographs of servicemen and women in the 'London box' in the JWT archive suggests that those in the armed-forces also sent photographs to the office in their absence as aide-memoires for remaining staff (some of which are seen in Image 2.6). In the midst of their new-found identities as service men and women, staff continued to feel the draw of the office and their professional identities. Perhaps this is because identity as advertising practitioner, like the office building, represented normalcy and stability, over which there was some control. Retaining connections to the office acknowledged that the war was temporary. In addition to the newsletters, throughout the war, JWT sent small monetary retainers to staff who had joined up.[125] Similarly, this gesture, which paid tribute to the worth of peacetime talents and professional roles of the staff, reminded troops that,

[124] Bill Hinks to Sam Soper, 12 August 1942: Soper, 'Supplement to "My JWT Life"', p. 5.
[125] Soper, 'Supplement to "My JWT Life"', pp. 1-13.

when peace came, they were trained in advertising, and that there was a career for them to return to at JWT.

Image 2.7: Miscellaneous photographs of service personnel: Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 169

Professional identity in the reconstructed office

The biggest challenge facing advertising agencies at the end of the war and in the transition to peace was the question of how to reintegrate former service men and women back into the everyday practices, structures, and hierarchies of advertising, while also being just to those who had continued to work in the industry during the war. Yet, even after time away from advertising, many service personnel retained a professional identity as advertising practitioners. While members of JWT received the troops bulletin, carrying news of the firm, other practitioners kept abreast with changes in the advertising industry through *Advertising's Weekly*, which was often 'the sole link they still persevere with the activities they were once part of'.[126] *Advertiser's Weekly* reported that it received letters from soldiers worried about how they would 'fare in the changed conditions of [their] old calling after years of very different routine, far removed from [their] former association.'[127] The

[126] 'The man in the forces', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 February 1945, p. 156.
[127] Ibid.

term ‘calling’ has connotations of invested time and energy, talent and vocation, and indicates that advertising was seen as something more than just a job – at least by those who read and corresponded with *Advertiser’s Weekly* while undertaking active duty. This suggests that advertising’s attempts in the interwar years to construct a durable and meaningful professional identity had achieved a measure of success.

From 1944, the achievement of ‘full employment’ became a priority for the post-war economy.[128] It was generally accepted that those with a ‘pre-war background’ in advertising, that is, staff who had joined up aged 25-35, ‘would be absorbed in their old jobs’. [129] More problematic were the youth whose training had been interrupted by the war. Speaking at a meeting of the Publicity Club (the speech was subsequently reported in *Advertiser’s Weekly*), Gordon Boggon (Vice-Chairman at Mather & Crowther), urged agency directors to recognise the disruption that the war had caused to the careers of young men and women – some of whom had enjoyed illustrious service careers as officers – by awarding them status, authority and wages similar to that of their colleagues of the same age and ability who had remained in advertising during the war years:

> ‘A’ [who joined up] could not possibly be worth this money to the agency immediately, but if ‘B’ [who stayed] and his colleagues extended the right spirit of comradeship, it would not take every long before ‘A’ would be pulling his weight with the firm. [130]

Boggon realised, however, that the amount of work and wages was finite, and depended on increasing the business of advertising agencies. He suggested that:

> If the agencies were overloaded, others who had been in the agency during the war would have to take less to balance things up. [Mather & Crowther] intended to treat their employees in the manner which he had suggested, and they had found that the cost would be very considerable. It meant that they would have to increase their

[128] Rex Pope, ‘British Demobilization after the Second World War’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30 (1995), pp. 65-8.
[129] ‘Problem of finding Jobs for Ex-Service Men and Women after demobilisation: Gordon Boggon, Vice-Chairman M&C opens Publicity Club of London discussion’, *Advertiser’s Weekly,* 1 February 1945.
[130] Ibid.

> turnover, or they would be faced with a deficit – but they were determined to increase the turnovers.[131]

The reintegration of demobilised troops into agencies relied heavily on the 'spirit of comradeship' and 'spirit of cooperation'.[132] This was not always forthcoming. While advocating a 'dynamic blend' of current and returning staff, *Advertiser's Weekly* pointed to suspicion between the two groups:

> It is a distorted view to imagine that those who have not been in the Services are jaded and threadbare of ideas: it is equally distorted to regard Service men and women as being out of touch with real life. The view that it will be necessary to teach most Service pre-war adverting practitioner a new or modern technique is erroneous. Brains do not rust in the Services.[133]

Nevertheless, Colwell, who worked in the art department at JWT, felt that the onus was on him and his returning pre-war colleagues to prove their worth to the agency. Advertising, after all, was a profit-making business, and competition for employment was fierce. Nostalgia for the office might have sustained the far-flung community during the war, but the reality of maintaining a turn-over of business in reconstruction meant that those returning to civilian life had to work hard for their place within the firm; professional reputation from before the war counted for little. Reflecting on his return from the Forces, Colwell said

> In all honesty, I think that JWT was really writing off their pre-war people, literally. We were written off, we had to fight back. The only unpleasant era in Thompsons and the same with any other company was that you had re-establish yourself. I certainly did. …When we came back what did we have to offer? We'd been out of the business for 6 years and they could employ people from the outside with much more talent and for the first time you really had to establish yourself.[134]

The resumption of routine office life was an important part of the slow return to peace-time conditions and the renewal of professional identities in advertising. Returning service personnel found quite changed conditions, which required them to adapt professional

[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] 'A Dynamic Blend', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 5 April 1945, p. 8.
[134] 'Interview with George "Collie" Colwell', 19 Oct 1972, p. 9.

behaviour and expectations. Not all changes were bad, however. A poem in the 1946 Christmas edition of *Advertiser's Weekly*, 'These are the good old days', described the changed relationship between the space buyer and the client in the advertising agency. While before the war, the client had the upper hand, acute shortage of newspaper space meant that in the post-war years, the space seller found himself being wined and dined instead:

But now those days are over and insertions are too few,
And you mustn't call on clients now for they must call on you.
No longer need you lush'em up and coddle them and fuss,
The boot is on the other foot, and now they coddle us.

For its Tommy this and Tommy that and Tommy take his place
Among the shining Angels – if he's got an inch of space,
And fat cigars and double Haig and week-ends out of town,
And 'any space will do, old man' from pleading Mr. Brown.[135]

Not only had wartime rationing necessitated changes in advertising practice – such as the need to work with much smaller advertisements – but office accommodation changed too. Advertisements in the trade press by agencies, including Osborne-Peacock and Pritchard, Wood & Partners, informing the industry of new premises suggest that there was significant upheaval at this time.[136] JWT was another agency that required new premises following the war. 40 Berkeley Square was found, but had to be adapted from five floors of residential flats into functional office space. The job of conversion was complicated by the need to move people as fast as possible from Grafton Street, the existing office location, while allowing everyone adequate space in which to work. As late as 1952, conversion work on the fourth floor continued. Soper recounts a story of the director Martin O'Grady sitting on a toilet cover (his room had formerly been a bathroom) dictating to his secretary. This tale is also recalled by the head of copy department Norman Bassett, and a visiting American account representative, Shirley Woodall.[137] The post-war relocation and the

[135] A. S. J. Painter, 'These are the good old days', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 19 December 1946, p. 13.
[136] 'Osborne-Peacock Ltd.' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 11 July 1946, p. 129; 'News of Pritchard, Wood', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 19 December 1946, p. 23; 'News of Pritchard, Wood: back to Savile Row', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 28 April 1949, p. 145.
[137] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 96; Sutton, 'Fifty at Forty' (1996) p. 46; Shirley Woodall to Jim Young, 21 May 1949: Duke, JWT, Shirley Woodall papers, Box 1.

logistics became part of staff folklore: the stories that a firm tells itself, which help to cement a common, corporate identity among personnel.

As this chapter has demonstrated, such stories were sustained by agency newsletters. However, it was not until 1950 that time and resources were found to produce an in-house publication at JWT, although 'the need [for such a publication] had been felt for a long time'.[138] A larger and more diverse staff body – Dick Hornby estimated that staff rose from a skeleton staff of fifty during the war to four hundred just after – with a wide range of backgrounds and wartime experiences, meant that community was harder to build in offices the post-war years.[139] Moreover, new accommodation meant that the community was physically divided. Ursula Sedgwick, who started work as a copywriter in 1951, recalled that the office 'was split up into different rooms so you didn't see everybody… Margaret McKendrick's group was down at one end and I was in a room with John Murphy… The copy department was completely separate. There was the copy department, art department and then all the reps and there was nothing called an account director then.'[140] The newsletter worked to create a common identity and support common experience of working at JWT. It was hoped that the newsletter would 'carry enough real news about the JWT/BMRB offices and personnel to be valuable and interesting, and enough sidelights on the business to be entertaining'.[141] The first edition of what became *Round the Square* requested 'personal items, long before any of them take place, if possible – but at any rate before too stale'.[142] In addition to its news content of births, cricket scores, art exhibitions, and the travel arrangements of staff, *Round the Square* included photographs and profiles of newcomers to the firm, to act as introductions.

JWT was not the only agency to see increases in staff numbers following the Second World War. In contrast to the owner or proprietor managed agency of the interwar years, the average advertising agency of the late 1940s was run by salaried directors appointed to a board, who were answerable to shareholders. For instance, H. A. Oughton was made

[138], Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box IN5, *Round the square* 1, 1 (1950), p. 3
[139] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Dick Hornby' 18 April 1995, p. 10
[140] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Ursula Sedgwick' 21 April 1995, p. 2
[141] *Round the square* 1, 1 (1950), p. 3.
[142] Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box IN5, *JWT/BRMB News* (1950), p. 2.

Chairman of Crawford's in 1951, upon Crawford's retirement.[143] Given the influence that the advertising agency proprietor had exerted in the formation of professional identity during the interwar years, the changed management model meant that new and different ways of expressing loyalty and corporate identity had to be found. It seems that stories and corporate memory played increasingly important roles in unifying staff in the post-war period.

Unlike the interwar newsletters from Samson Clark which focused on the present and immediate past and future, the post-war newsletter at JWT took a much deeper view of time. Memory is important when identity is under pressure, and witty staff profiles in *Round the Square* offered old-hands the opportunity to assert their past status within the firm, in the new post-war surroundings. *Round the Square* acted as a platform for storytelling and sustaining an organisational memory. Percy Chuter, 'Art Director, musician, and most "clubbable" man', joined the firm in 1934, as an artist. During the war, he 'campaigned in North Africa until he was incapacitated by a motor-cycle accident, "spectacular enough" say his friends, "to have killed anyone else"'.[144] Chuter's profile suggests the importance of personality to advertising – he was 'clubable', popular and robust. More importantly, however, the profile recalls a moment of internalisation of a professional identity: Chuter, 'believe[d] he "graduated" as an art director upon realisation that his job required him to be a virtuoso, with knowledge of problems (of presentation, reproduction, and public reaction) beyond the scope of painter pure and simple'. Likewise, a profile of Norman Bassett, a copy group head, described his career trajectory. He started work in advertising as an apprentice at the Osborne-Peacock Company in Manchester in 1924 'sorting vouchers, newspapers, and "anything anyone felt needed sorting"', but went 'from strength to strength as a creator of advertising that really sells the goods'. [145] His profile described his 'profound understanding of JWT principles' and ability to 'appl[y] them with originality and force.' Bassett was presented as a professional practitioner, who had not only internalised the general principles of advertising, but also the particular methods of JWT.

[143] 'H. A. Oughton Succeeds Sir William as Crawford's Chairman', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 4 January 1951.
[144] 'Profile: Percy Chuter': Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box IN8, *Round the Square,* II, 2 (1952), p. 5,
[145] 'Profile: Norman Bassett': Ibid., 3 (1952), p. 5.

Each issue of the *Round the Square* also included photographs of pre-war events. One is captioned '1938 There are younger, but still familiar JWT faces in this picture, taken of an office dinner and dance 13 years ago. Can you identify Stanley Jackson, Doris Grundy, FG Colwell, Fred Boulter, Gracie Small, H.B. Leis, Harold Stansbury and Eric Knott?' (Image 2.8). Another read: 'Nostalgia corner – this is what Tony Parker, Copy Department Group Head, looked like before he went to India to help build up the JWT organisation there'.[146] In the post-war office, operating in the reconstruction years from a different building, with a much larger staff body and altered management structure, newsletters wove together the history of the firm, with gossip from its ever-changing professional present, and the hopes for its future.

Image 2.8: 1938:Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Box IN5, *JWT/BRMB News*, I, 2 (1951), p. 2

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Understanding of the advertising agency office, which hosted the dynamic relationship between advertising people and their environment, provides insight into the construction, division and projection of professional identity within the advertising industry. Features of professionalism in advertising, such as hierarchy, efficiency, education and creativity, were

[146] Ibid., p. 16.

supported in the fabric and the layout of the building, making the advertising agency office a significant place for professional identity to be cultivated, practiced and performed. Buildings and their facilities enabled agencies to offer a full in-house service to clients, which established advertising as an occupation with a need for specialised facilities. A focus on the advertising agency reveals features within the professional narrative that go beyond the 'public good' espoused by organised advertising. These elements are primarily profit focused – for example, efficiency and orientation towards business – and mostly related to men, who occupied the vast majority of senior positions within advertising. It is important to recognise the variations in professional visions and corporate identities between advertising agencies, which contributed to a diverse professional culture within the industry as a whole.

The way in which office communities, created by shared experience, responded to the professional bounds and corporate cultures in which they were placed varied; although it was through office communities that meaningful professional identities were practiced. Professional identity was cultivated through collegiate relations, through social activities, and everyday shared life, including gossip, humour and shared discontent. The office building became representative of the incumbent culture and in doing so, became an important focal point of memory.

Examining the office as a professional environment in advertising provides a different sense of continuity and change within advertising history to that which is emphasised by existing literature. In contrast to the cyclical copywriting vogues that Stephen Fox and Roland Marchand emphasise or the linear progress towards regulation that Nevett and Schwarzkopf suggest, the office and its everyday life remained a constant amidst wider social and economic change between 1920 and 1954, mooring an industry that was constantly reinventing its output to keep pace with the trends and fads of modern Britain.[147] The continuity of the office environment calls into question the 'watershed moments' typically used in advertising history: people and organisations exist beyond and through the eras demarcated by war and peace and have discrete histories of their own. Indeed, in the histories written by advertising agents, as well as in their publicity leaflets, office buildings are used to mark time, and to signify stages of development for the

[147] Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: a history of American advertising* (New York, 1984); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: making way for modernity, 1920-1940* (1985); Nevett, *Advertising in Britain;* Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders' (2008).

particular agency.[148] The permanence of the office has allowed layers of stories, histories, people and ideas to accumulate, overlap, interact and intersect, which has created rich and varied histories. The means by which young people were integrated into these rich histories and professional cultures and ideals is the subject of the next chapter.

[148] See for example, Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide*; Soper, 'My JWT Life'; 'Samson Clark: A history of Progress 1896-1925'.

3: Youth in Advertising

> The future of advertising lies with the youth of the profession… To appeal to the younger members of the profession is a privilege, and because it is the aim of this Club there is a spirit of youth and enthusiasm in the Regent of which we are very proud.
>
> Muriel Atkins, 10 July 1925[1]

In 1925, Muriel Atkins, Hon. Secretary of the Regent's Advertising Club, a club for young people working in the advertising industry, suggested the importance for youth to advertising. Not only did young people represent the future leaders of the occupation; they embodied 'youthfulness', the dynamic spirit of progress, innovation and modernity, a significant component of advertising's professional narrative. 'Youth', the term used by contemporaries to describe people aged between 18 and 30, is a relatively modern social category that emerged at the end of the nineteenth-century from concerns about social delinquency and reform.[2] It took root as a more positive political and cultural phenomenon in the 1920s.[3] Since then, youth – as a concept and as a physical presence – has held symbolic significance that has changed depending on its historical context.[4] From 1920 to 1954 youth tended to be presented in public rhetoric as the representing the future of Britain; it was not until the late 1950s that they were regarded by the industry as emergent consumers. In the advertising industry, 'youth' was at once people on the cusp of adulthood and at the start of their careers, and a metaphorical device that signified advertising's hopes, anxieties and future aspirations. A focus on youth, in particular their recruitment and training, reveals how a professional identity in advertising was constructed from scratch. This process indicates not only the values and personal attributes that the advertising industry prized in its future leaders, but also the practical skills and knowledge that were believed to be necessary in order to succeed as an advertising practitioner.

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[1] Muriel Atkins, 'The social side of Club life', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 10 July 1925, p. 80.

[2] S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An oral history of working-class childhood and youth, 1889-1939* (1981).

[3] As has been noted, before 1914, 'youth' magazines were for children: Arthur Marwick, 'Youth in Britain, 1920 – 1960: Detachment and Commitment', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5 (1970), p. 37.

[4] Jon Garland , Keith Gildart , Anna Gough-Yates , Paul Hodkinson , Bill Osgerby , Lucy Robinson , John Street , Pete Webb & Matthew Worley 'Youth Culture, Popular Music and the End of "Consensus" in Post-War Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 26 (2012), p. 265-271; Mischa Honeck and Gabriel Rosenburg 'Transnational generations: organising youth in the Cold War', *Diplomatic History*, 38 (2014) p. 235.

Despite the number of young people in advertising and the importance of their 'spirit of enthusiasm', youth are largely absent from historical accounts of the industry. While Jacqui L'Etang has examined the formation of education in Public Relations, she considers it in light of the movement towards professional status; the value of vocational education in enabling young people to become a recognised part of their profession is overlooked.[5] This is part of a wider trend of neglect. Literature on the professions tends to focus on successful careers, which were forged when persons were older. A notable exception is Lyn Nyhart, whose work traces the influence of generational change in the formation of Animal Morphology as a scientific research discipline.[6] Her research confirms the enduring strength of ideas and identities forged in youth, which suggests the lasting significance of education syllabi and agency training programmes undertaken by young people, and their importance in cementing professional identity in a cohort of advertising practitioners.

The absence of the youthful voice in scholarship is chiefly because it is very difficult to hear: young people in advertising, by the virtue of their age, held entry-level jobs. Consequently, their experiences were seen as unremarkable and went unrecorded. The sources that do speak about the experience of youth tend to be those from older people reminiscing about their youth, rather than young people themselves; youth is considered in retrospect, and subjects are prone to romanticise it. Nevertheless, when used with contemporary material, these accounts offer insight into how young people came to work in advertising, and how they viewed the training and the educational schemes they participated in.

The Regent's Advertising Club is important for locating the concerns and ideals of contemporary youth in advertising. The Club was founded in 1923 by former students of Royal Polytechnic on Regent's Street, for

[5] Jacquie L'Etang, 'Public Relations education in Britain: an historical review in the context of professionalism' *Public Relations Review*, 25 (1999), pp. 261-89. This is also true of professionalization literature more broadly. See for example, Philip Elliot, *The Sociology of the Professions* (1972), pp. 76-80; Harold Wilensky, 'The professionalization of everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (1964), pp. 137-58; Quentin J. Schultze, '"An Honorable Place": The Quest for Professional Advertising Education, 1900 – 1917', *The Business History Review*, 56 (1982), pp. 16-32.

[6] Lynn Nyhart, *Biology Takes Form: animal morphology and the German universities, 1800-1900*, (1995). See also Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott, 'Generations and collective memories', *American Sociological Review*, 54 (1989), pp. 359-81.

> young men and women who, having chosen advertising and salesmanship as their career, feel sufficient enthusiasm for, and interest in, their profession to desire to learn more about it and take their share in promoting its development, and get into touch with other similarly actuated.[7]

The Club grew rapidly, and its value in 'helping the younger members' was realised by 'many of the well-known men connected with the Press and great advertisers of today who [gave] their support and [became] patrons of the Club'. [8] As will be argued in this chapter, Club members recognised that education offered a practical way for them to prepare for employment in uncertain economic times. The Club helped its members through the provision of a library of advertising books, the invitation to guest speakers to address meetings, and after the Second World War the provision of an education bursary.[9] Although the minutes of its committees are lost and there is no archive of its materials, it is possible to piece together parts of the Club's activities through occasional reports in the trade press and in the minutes of other organisations in advertising. While it is difficult to trace these activities in detail, it is significant that the club was established and flourished during the period 1923-1954, suggesting that young people were actively engaged in formulating professional identity in advertising.

A valuable source on how youth first encountered ideas of professionalism in the advertising industry is contemporary literature on career guidance. Designed to attracted new entrants to the occupation, it was frequently written by people with detailed knowledge and experience of the fields that they described. Career guidance assumed new importance following the First World War, as Britain weathered economic depression and high unemployment. Career advice about advertising allows advertising to be placed within the wider context of professional life, as well as offering insight into the attributes and qualifications that the industry sought in its new recruits. It was directed variously to parents and teachers, 'boys' and 'girls', and 'sons' and 'daughters', and portrayed the workplace, with its particular entry requirements, practices and career trajectories, to outsiders. Accordingly, it indicates what the expectations for those entering the work place

[7] HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazette,* 23 November 1923.

[8] A piece in the *Daily Herald* in 1929 described how 'the largest advertising club in Europe is a London one composed of nearly a thousand keen young advertising men and women who study together without sex consciousness': 'Women in Advertising, By One of Them', *Daily Herald,* 10 January 1929; Muriel Atkins, 'The social side of Club life', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 10 July 1925, p. 80.

[9] For instance, a Mr Hardor addressed the Regent's Club: 'Clubs Notes and news: Regent: How to get the Right Young People into Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 14 October 1927, p. 68.

for the first time. Agency job advertisements and entrance exams also point to the attributes that advertising prized in its new recruits, and could be used to shape and change a culture. Combined with these sources, career advice indicates how the advertising industry presented its professional ideal to the youth who would potentially be upholding it. In terms of training and recruitment processes, the minutes of the AA's Executive Committee reveal the rationale behind the AA's diploma in the wider context of the Association's search for respectability, while the minutes of the AA's Education Committee allow smaller policy decisions to be traced. Similarly, the minutes of the IIPA's PPC place its membership examinations into the wider context of the Institute's professional aims. A surviving IIPA syllabus from 1939 explains the objectives of the programme, and makes clear the value of the IIPA to youth in advertising: 'The IIPA has a very special significance for the younger men and women in advertising. Its work is of far greater importance to the future practitioner than to the older members of the profession.'[10] The progress, successes and failures of these schemes can be traced in *Advertiser's Weekly,* through editorial content, news items on exam results, and letters to the editors.

Drawing together these materials, the first section of the chapter examines how the advertising industry sought to recruit and incorporate young people in to advertising in the 1920s and 1930s, when those who held positions of power following the Second World War were in the early stages of their careers. In particular it examines how agency in-house training and the clubs of organised advertising engaged youth, before considering the rationale behind the introduction of the AA's education syllabus and the membership examination of the IIPA. The second section considers the renewed symbolic significance of youth in the post-war years. It examines how the AA revised its syllabus to meet the changed needs of advertising practitioners, and in contrast, the ways in which JWT recruited and trained its young staff.

Advertising and young practitioners, 1920-1939

Recruiting youth to advertising

Most occupations and professions in the 1920s and 1930s looked for new employees among school leavers. One career guide observed that the majority of entrants to

[10] HAT, Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, *Syllabus of examinations for Associate membership* (1939), p. 14.

advertising were 'juniors at school leaving age, between 16 and 18'; at the age of 28, Crawford was considered a 'slow starter'.[11] Leonard Schwarz uses the examples of solicitors and accountants to show how, rather than recruiting from the tiny pool of elite university graduates, these professions preferred to use personal references and school examination results to seek out promising young people, who would then undergo rigorous in-house training programmes and socialisation. Schwarz argues that the professions were 'not sure what to do with graduates', since graduates disturbed career hierarchies due to their age and more advanced academic training.[12] Advertising was, broadly speaking, the same; graduates were rare. Dorothy L. Sayers, herself a graduate of Somerville College, Oxford, marks the tension between graduates and non-graduates in *Murder Must Advertise*. For instance, the character Mr. Copely, an experienced copywriter, believed that 'the younger generation of advertising writers were No Good. Too much of the new-fangled University element. Feather-headedness. No solid business sense'.[13] This should be understood as a comment on the tension between generations as well as between classes; however, it is striking that Sayers portrayed the contemporary perception among (non-graduate) staff that graduates were too academic and lacking in business acumen to succeed in advertising. Sayers echoes the sentiment of the career guide author Herbert Kendrick: 'Make no mistake – commerce has a place for visionaries who dream dreams; but they must dream them with their eyes open, and be able to clothe their visions in the cloak of a substantial everyday reality.'[14]

The way in which career guidance described occupations to young people gives insight into the occupation's public professional narrative, and the ideals to which it aspired. Authors of career advice for advertising sought to dispel the notion that it was simply about designing posters, and to suggest instead that it was a complex business at the heart of modern commerce. Eleanor Page, for instance, justified the role of the advertising practitioner by presenting advertising as the modern solution to supporting growth in business: 'Advertising – or the science of selling – is considered essential to the successful

[11] D. W. Hughes, *Careers for our Daughters* (1936), p. 92; G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954), p. 32.
[12] Leonard Schwarz, 'Professions, elites and universities in England, 1870 – 1970', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), p. 951.
[13] Dorothy L. Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise* (1934), p. 105.
[14] Herbert Kendrick, *The Game of Commerce* (1926), p. 40.

building up of every kind of business, nowadays', she wrote in her guide of 1927. [15] Given the volatile economic conditions of the interwar years, one who used 'the science of selling' to secure financial results would be in a powerful position in a firm. This was reflected in status: Page asserted that, 'in a newspaper publishing firm the Advertising Manager is next in importance on the staff to the Editor.'[16] Ten years later, in his entry to Jocelyn Oliver's guide, *What shall I be?,* Crawford described advertising as a 'many sided' occupation, involving knowledge of 'men and women, their hopes and needs, their fears, their prides, their superstitions and their differing habits': much more than 'just having a good idea or making pretty drawings or… putting an advertisement in the papers'.[17] Advertising was presented to young people as a career that was essential to modern life, with diverse roles and interesting work, and as a field that offered successful employees prospects and power.

Career guidance also listed generic personal qualities that advertising valued in employees, indicating the type of people and personalities that those in advertising wanted to draw into the occupation. D. W. Hughes, for example, advised that applicants to advertising would 'require in varying degrees business ability, good judgement, initiative and selling ability': practical attributes, useful in any business setting. [18] This advice is a reminder that 'business' was the fundamental component of advertising; advertising campaigns were designed to return profit to clients, and agencies were, after all, profit-making bodies too. However, the presence of 'business' should not be understood as incompatible with or contradictory within professional identity in advertising. Indeed, as chapter 2 demonstrated, since advertising functioned within the business environment, practitioners had to be aware that the service they offered to clients involved commercial understanding. Indeed, many practitioners used business and profession interchangeably to describe advertising. JWT sought a similar balance of independent thinking and entrepreneurship in their 1919 staff application form. Hopeful young people were asked to fill in a meticulous questionnaire that asked for specific evidence of 'initiative; concentration; imagination;

[15] Eleanor Page, *Careers for Girls* (Woking, 1927), p. 13.
[16] Ibid.
[17] William Crawford, 'Advertising', in Jocelyn Oliver, *What shall I be?* (1937), pp. 183-8.
[18] Hughes, *Careers for our Daughters* (1936), p. 92.

manual accuracy; mental accuracy; clearness of expression; patience; perseverance; poise; energy; self-confidence; optimism; systematic; conscientious; deliberate; impulsive'.[19]

To the question 'why do you believe you can make a success in the position for which you are applying?' Scott Paradise, who went on to become the first branch manager of JWT's London office, responded that he was 'interested in research along economic lines; have studied clearness of expression'. As a Yale graduate and a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol, Scott represented a minority of entrants to the advertising industry who were university educated. Spurning careers in teaching, law, or in business proper, the graduates who entered advertising – who included Dorothy L. Sayers (S. H. Benson's), Mark Abrams (London Press Exchange) and Francis Ogilvy (Mather & Crowther) – seem to have been attracted by the newly developing field of market research or by the demands and creative freedoms of copy writing.[20] Paradise had no 'specialist knowledge' of advertising (although he claimed to have read *Modern Advertising* by Calkins and Holt as an introduction to the field), but made a case that his 'training in historical and economic thinking' and his work as an 'editor of college papers' made him a suitable candidate for a job in market research or copy writing specifically. [21] JWT expected no specific prior expertise in advertising, which was typical of advertising agencies in the 1920s, and a reflection of the varying quality of technical education. Rather than seeking those with particular qualifications in advertising, agencies were more concerned in recruiting intelligent staff with potential to learn quickly. As a result, staff members recalled that 'in the early 1920s JWT was an utter riot. You see they had a lot of people very new from university who didn't have a clue about the advertising business.'[22] The expectation was that they would be trained by the agency as they worked.

Since creativity was an important attribute for advertising practitioners, advertising agencies looked for qualities in staff that went beyond a list of generic attributes. This was especially true for creative positions within a firm. Here, job advertisements are instructive. In 1931, Derrick's agency advertised for 'two more brilliant young men' to join their 'new creative group'. With an eye to the future it looked for the 'young man who

[19] Duke, JWT, The Colin Dawkins Papers, Box 14, 'Scott Paradise application form' (1919).
[20] Schwarz, 'Professions, elites and universities in England', pp. 941-62.
[21] 'Scott Paradise application form'.
[22] Duke, London Office Records, Box 1, 'JWT History Luncheon, unmarked Ampex tape – part 1', transcript, p. 5.

in ten years' time will be the foremost designer of advertisements in Britain', specifying that

> [h]e must have the vision and the intellectual grasp to see every inch of advertisement space as the raw material for making new patterns for this new age. The copywriter we want is a man who has forgotten all the text book rules about copy. He will write as a personality. The man (or the woman) must be young, having not only a feeling for words, but an understanding of people. Above all, he will have a capacity for being interested in almost anything. He will not be kept in an 'airtight' box, but will work in close association with account executives and designers. He may determine the orientation of an entire scheme and will as readily accept the ideas of others.[23]

Like speakers at advertising conventions, Derrick's justified their occupation by elevating the role that advertising itself played in society: the agency sought ambitious young people who also aimed to design the future 'patterns' of the age. Derrick's aspired to have staff confident in their specialism as a designer, but knowledgeable about the advertising process as a whole. Indeed, the difficulty of striking a balance between specialist and all-rounder in staff was a recurring dilemma in advertising, which ultimately depended on the size and location of the agency for its resolution.[24] Rather than particular technical expertise found in textbooks, how-to guides, or emerging examination syllabi, Derrick's valued flexibility, and the ability and willingness to work with people across the agency. Derrick's sought 'personality': young people who were imaginative and dynamic, interested and interesting, to create the advertising that had the ability to mould, shape and describe the moment and the future.

The idea of 'personality', and that success in advertising could be attributed to personality, was popular in the interwar years. The importance of personality as an asset for success in advertising was reinforced in career guidance throughout the period. Maude Woodyard, managing director of Saward, Baker & Co., advised that 'the only restrictions to a

[23] 'Derricks new creative group: two more brilliant young men wanted', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 23 Jan 1931, p. 129.

[24] Simmett described how 'the advertising agencies in England vary from the small agency, perhaps with a staff of one advertising man, who with clerical assistance handles the advertising for a few small clients, to the large agencies with their highly paid specialist, which offer complete merchandising and advertising services to their clients, most of whom spend large sums of money annually on their publicity.' Smaller agencies tended to be located in the regions, and required staff with a good all-round knowledge; larger agencies tended to be based in London: R. Simmett, *The Principals and Practice of Advertising* (1935), p. 73.

woman's progress in Advertising are set by herself – the limitations of her own ability, personality and character', while Searl Austin suggested that advertising 'call[ed] for personality of the very highest order'.[25] Despite being coloured by gender and class qualities, the contemporary emphasis on the necessity of personality and character for success had liberating potential for those working in advertising: personality could supersede the traditional restrictions laid down by class and gender so that, in theory at least, any one modern man or woman could have it and use it, if it was recognised. The advertising character with 'personality' was a popular parody in the trade press. These two stanzas are from a longer poem that describes the fates and fortunes of four young men who sought a career in advertising, and they suggest the weight that personality was perceived to carry for success:

> Now Ponsonby's copy was really quite smart
> And Peterson's layouts were sheer works of art,
> The contrast of Trollop was truly a gem,
> Yet Sprott, who did little, did better than them
> *For his quaint little ways in demeanour and dress*
> *Found their way to the weekly publicity press*
> *And hardly an issue appeared that did not*
> *Contain contributions from Sprott – about Sprott*
>
> […]
>
> When Sprott got a job at £5,000 a year,
> To think lovely thoughts about Merridew's Beer,
> The others remarked 'Funny thing about Sprott,
> Just what has be got that we others have not?'
> *The answer of course is the Will to be Weird,*
> *The shaggy green suit and the natty brown beard*
> *To Ponsonby, Peterson, Trollop – all rot,*
> *But brothers, just look what a lot it got Sprott.*[26]

By advertising himself and going beyond the normal expectations of professional behaviour, it was Sprott – who possessed the 'Will to be Weird' – who succeeded in his

[25] Maude Woodyard, *Careers for women in advertising* (1932), p. 8; The Women's Library (hereafter TWL), Reel 49 659:331.4, Searle Austin 'Women in Advertising', *Women's Employment*, 2 April 1937.
[26] Rodney P. Hobson, 'Caustic Carols: plus a little something', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 24 December 1936, p. 459.

career. Although Sprott did not embody traditional professional attributes, he represented an important figure within advertising's professional narrative – the creative, the exhibitionist who set trends merely by being himself. This character had shades of Charles Higham – the owner of C. F. Higham advertising agency and author of *Scientific Distribution* (1916), and *Advertising: its Use and Abuse* (1931) – who was known for his shows of eccentricity and extravagance. Higham famously attracted an audience of 500 in December 1927 when he spoke to the Publicity Club about *his life* in advertising, which resonates with the line about the trade press containing 'contributions from Sprott – about Sprott'.[27] While these characters were part of advertising's popular understanding, there was space only for a few personalities like this: Crawford warned in his career guidance that 'enthusiasm is essential, too – if it is enthusiasm for the work and not for yourself'.[28] The verse invites a collective sigh from those working in advertising who had neither the personality nor good fortune to swan around in the manner of Sprott. 'Personality' was important in setting advertising apart from other sectors that supported business; it does not feature in career guidance for accountancy. The significance of personality to advertising emphasises the meeting of creativity and commerce within the occupation's professional identity. However, increasingly, organised advertising demanded that personality be underpinned by training and expertise.

Training youth in advertising

Derrick's advertisement calling for innovation and the values personified in Sprott suggest tension between advertising's need for fresh, creative ideas, and the systematic training in theories that underpinned professionalism. Whereas solicitors' practice was based on past precedence, and accountancy on a set of particular techniques, successful advertising relied on novel thinking that went beyond established advertising theory, in order to set products apart in the market place and make a profit for their clients. However, as career guides explained to young people, advertising was a business requiring multiple sets of skills, and staff employed in creative roles also had to understand the business environment in which they operated. The advertising artist Edward Swann was clear that, 'like musicians, the creators of art must be highly trained and sympathetic. In addition, the creators of commercial art must have a touch of business acumen – for in advertising art succeeds

[27] T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain* (1983), p. 145; HAT, PUB1: 'The history of the Publicity Club of London, vol. 1: 1913-1953' (1953), p. 83.
[28] William Crawford 'Advertising' in Jocelyn Oliver, *What shall I be?* (1937), pp. 183-8.

largely by its application.'[29] When discussing education in commercial art, the IIPA's PPC suggested that 'two years' special training within the Agency is generally necessary before [artists] become of any substantial value'.[30] As is described below, it was through both informal and formal training – in the agency setting, in advertising's clubs, and through organised advertising's examination syllabi – that young people were taught about advertising's professional practices and the particular combination of disciplines and attributes that came together to form professional expertise in advertising.

It was the lack of training, and more specifically, qualifications, that Mariel Grant points to in order to argue that advertising agents in the interwar years were not professionals. She uses the example of Dorothy L. Sayer's portrayal of Lord Peter Wimsey to suggest the common perception that anyone could succeed at advertising. Within a month of joining an agency, the Balliol educated sportsman, who had taken on the job as an agency copywriter because he thought 'advertising might be good fun', produced the most effective publicity scheme the agency had ever prosecuted.[31] Grant argues that 'it seemed, so the how-to books of the day implied, that anyone with a measure of common sense and intelligence could be successful in the profession.'[32] This is unsurprising, since career guides were written to be inspirational and motivational, and how-to guides were designed to be straightforward for manufacturers to use. In contrast, the publicity material and guides of established service agencies, such as Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne, made it quite clear that practitioners had expert knowledge, equipment and experience in advertising that went beyond that presented in basic reference books.[33]Referring to Higham and Crawford, Grant contends that 'the most influential practitioners of the day lacked training and/or experience in the field'.[34] Yet, by focusing on exceptional men in advertising, she overlooks the quieter presence of those who worked in market research, in copywriting, as account executives, and as psychologists. Nevertheless, that her argument is based on practitioners' lack of formal qualifications demonstrates the importance of specialised education to the perception of professionalism.

[29] Edward Swann, 'In Modern Advertising art must come first', *Advertising World,* Jan 1932, p. 15.
[30] HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 12 (July 1936), p. 22.
[31] Dorothy L. Sayers, *Murder Must Advertise* (1934), p. 229.
[32] Mariel Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (Oxford, 1994), p. 33-4.
[33] M&C and T. B. Browne books.
[34] Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State,* p. 33-4.

Like the accountancy firms and solicitors offices that Schwarz examines, in the absence of a formalised advertising education, the primary place for vocational training in advertising in the 1920s was the advertising agency itself.[35] Crawford, for example, 'was a great believer in employing young people, particularly on the creative side, and "giving them their hand"'.[36]At Samson Clark, the *Staff Gazette* noted that Mr Halsey and Mr Councer had 'changed jobs for a period of a few months' as part of the Agency's policy of 'giving younger members of the staff an opportunity of learning all departments.'[37] However, agencies varied considerably in organisation, especially as the services offered by advertising grew and diversified in the 1930s. As a result, the nature of work experience available to young people was varied. The range of agency models was addressed in a question on the 1938 IIPA Final examination:

> A well-educated young man of 19 years of age writes asking your advice as to whether he should seek advertising experience in (a) a large highly organised agency, or (b) a medium sized agency noted for its "liveness" [*sic.*], or (c) a small agency which does excellent work in a specialised field. … Draft a reply to him, pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of each type of organisation, so that he may make his own decision.[38]

Not only does this question acknowledge the different sizes of agency and the different experiences of working in advertising, it also suggests that organised advertising recognised the agency (rather than the technical college) as the most desirable place for youth to first gain the first experience of advertising. It is striking that the question does not ask candidates to impose a professional hierarchy on the agencies; instead, each example was recognised to have unique opportunities, as well as downsides, for training young people. While smaller agencies, many of which were based in the provinces, by necessity encouraged an all-round ability in staff, larger agencies tended towards specialisation early on.[39] Crawford encouraged his creative staff, in particular, to specialise from the very start of their careers. Saxon Mills recalls how

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[35] Schwarz, 'Professions, elites and universities in England', pp. 941-62.

[36] Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (London, 1954), p. 49.

[37] HAT, Samson Clark papers, 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazette*, 29 Jan 1926.

[38] HAT, Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, *Syllabus of examinations for Associate membership* (London, 1939), p. 21.

[39] In 1951, career advisor H.Q. Faichney suggested that, 'the place to *learn* is, I believe, the small agency where everyone has a chance to do a little of an awful lot. The place to *earn* is the large agency

> his constant aim was to bring in men and women of talent who could be trained up to brilliance each in his or her natural field. A layout man had to grow and excel in that particular craft. A copywriter had to write copy. Crawford did not encourage the all-rounder. The advertising agency, he clearly foresaw, was destined to become ever more complex in its services, and each of such service more expert.[40]

Agency-specific training taught practitioners skills necessary to undertake their jobs, as well as ingraining in youth the corporate culture of the agency: the house style of the creative staff, the relationship between different departments, and the history and mythology of the agency. Therefore, before the AA's general education scheme was set in place in 1929, the clubs of organised advertising – in particular the Regent's Club and the Publicity Club – played a significant role in bringing together young practitioners from across the specialisms of advertising to share common professional (rather than corporate) values of advertising, and supporting the development of an overriding professional identity in advertising.[41]

Clubs were an informal setting where young people in advertising could socialise, network with colleagues, and study together. As a result, clubs offer rare insight into how young people were active in their engagement with the advertising industry. Foremost among clubs for youth was the Regent Advertising Club. Its motto was 'I will study and get ready and maybe my chance will come'.[42] By dedicating time to studying advertising, the young members of the Regent's Club hoped to show their enthusiasm for the occupation and, as a result, gain acceptance, employment and promotion. The motto suggests belief in the importance of training for employment prospects; these young people did not rely solely on personality for success. Speakers were regularly invited to address the Club about topical elements from across advertising, which gave members the opportunity to develop a well-rounded professional identity. For instance, in spring 1929, E. M. I. Buxton, a director of Paul E. Derrick's, delivered a series of three talks on 'How a Modern Agency is organised', which *Advertiser's Weekly* described as a 'complete and detailed description of the

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where specialisation results in a few highly esteemed experts who do an awful lot of very little' H.Q. Faichney 'How to start a career in advertising', *Advertisers' Weekly*, 6 June 1951, p. 25.

[40] G.S. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954), p. 51.

[41] Charles Higham commented, 'We have many Advertising clubs in London, and they all fulfil a useful function. They are all young in membership and usefulness…': 'Charles Higham, Chairman of the Club development Committee of the Advertising Association', *Advertising World*, February 1927, p. 512.

[42] TWL, Reel 49 659:331.4, 'Women in Advertising, By One of them', *Daily Herald* 10 January 1929.

machinery and methods of modern advertising service agency'.[43] Part one considered how to secure new accounts; part two described the 'visualisation' of an advertising campaign and a means of testing the potential of ideas ('Attention; Interest; Desire; Action'); and part three explained how to plan the programme and 'route' the jobs.[44] The Club continued to welcome speakers after the war. Speaking to members in 1951, Ashley Havinden, a director of W. S. Crawford, argued that 'the future and development of advertising design lays in the conjunction of surrealistic freedom inside the structure and thought of abstract design'. [45] 'With the aid of slides, he traced the development of advertising design from the grace and charm of Victorian ads, to the impingement of surrealism, cubism, realism – and a host of other 'isms on present day design. He showed how advertising echoed the trends in the fine arts.' Emphasising the contemporary concern about the function of advertisements, he said that 'he had often been accused [perhaps] of worrying too much about the design and not the selling quality of ads.' [46] In this way, the Regents' Club, which was run by young people, provided youth with a forum to learn, debate, and formulate opinions on issues in advertising.

The Club also ran an employment bureau.[47] The need for this is symptomatic of career volatility in the early 1930s, which was particularly acute for young people who occupied low level, disposable jobs. To supplement the work of the Employment Bureau, the Regent's Club announced in 1932 its plans for a work experience scheme, which had the support of Sir Syndey Skinner, the chairman of department store John Barker and Co., who offered to 'make arrangements for young men and women, keen on advertising, to get actual selling experience in his vast organisation'. [48] Like the IIPA's exam question, the scheme points to the importance of work experience in complementing competency in advertising theory; being an advertising practitioner involved doing, not just knowing. Equally, it indicates that not all young people who aspired to work in advertising had the personal contacts necessary to arrange work placements.

[43] 'How a Modern Agency is Organised', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 22 March 1929.
[44] Ibid.
[45] 'Club news: Regent', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 March 1951, p. 363.
[46] Ibid.
[47] 'which was "admirably conducted" by Doris James, MA, the Honorary Secretary', 'Whispering gallery: The Regent Club's insight', *Advertising World*, February 1932, p. 103.
[48] 'Whispering gallery: The Regent Club's insight', *Advertising World*, February 1932, p. 103.

The Regent's Club organised an annual exhibition of creative work produced by its members, to showcase work and create opportunities for members. Given the important role that conventions and exhibitions played in conveying advertising's professional narrative to a wider public, it is striking that members of the Regent's Club added their voices to the debate by holding an exhibition of their own. The growing prestige of the exhibition and value of its contribution to advertising's professional narrative was recognised by Sir Francis Goodenough, who opened the event in 1932. The *Times* reported that he 'spoke of the importance of educational training in advertising and salesmanship', arguing that it was 'on the younger generation depended the commercial success of the future'.[49] He regarded the 'large number of exhibits' as testament 'to the enthusiasm of members'. The hosting of the exhibition shows the Regent's Club catering for the multiple professional attributes and tasks demanded of their members: creative types studied alongside those worked in the more economic or trade oriented parts of the business.

In-house training and attendance at club meetings could be supplemented by evening classes at business schools, technical and commercial colleges, and through personal study of a growing assortment of text-books.[50] The Royal Polytechnic on Regent's Street, for example, which was founded by Quintin Hogg, the father of Ethel Wood (director, Samson Clark), offered advertising among its courses. Cyril Freer, who as advertising manager at the *Daily Mail*, lectured on Polytechnic's 'Advertising and Selling Methods', and published a 'practical handbook' for his students in 1921.[51] Colleges also offered full-time courses to students who hoped to improve their chance of gaining employment in the industry by studying the theories of advertising and business practice. Despite the fact that agencies in the 1920s and 1930s tended to prefer practical experience over theoretical

[49] 'Regent Advertising Club', *Times*, 9 March 1932, p. 10; Sir Francis Goodenough the chairman of the Incorporated Sales Managers Association, and was also involved in promoting educational schemes for technical and commercial staff. See Francis Goodall, 'Goodenough, Sir Francis William (1872–1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47940, accessed 11 Nov 2014]

[50] For an example of a technical college prospectus, see *The Students Guide: Metropolitan College, the 'varsity of secretarial and accountancy training* (St Albans, 1920). For a survey of pre-war commercial education see Special Committee on Education for Commerce, *Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce* (HMSO, 1949).

[51] Cyril Freer, *The Inner Side of Advertising* (1921), cited in Schwarzkopf 'Respectable persuaders: the advertising industry and British society, 1900 – 1939' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (2008), p. 58.

grounding, employment was often difficult to secure.[52] Therefore, such courses enabled young people aspiring to work in advertising a way of demonstrating to potential employees their commitment to their chosen career. Thomas Russell, the first self-proclaimed 'advertising consultant' in Britain, gave a series of lectures on advertising at the London School of Economics in 1919. These were published as a textbook that, by 1926, was in its third print run. The introduction to this edition describes how

> the audiences were composed of students at the LSE and Political Science, with a number of young men and women contemplating a career in Advertising, and some others already engaged in that pursuit.[53]

Starting with the economic justification for advertising, the lecture series went on to cover the broad theory of the 'functions and policy' of advertising, before turning to the more technical aspects of 'copywriting and the practical psychology of advertising', trademarks and retail advertising, media and mail-order advertising. The series ended with remarks about 'advertising as a career'.[54] It is significant that these lectures engaged with a wider audience; students were also studying economics and political sciences, and not all were contemplating a career in advertising specifically. Russell's lectures, therefore, gave students who might go on to work in positions of power in political and economic fields a grounding in the principles of advertising. This suggests that advertising was beginning to be recognised as important for an understanding of business and commerce.

However, while surviving text books suggest that the standard of advertising education in some places was high, when the AA conducted a survey in 1928 before the foundation of its syllabus and examination scheme, it found that in 'a large number of teaching institutions where advertising was included in the curriculum' there was a 'lack of a standard and an objective, [and] much valuable time is being wasted'.[55] Leaders of advertising had long felt the need for a recognised programme of advertising education: a set syllabus for advertising education for aspiring youth was one of the founding aims of the Incorporated Society of Advertising Agents (1905).[56] A syllabus for the AA's diploma programme (introduced in 1929 with first exams in 1931) was therefore an important step

[52] 'The Right Type of Young Man – but unable to find a job in advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 21 October 1927, p. ii.
[53] Thomas Russell, *Commercial Advertising*, (1919, 1926 edn.), p. v.
[54] Ibid.
[55] HAT, AA 2/2/1/2 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 14 May 1928.
[56] Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable persuaders', p. 36.

in creating a standard education scheme for advertising with uniform principles. The motivation for the scheme was, specifically, to 'put advertising on a par with established professions such as medicine, law and architecture'.[57]

Sociological literature regards education schemes and examinations, which provide a means of distinguishing between qualified and unqualified practitioners, as a criterion for the development of a profession due to their function in excluding the non-expert. Harold Perkin characterises professional society as being dominated by specialised occupations that 'claim expertise beyond the common sense of the layman'.[58] This was recognised by contemporaries too: commenting on the completion of the syllabus for membership examinations, the president of the IIPA, Philip Benson, said that, 'this syllabus has been regarded as a definite step in the establishment of the profession.'[59] Benson understood that professional status depended on a corpus of specific, expert knowledge. However, with regards to advertising in particular, the value of education in enabling ambitious young people to incorporate themselves into the profession has been overlooked by scholarship.[60] This function of education, as a means for young people to associate themselves formally with advertising's professional identity through the merits of their studies in advertising, was made clear when the PPC set examinations as criteria for Associate membership of the IIPA.[61] In September 1927 (just five months after the foundation of the IIPA) the PPC appointed E. M. L. Buxton, T. R. Parker and Thomas Russell to develop syllabi for examination.[62] By 1939, the IIPA could claim that its lecture courses were

> of particular value in preparing young agency men and women to qualify for membership of the Institute and thus be able to play their part in influencing the future of their profession and in helping to maintain and further the ideals for which the Institute was founded.[63]

[57] 'Building up professional status: AA Education and examination scheme complete', *Advertisers' Weekly*, 12 April 1929, p. 43.
[58] Harold Perkins, *The Rise of Professional Society*, pp. 2-3.
[59] 'Report of the Chairman of the Professional Purposes Committee': HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 2 (June, 1928), p. 3.
[60] Schultze, 'An Honorable Place'.
[61] IIPA, 'Syllabus of examinations for Associate membership' (1939), p. 14.
[62] HAT, IPA/16/1/A/3 'Reports of the PPC', 1 (February, 1928), p. 2
[63] IIPA, 'Syllabus of examinations for Associate membership' (1939), p. 14.

Not only did the entrance exams enable young people to claim status as advertising practitioners through their membership of the IIPA; the Institute also gave a platform to contribute to the formation of advertising's professional identity.

The IIPA's membership examinations, of which there were three levels, were designed to draw together practical experience gained through work with expert knowledge. A single syllabus from 1939, which included the 1938 examination papers, survives in the IPA archive at HAT. The composition of the syllabus reflected the opinion of the Institute that 'everyone engaged in advertising, even though as a specialist, should have a basic knowledge of advertising in all its branches, if only to facilitate the co-ordination of his work with that of the other person engaged with him upon an advertising account'.[64] A preliminary examination established the standard of general education of candidate (although in 1939 the IIPA did not run preliminary examinations, instead choosing to accept School Certificates from a range of awarding bodies as proof of a sound education).[65] The intermediate technical examination, for which a candidate had to be least 20 years old and have two years of experience working in an advertising agency, was 'calculated to test candidates' technical knowledge of all branches of advertising' and 'their skill in particular branches of advertising practice', including printing, illustration, engraving, media, outdoor advertising, advertisement writing and direct mail advertising.[66]

The final examination was more theoretically grounded. It tested knowledge of the theory of advertising, market research and 'elementary law affecting advertising', and the ability of candidates to apply it to solving problems of advertising, campaign planning, sales organisation, trade promotions and exhibitions. For instance, two of the questions in the 1938 exam asked:

> The Manufacturer of an old and well established high-class toilet soap with well-maintained sales is considering re-designing the original package. This has not been changed since 1865. What are the influences and considerations which would guide you in advertising as to what, if any, alterations are desirable? [67]

[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., p. 4-5.
[66] Ibid., p. 3.
[67] Ibid., p. 21.

> What do you consider are the fundamental psychological principles to be observed in planning advertising campaigns? Give you answer in the form of a short essay under the title 'The Psychological Principles of Advertising'.

Candidates had to be at least 21 years old, and the examination could not be taken less than a year after having passed the institute's intermediate technical examination. [68] The institute was clear that members had to be actively practising and working towards 'the betterment of advertising'. By putting age and time restrictions on the examinations, the IIPA ensured that practitioners had the opportunity to apply their knowledge to practical situations, and were gaining a wealth of experience to draw from to complement the theory learnt through study. Examinations were phased in slowly; a number of older practitioners were admitted to the IIPA solely on account of the merit of their experience and contribution to advertising, as it was deemed demeaning to make them sit formal examinations. By 1953, however, all applications for membership were subject to examination.[69]

The IIPA's entrance examinations provided a goal for young practitioners to work towards, but not all young employees wanted to become members of a professional association, and the nature of the examinations meant that employment was a prerequisite. A more general scheme was needed, which would also help make 'training in advertising more readily available'.[70] Formed at the AA's AGM in 1927, the AA's Education Committee had the remit of producing a syllabus to meet the needs of those working across the constituent parts of the advertising industry, creating exam papers, appointing examiners and determining results.[71] The AA syllabus did not wish to 'conflict or compete' with the more specific requirements of the IIPA examinations; rather the hope was that AA examinations might be recognised by the IIPA as equivalent to their intermediate paper.[72] Seeking to integrate advertising into professional society more broadly, the AA also hoped to draw on

[68] Ibid., p. 14.
[69] 'Appendix 1': HAT IIPA 16/5/4 'Minutes of the Professional Purposes Committee', 11 August 1953, p. 121.
[70] AA 2/2/1/2 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 14 May 1928.
[71] In drawing up the syllabus, committee members worked with 'experts in education', including J. W. Ramsbottom, director of the City of London College and Secretary of the Commercial Examinations Committee, J. Henderson Pringle, Principal of the City of Birmingham Commercial College, R.J. Bartlett, Lecture on Psychology at the London University, who were 'able to indicate the lines along which professional examinations proceed, as well as talking about facilities available for education': 'Education In Advertising', *Times*, 23 April 1929, p. 11.
[72] AA 2/2/1/2 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 14 May 1928.

a ‘uniform syllabus of all preliminary professional examination’ which ‘the Bankers, Accountants and corresponding professional bodies’ were working on. [73]

Since the AA syllabus was not an entrance exam for a professional institution, the syllabus was more open than that of the IIPA.

> It is designed to provide a full and comprehensive course of study for those already engaged in, and those entering, Advertising; it provides for the specialist as well as the all-round man or woman; it will establish a standard of knowledge at which all ambitious newcomers and juniors will aim and a criterion by which ability in an employee can be recognised. It raises a ladder by means of which the deserving can climb and it provides all those eager young people in the business, particularly the alert club members, with guidance and direction in their studies and preparations for opportunities of the future[74]

By ‘rais[ing] a ladder’ to young people, the education scheme provided a mechanism for young people to engage with advertising and to progress in their careers. Reflecting the status of the AA as the umbrella organisation for the advertising industry as whole (which included people working in agencies, on behalf of manufactures, in the newspapers, as well as on the technical, production side), the syllabus aimed to lay a broad foundation for later specialist study. R. Simmat’s *The Principles and Practice of Advertising* (1935), 500 pages long and written ‘to fulfil the definite need for a textbook’ for the examinations of the AA and IIPA, gives insight into the range of disciplines that operated within the advertising industry before the Second World War: following an introduction about the ‘history, philosophy and ethics of advertising’, the book covers topics from psychology to market research, from copywriting, layout, and typography, to media, display material and direct mail, ending with chapters on standards of practice and the ‘Law relating to advertising’. Reflecting on the balance between specialism and broad education Simmat wrote: ‘The specialist reading the book may consider the chapters dealing with this particular sphere as being elementary, but the remainder may be of help as indicating the broader implications of his work and how it fits in with the unified continuity of the advertising plan’.[75]

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[73] Ibid.

[74] ‘Report of the Education committee’: AA 2/2/1/2 ‘Minutes of the Executive Committee’, 20 March 1929.

[75] Simmat, *Principles and Practice*, p. vi.

The AA appealed to 'leaders of the profession' to encourage their young employees to study for the exams, since 'the scheme will not become fully effective until all the younger generation has been tested and until the passing of the test is essential for promotion to the higher and responsible posts'.[76] In 1930, there were 'over 200 students … taking the courses and the Education Committee anticipate[d] that approximately 150 will sit for the first Intermediate examination in May'.[77] With the scheme advertised in the national press, numbers taking exams increased across the 1930s; Schwarzkopf counts between 120 and 130 people sitting the final and intermediate examinations each year.[78] However, given that the total number of people working in advertising agencies in 1931 was estimated to be 8,000, the number of people engaging in the examination scheme was low.[79] Nevertheless, these numbers do not include those who were registered for advertising courses, but chose not to take the examination.

By the outbreak of the Second World War, therefore, organised advertising had taken concerted steps to standardise education in advertising. This helped to bolster advertising's claims to a professional status and contributed to the contemporary impression that advertising was an occupation 'growing up'. More significant to this thesis, however, the education syllabi gave youth a formal way in which to engage with the industry and its professional values. While advertising's clubs and agencies continued to play important roles in moulding and training youth in advertising's professional narrative in the 1930s, the education schemes of the IIPA and the AA enabled young people, who were seen as the future of advertising, to gain qualifications which demonstrated their understanding of how professionalism operated in the context of advertising.

Advertising and young practitioners, 1939-1954

When looking back on his youth in advertising, Sam Soper regarded the Second World War as a watershed, a rupture. In his memoir, he described how on the outbreak of war

[76] 'Building up professional status: AA Education and examination scheme complete', *Advertisers' Weekly,* 12 April 1929, p. 43.
[77] 'Annual report for year ending 30 Sept 1929': AA 2/2/1/2 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 28 October 1929.
[78] For instance, 'Educational' *The Times,* 14 Aug 1935, p. 3; Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders', p. 54.
[79] *HMSO Census of England and Wales, 1931*, 'Occupation Tables' (1934), Table 1, 11, quoted in Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders', p. 54.

JWT went from the 'innocence of romantic ballads to the potential terrors and realities of war'.[80] Like many young people who had worked in advertising during the 1930s, Soper chose to leave advertising to join the armed forces. As chapter 2 described, when he returned in 1946 he found advertising operating quite differently, with changes to practices and staff members. Strikingly, Soper makes no direct observation on this, apart from his inclusion in his memoir of JWT's memorandum outlining the changes that personnel faced. This lack of acknowledgement of changed conditions suggests a desire to resume work where he had left off in 1939 and the importance of the office environment in providing a sense of routine and stability. Similarly, in G. H. Saxon Mills' account of W. S. Crawford's, the emphasis is on continuation: he observes that when the Ministry of Information (for which Crawford's handled a number of campaigns) was disbanded on 31 March 1946, it found 'immediate reincarnation in the Central Office of Information', which was established on 1 April 1946.[81]

Nevertheless, the War solidified generations into those who had worked in advertising before 1939, and those who had not. JWT enforced this divide by creating new roles for returning personnel: Soper described how he 'and other pre-war controllers were given a new status entitled service manager'.[82] The shifting of the generations can also be seen in an editorial in *Advertiser's Weekly* in 1946, which called for new leadership to steer the course of advertising. The editor drew explicitly on the characteristics of the pre-war generation to inform the future:

> It is up to the leaders of advertising to give a lead, to raise their voices to urge that use is made of a most potent force. The task needs the energy of a Higham, the pen of Thomas Russell and the ingenuity of Hedley Le Bas – those mighty champions of the past.[83]

The young people of the interwar period had grown up. 'Youth' in advertising itself also aged: new recruits were older due to the disruption of education and training by the war. For instance, in addition to school leavers, there were people joining JWT to pursue a career in advertising for the first time aged 23-27, having first been to university or moved into advertising from a different sector. The 'youth' of the post-war period were more

[80] Duke, JWT, The Papers of Sam Soper, Box 1, 'My JWT Life', unpublished manuscript (1996), p. 45.
[81] G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954), p. 162.
[82] Soper, 'My JWT Life', p. 98.
[83] 'Fresh opportunity', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 February 1946, p. 212.

worldly wise, bringing diverse experience and outlooks to advertising. Moreover, 'youth' assumed a new ideological significance as peace turned to Cold War in the late 1940s. Mischa Honeck and Gabriel Rosenburg argue that leaders on both sides of the Iron Curtain believed that the challenges they faced 'required new transnational modes of affect and belonging', which depended on young people, unencumbered by the 'burdens of the past', to live out new forms of global and ideologically grounded citizenship.[84] In advertising, this vision of youth reached its height at the AA's 1951 Conference, where the rhetoric of youth's vitality was freely used. Addressing the Clubs' Session, J. B. Nicholas suggested that youth was important to advertising because, first,

> it is young people … who will carry the lessons of the Conference farthest into the future; second because while the elders … are inevitably pre-occupied with immediate problems, it is desirable and necessary that their juniors should be given a free and glorious fling at the impossible – the impossible which it is the duty, and joy of youth to make possible.[85]

However, before they were granted a place to engage with the professional narrative and ideals of advertising, youth had to be trained in its principles. Idealism was carefully directed. Indeed, the emphasis of the relationship between youth and the future status of advertising meant that education and training featured prominently in aims of the AA's 1951 Conference, in order to ensure that 'the future of advertising may be in good hands'.[86] *Advertiser's Weekly* commented that 'all who are zealous for the advancement of advertising will welcome the fact that close attention is be given to improving methods of education, recruitment and training.'[87] It was through education programmes that the young people of the interwar sought to create and inform professional identity in post-war youth.

Work on raising the standards of education and recruitment had, in fact, been in place since the end of the Second World War. During the War itself, the AA Education Committee had continued to facilitate the AA's advertising education programme, and had even responded to requests from British prisoners of war (PoW) in Germany to send them syllabi and textbooks through the Red Cross, so that they could study for the diploma in their free

[84] Honeck and Rosenburg 'Transnational generations', p. 235.
[85] 'Crudities Condemned: "they give critics a stick"', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 12 July 1951, p. 78.
[86] 'Aims of advertising will ring round the Free World: conference key to the future', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 19 July 1951, p. 127.
[87] 'Pattern for Freedom', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 8 Feb 1951, p. 218.

time.[88] However, while over 300 textbooks were sent to PoW camps, only 30 students applied to take the exam.[89] It seems that, similar to the portraits that were sent to JWT's office, these requests indicated the need by men to be recognised as holding a status beyond that of a prisoner of war, rather than a desire to further technical understanding of advertising. George 'Collie' Colwell, who worked in the art department at JWT, recalled how when he was asked by JWT whether he needed anything while he was a PoW in Italy, he requested some modern advertising:

> thinking of my career at JWT, I thought this would count good… We'd got no clothes, no Red Cross packages had got through. One day I was called up to the Camp Office and there was a huge, great bloody parcel with a JWT label on it. It was a complete advertising library, big thick green books full of copywriting, how to do a layout etc. Nobody wanted to read it.[90]

Meanwhile, in Britain it was clear that the young people who were not called up did not have time or energy to take exams: in 1940, only 14 students sat and 13 passed; in 1941 only 12 students sat; in 1942, despite renewed effort to engage with colleges to promote the AA diploma to students, only 8 sat (all passed).[91] While the Education Committee expressed disappointment with these figures, it is significant that they continued to engage with the young people who remained, since it demonstrated commitment to the future of advertising and recognition that war was only temporary.

From 1946, the Education Committee of the AA revised the AA's Diploma syllabus, in order to meet the training needs of youth entering advertising agencies reconfigured by the war. The diploma syllabus was an attempt by the AA to create a foundation on which professional identity in advertising could be built. The discussions surrounding the revision of the syllabus, therefore, indicates what was thought necessary for a person to know before they embarked on a career in advertising following the Second World War.

Running through the Committee's debate was the extent to which the diploma should give candidates opportunities to demonstrate specialist knowledge and expertise. One member, Charles Pinkham, observed that 'when interviewing applicants holding the DAA I find

[88] HAT, AA 10/6/1 'Minutes of the Education Committee', 8 April 1941.
[89] Ibid., 4 December 1944.
[90] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Interview with George "Collie" Colwell', 19 Oct 1972, p. 9.
[91] AA 10/6/1 'Minutes of the Education Committee', 30 November 1942.

they have only a smattering of general advertising practice'.[92] H. A. Oughton, Chair of the Committee and a director of W. S. Crawford's, replied that this was because 'by the time a person reaches our Final examination he should have decided whether he intends to take up advertising as a career. Whether or not he will have got far enough to start answering specialised papers in great detail, I am not sure… At present we do not claim to go any further than saying a man has a basic knowledge of advertising'.[93] While some of the Committee felt that there should be a greater technical and practical element to the diploma, the theory of advertising was emphasised because it could be taught competently by commercial colleges. This was an important consideration, since it was hoped that the diploma would be studied by students considering a career in advertising, as well as those who already were employed in the industry. The diploma, therefore, was conceived as an introduction to advertising, not an indication of ability or particular expertise. Indeed, following correspondence with the University of Oxford Appointment's Board, Rumble, a member of the Committee and a director of Rumble, Crother and Nicholas, proposed that a copy of the AA's diploma syllabus should be 'sent to every University college in England with a covering letter, suggesting that students wishing to enter Advertising should be acquainted with the conditions which the Syllabus covers'.[94]

For those of the Committee looking to increase specialisation within the syllabus, Oughton pointed to the IIPA's syllabus for membership, the examination questions of which could only be answered by people with specific practical experience in addition to theoretical knowledge. Specialism was also incorporated in the IIPA syllabus through the addition of a third final paper, which candidates could choose to take in Copy, Art, Media or Market Research. As a result, 'a student is given an opportunity to shine in one selected subject – the optional paper being made extraordinarily stiff'. [95] As chapter 1 explained, the IIPA represented the professional interests and ideals of advertising practitioners specifically. Therefore, their membership exams reflected the specialist expertise expected of professional practitioners. In contrast, the AA represented a broad range of organisations (including the IIPA); their diploma reflected a common base level across the industry.

[92] Ibid., 4 November 1946.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 13 December 1948.
[95] Ibid., 4 November 1946.

As part of the redrafting of the syllabus, subjects were grouped to offer 'something more like the correct sequence of training'.[96] By March 1948, the syllabus was as follows:

The Intermediate (A)

- Introduction to advertising and its administration,
- English
- Marketing
- Economics in relation to Advertising

Intermediate (B)

- Psychology
- Advertisement Design and Preparation (I)
- Media (I)
- Reproduction (I)

Final (C)

- Copywriting
- Media (II)
- Market research
- Law in relation to Advertising and Marketing

Final (D)

- Reproduction (II)
- Advertising Design and Preparation (II)
- Campaign planning - preparation
- Campaign planning - execution.[97]

Starting with an introduction to basic theory and practice of advertising, the syllabus progressed to areas of technical knowledge. Students were then introduced to the principles and limitations that informed the creative production of advertising, before learning about more advanced administration of advertising. Students, regardless of which area of advertising they sought to enter, had to sit and pass all areas in order to be awarded the diploma. The breadth of the programme was recognised as its strength. In 1951, *Advertising's Weekly* commented, 'the greatest advantage of examination is that they give those who take them an overall picture of the business'.[98] This shared foundation of professional knowledge ensured that the copywriter had basic understanding of the work of the market research, and vice versa, and making it possible to talk about a coherent 'advertising industry' and a professional identity in advertising.

[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 2 March 1948.
[98] 'Why exams are worthwhile', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 February 1951, p. 173.

Although the work of the AA's Education Committee fuelled and validated rhetoric about youth and the future of the advertising industry, the revision of the diploma syllabus was part of a broader, practical move to re-examine vocational education following the 1944 Education Act, which raised the school leaving age to 16 and precipitated the reorganisation of educational institutions. It was also a response to the culture of continued training and vocational learning engendered by the Army during the War.[99] The Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce (1949) pointed to the changing contexts from which school leavers were emerging. By 1949, employers might reasonably expect a new arrival from a technical college to have a basic grounding in English and mathematics (possibly removing the need for the AA's preliminary examination). In addition, students would have had opportunity to learn shorthand and typing or to take general courses in commerce. For those continuing to sixth form or secretarial college, courses were available in more specific skills and areas, such as economics, finance, accountancy, and secretarial work, or in preparation for professional qualifications, including the AA's diploma.[100]

Increasingly, therefore, it was possible for applicants to have a general knowledge of the field of commerce that they wished to enter. Indeed, the AA diploma grew in popularity following the end of the Second World War, as a new cohort of young people focused on carving out careers. In January 1947, the *Advertiser's Weekly* reported that the 'youth of Advertising takes itself so seriously that the AA is preparing for an unprecedented number of candidates for the diploma examinations, scheduled from next May'.[101] While those returning to advertising following the War were entitled to take 'Refresher courses in advertising', or to participate in the Government's Business Training scheme, which provided training on the job for those whose vocational education had been interrupted by having to join the Forces, there were only limited opportunities for those seeking employment in advertising for the first time.[102] While the 'diploma must not be regarded in itself, as the key to a job', it at least offered to young people wishing to set themselves apart a means of showing aptitude in advertising and a commitment to the occupation.[103] This was an advantage, since H. F. Thiele, the director of AA's Appointments Bureau,

[99] 'Six point plan for education', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 March 1951, p. 538.
[100] Special Committee on Education for Commerce, *Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce* (HMSO, 1949), p. 8.
[101] 'Editorial: Remove Education bottleneck', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 16 January 1947, p. 104.
[102] AA 10/6/1 'Minutes of the Education Committee', 13 March 1946 ibid., 17 June 1946;HAT AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Committee', 4 Feb 1946
[103] 'Why exams are worthwhile', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 February 1951 p. 173.

noted that many of those who sought advice from the Bureau had 'no idea of what advertising involves'.[104] P. L. Stobo, director of S. H. Benson, remarked that 'even in a big agency, if two copy writers applied for a job and their specialist qualifications were about equal, but one of them had the AA Diploma, the Diploma holder would have the better chance'.[105]

With basic advertising education standardised through the AA's diploma, the expectation of advertising agencies was that it was the *student's* responsibility to gain basic vocational training, since it was more cost effective for agencies to employ staff who were already grounded in the principles of advertising. Whereas before the Second World War, the advertising agency had been the place where young people first began to construct a professional identity, after 1945, recruits to advertising were already expected to have a foundation of standard professional knowledge, which would be embellished by specialist knowledge and the corporate identity of the firm. In 1951, *Advertiser's Weekly* observed that while 'in the past 10 to 15 years the classified ads in the trade press have carried fewer than a dozen requests for employees with recognised qualifications', it was probably because 'employers assume that all applicants will be DAA or AIPA'.[106]

However, the Regent's Club recognised that full-time study was not practical for all young people hoping to enter advertising. In 1949, in a move that – like the creation of the Employment Bureau – aimed to open up opportunities for youth in advertising, the Club created a bursary worth £350 a year for two years, to pay for the 'all-round training' of youth, aged from twenty to twenty-four, in an IIPA agency. The bursary was designed to attract young people who were 'likely to become assets to the Advertising Profession', and applicants were judged by their 'high educational and personal qualifications'. The age bracket suggested that the Club hoped to attract university graduates, and the social prestige that accompanied them, to the advertising industry. Significantly, the bursary holder would trained while working within an agency; the formation of basic professional identity was placed back into the control of the firm. Announcing the bursary scheme, Audrey Deans, president of the Club, said, 'the advertising profession must equip itself

[104] AA 10/6/1 'Minutes of the Education Committee', 4 November 1946.
[105] Why exams are worthwhile, *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 February 1951 p. 173
[106] 'Six point plan for education', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 March 1951, p. 538.

with a full knowledge of its craft… The need for a continual flow of highly trained men and women was more than ever necessary.'[107]

Similarly, JWT sought to recruit people with potential to be shaped into advertising practitioners, rather than looking for particular knowledge and understanding of advertising. Indeed, few of the retired staff members that Tom Rayfield interviewed in 1995 had qualifications or experience in advertising before they joined JWT. Rayfield, a copywriter at JWT, was researching a book to celebrate the firm's fifty year residency at 40 Berkley Square.[108]When Rayfield asked Alec Morrison, who joined the marketing department straight from Oxford, 'what did you know about advertising?' Morrison replied, 'Sod all. I thought advertising was all about writing words and drawing pictures neither of which I had any skill'.[109] Other interviewees had at least some grounding in commerce or administration. For instance, Dick Hornby taught history at Eton for two years and worked for Hudson & Knight as a marketing trainee, before starting work at JWT in 1952. [110] Jill Firth, who joined the firm as a secretary in 1949, before becoming a copywriter, recalled that, 'I'd read *Advertise* and that was absolutely all. I was just finishing my secretarial course… I was just 20 and the only thing I'd done was milk a cow.' [111] Before joining JWT in 1949, Jane Taylor used to 'write the little bits that went under shoes' in shops.[112]

As an office of an international firm, JWT had the resources to train promising staff from scratch, which other advertising agencies in the late 1940s and early 1950s lacked. Firth recalled that 'George Butler loved to get people straight from college and then train them in the ways of JWT, which in a way was quite a good thing because the rest of the advertising would you had to have experience before you got the job.'[113] Similarly, Morrison explained, 'You weren't expected to do anything for a couple of years, training period... It was assumed, quite rightly in my case, you'd be pretty well useless for a year,

[107] 'Regent Club to Sponsor Scholarship scheme', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 18 December 1949, p. 103.
[108] Perhaps the views expressed by staff were exaggerated to fit with the light hearted nature of the project, and to enhance a sense of difference to contemporary practice; nevertheless, memories expressed do broadly corroborate with material described in *Round the Square* and memos from the post-war period. See Duke, JWT, Newsletters, Boxes IN5 - 8.
[109] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Alex Morrison', transcript, 15 May 1995, p. 2
[110] Ibid., 'Interview with Dick Hornby', transcript, 18 April 1995, p. 1.
[111] Ibid., 'Interview with Jill Firth', transcript, 30 May 1995, p. 1.
[112] Ibid., Box 2, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Jane Taylor', transcript, 16 May 1995, p. 1
[113] Ibid., 'Interview with Irene Sinclair', transcript, 15 May 1995, p. 3.

probably two'.[114] As explained below, to ensure the recruitment of youth with potential to thrive in advertising, and that training was not wasted, the firm favoured particular institutions when recruiting. Additionally, applicants were required to take psychological assessments and, for aspiring copywriters, written examination to test whether they displayed the virtues and attributes that JWT believed constituted professionalism in advertising.

Following the war, JWT built on its reputation for recruiting 'university people'.[115] Rather than employing youth through the AA's Employment Bureau, Denis Lanigan recalled that Douglas Saunders, the managing director, 'tended to recruit people from about four schools and three regiments, but that was the discriminator because there were the same sort of people on the client side'.[116] Social networks could help business relations because members of networks share common values, and therefore trust was inherent.[117] Recruits from a similar social milieu to potential clients gave JWT social and cultural capital: Lanigan asserted that through his recruitment policies Saunders achieved 'distinction for the agency', and that JWT 'had an outside reputation as being 'the OK place to work' among the smart Etonians of the time'.[118] Lanigan himself was a Cambridge graduate, who moved to JWT's marketing department in 1952 when he was 26 on a recommendation of a university friend, following a two-year stint in the foreign and overseas department of the Bank of England.[119] Conversely, Firth said that George Butler, the head of the art department, 'wouldn't hire anyone form the Royal College [of Art] because he thought that was where all the slicksters came from'. However, she reflected, 'he didn't really realise that was the place where the people who would get excited about making a page look good went. So I think we got rather stuck in the past compared to the agencies who were just beginning to overtake us in creative work [in the 1960s]'.[120] To flourish, the art department required creativity and ingenuity, which were often fuelled by difference. The danger of

[114] Rayfield, 'Interview with Alex Morrison', p. 2.
[115] This tendency of the firm became part of its institutional memory: when interviewing former members of staff in 1995, Tom Rayfield asked specifically about 'posh people'.
[116] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 2, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Denis Lanigan', transcript, 25 May 1995, p. 5.
[117] As chapter 4 explains, such networks excluded women, hindering their career progress.
[118] Rayfield, 'Interview with Denis Lanigan', p. 2.
[119] 'Denis Lanigan profile': Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 2, *Round the Square*, November 1965.
[120] Rayfield, 'Interview with Jill Firth', p. 2.

recruiting similar young people and relying on old networks and institutions was that work and the work environment became comfortable, and lost their innovative edge.

JWT also recruited from universities, and succeeded in persuading graduates to join the firm. Addressing the Cambridge Appointments Board in 1951, John Rodgers, a director, pointed out that 11% of JWT were graduates. This equated to thirty-eight graduates, nine of whom were women. 'Two had attended Harvard Business School, fifteen were from Oxford, nine from Cambridge, six from London, two from Colombia and one each from Reading, Edinburgh, Wales, St Andrews, Antwerp and Chicago. Their disciplines included ten in Economics, six in English, seven in History plus Domestic Science, Arts, Commerce, Chemistry, Social Studies and Philosophy'.[121] *Round the Square* does not detail whether these graduates had studied for the AA's diploma, but given JWT's general disregard for particular qualifications, it seems unlikely. Instead, this range of subject areas complemented the agencies' activities, and the graduates strengthened JWT's links with university alumni networks.

Young people with 'personality' and persistence were also given openings. Irene Sinclair approached JWT in 1953 because it was known as the biggest agency:

> I got fed up with publishing … So I just phoned up. I got the telephone exchange and said could I speak to someone in the Art Department, and they said why, and I said because I wanted a job. They said you need personnel, and I said, No, I want the Art Department. So I finally got through to someone in Art Buying and I think they interviewed me because I was quite cheeky just phoning up and asking for a job.[122]

The entry process itself was quite complicated. Morrison remarked to Rayfield that 'the 3 ring circus you had to go through was in itself a test which you felt if you passed it you'd won and you therefore had to come'.[123] Candidates were interviewed by the personnel office and by one of the directors. Additionally, an interview by a psychologist involved 'a variety of tests, verbal and visual'. [124] JWT's psychological tests were based on those used during the war in the 'screening' of office candidates in the British army, reflecting JWT's connections with the Forces. It was claimed that when used by the army, the selection

[121] Patricia Mann, reading from Round the Square: Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 2, Tom Rayfield, 'Interview with Patricia Mann', transcript, 5 May 1995, p.3
[122] Rayfield, 'Interview with Irene Sinclair', p. 1.
[123] Rayfield, 'Interview with Alex Morrison', p. 1.
[124] Ibid.

methods 'reduced the proportion of failure among officers in a very striking way'. [125] The tests were adapted for JWT by Dr Stephenson of the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology, a Nuffield foundation at Oxford University. Stephenson's involvement in recruitment processes demonstrates JWT's commitment to using psychological principles throughout its operations; psychology was not used exclusively to understand and model consumer behaviour. The 'GVK tests' assessed general intelligence, verbal intelligence, and practical or applied intelligence respectively. Candidates also took the Rohrschach 'Ink Blot' test, where they were shown images of 'nothing in this world'. It was claimed that 'whatever the applicant professes to see in them must come out of his own head', which could be 'very revealing to the trained psychologist'.[126] Morrison remembered the test as something 'with lots of things that I could make absolutely no sense of'. [127] A memorandum in 1947 conceded that 'it is too early to say how helpful these tests may prove'.[128]

In addition to the psychological assessments, JWT required aspiring copywriters to take a test assessing their writing ability.[129] Like the psychological papers, the writing test was designed to test aptitude, rather than knowledge or 'competence in making advertisements'; therefore, 'a candidate ought do as well at 23 years of age as he would at 40 after 17 years of advertising experience'. A memorandum described the process of creating the examination paper:

> A long list was drawn up of the writing qualities that would be found in an ideal copywriter, apart from those that might be acquired by experience in the advertising business. The list included a great variety of qualities, from imaginativeness, originality, logic, imitativeness, nose for news, and knowledge of techniques right down to grammar, spelling and punctuation. Then questions were devised that would each one disclose whether the applicant possessed a particular quality.

[125] Duke, JWT, Edward Wilson Papers, Box 5, Harold Stansbury, 'Personal Selection Tests' (n.d., c. 1947).
[126] Stansbury, 'Personal Selection Tests', p. 1.
[127] Rayfield, 'Interview with Alex Morrison', p. 1.
[128] Stansbury, 'Personal Selection Tests', p. 1.
[129] Since this was not a condition of employment in the other offices of JWT, Harold Stansbury, head of copy, had to justify the examination to his American colleges, Stanley Resor (chairman), Sam Meek (head of international operations) and Harold Kohl.

Here was a list of inherent virtues and character traits of a good writer. Harold Stansbury, head of copy at JWT, believed that with training and practice, someone possessing such virtues could be transformed into a successful copywriter. Sample questions included 'Describe, in a few sentences, a foggy day'. 'What is a genius? Explain in a few sentences.' 'Rewrite a paragraph in as concise but as complete a form as possible.' 'Here is a letter from the Times. Write a witty letter on the same subject.'[130] Stansbury claimed he was confident that the test would 'eliminate duds who might otherwise be employed' by the agency, but conceded that 'how useful it will be in picking winners remains to be seen'.[131] Walter O'Meara, of the New York Office, on the other hand, expressed concern that it 'might eliminate some good but terrified copier writers with them'. Instead, he advocated that candidates bring with them samples of pieces they had already written, and rely on 'not-by-any-means infallible instinct that tells an experienced copy chief whether or not a would-be copy writer really know his way through a simple declarative sentence'.[132]

As Derrick's found when recruiting youth in 1931, it was difficult to distil ability for advertising down to particular attributes alone, hence a continuing reliance on 'personality'. Personality denoted the imagination, verve and quirkiness that were believed to stand employees of advertising apart from other professions within commerce. Indeed, unlikely people found success in advertising. For instance, David Ogilvy, who went on to found OBM, the British agency that succeeded in the United States, dropped out of Oxford, and worked as a cook and a salesman, before entering Mather & Crowther as a trainee in 1935. Reflecting on his experience, Ogilvy said 'it sometimes pays an agency to be imaginative and unorthodox in hiring'.[133] Although listing attributes made it easier for agencies to exclude people who they felt did not possess certain subjective characteristics, it was almost impossible to determine where raw talent would develop into the skills and flair necessary for creating successful copywriting, and who would in time chose to acquire and develop a professional identity.

While the uptake of the AA's diploma programme was not as strong as the AA had hoped, it was important for the professional status of the industry that advertising was seen to have

[130] Duke, JWT, Edward Wilson Papers, Box 5, 'Test of Copywriting Ability', pp. 1-2, 9.
[131] Stansbury, 'Personal Selection Tests', p. 2.
[132] Walter O'Meara to Sam Meek, 25 June 1947: Duke, JWT, Edward Wilson Papers, Box 5.
[133] Kenneth Roman, *The King of Madison Avenue* (New York, 2009), p. 111.

standards and principles in which its practitioners were trained. For young people who did not attend university or serve with a particular regiment, the diploma programme and the membership examinations for the IIPA offered the opportunity to demonstrate that they had enthusiasm for advertising, as well as knowledge of its basic principles. These included a vast array of skills: from copywriting to marketing to knowledge of media and law. In participating in advertising education, young people developed a firm foundation on which to build professional identities that would be informed by their chosen specialism. The diploma and IIPA membership certified expertise and provided a preliminary means for young men and women from different social backgrounds to integrate into the advertising industry. As chapter 4 will explore, women holding executive positions in advertising also found that cultivating a professional identity could help them to progress in their careers.

4: Women in Advertising

> In a stirring and inspirational speech, W. S. Crawford painted a picture of woman's opportunity in the world of advertising. [He spoke of] women's influence in the purifying of advertising, and her peculiar fitness for this business owing to her knowledge of the desires of other women, and of the successful selling appeal that can be made to women.
>
> *Advertiser's Weekly*, 7 September 1923.[1]

Addressed to the executive women and men gathered at the inauguration of the Women's Advertising Club of London, William Crawford's speech suggests that gender is crucial to understanding the construction of professionalism within advertising. Crawford stressed the particular importance of women to the advertising industry due to their close relationship with female consumers. By doing so, he alluded to the commonly held belief that women working in advertising provided firms with the 'woman's point of view'. As this chapter will explore, throughout the period from 1920 to 1954, the woman's point of view continued to be evoked and used as means of justifying women's careers in the advertising profession. This was in spite of advances in market research techniques that rendered a more scientific and accessible understanding of the consumer and their habits of consumption. The prevalence of the 'woman's point of view' suggests that not only did contemporaries understand advertising to be a uniquely gendered occupation, but that women in advertising were vocal about their contribution to the industry and their potential within it.

More importantly, however, Crawford pointed to women's potential in 'purifying' advertising, which suggests that he believed women had a particular role to play in shaping the industry's professional identity. This is significant because historians have largely understood the professional ideal, in advertising as well as in other occupations, to be the preserve of men. Perkin's seminal book assumes that professionals are men; W. J. Reader's professionals explicitly *are* men.[2] In advertising scholarship, T. R. Nevett deals with women only in passing; Stefan Schwarzkopf and Robert Crawford almost entirely omit them. While Sean Nixon acknowledges that professionalism is gendered, he examines the

[1] 'Women in advertising form their own club', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 September 1923, p. 253.
[2] W. J. Reader, *Professional Men* (1966).

relationship between professionalism and masculinity.[3] Where then, did these executive women assembled at the Hotel Cecil in 1923 fit into advertising's professional narrative? How did they respond to articulations and practices of professionalism within the advertising industry: an industry geared increasingly towards communicating with the female consumer? Did they shape conceptions of professionalism, through the woman's point of view? Or did they define their own? More broadly, how did gender shape, influence, and affect the formation of professional identity in advertising?

As Michael Roper observes, the mechanisms by which women were historically disadvantaged are well-known; it is more appropriate, therefore, to consider how women responded to this disadvantage.[4] From 1920 to 1954, women were almost entirely absent from the executive committees and subcommittees of the industry's professional bodies and associations; yet this does not mean that they were not part of the professional life of the industry.[5] Instead, women's conception of professionalism, and their contribution to advertising's professional narrative, can be seen in the writings and activities of members of the Women's Advertising Club of London. The Club, which bought together executive women from across the advertising industry, offers important insight into how women holding positions of considerable influence in advertising understood, and contributed to, the industry's understanding of professional identity. Minute books of the Club's AGMs and Executive Committee meetings survive, recording how these women discussed the issues that mattered to them and how they acted on them as professionals. The minute books cannot flesh out the day-to-day experience of work for women in advertising (and indeed, as women holding executive positions, members of the Women's Advertising Club are not representative of the 'average' woman in advertising). However, through the minutes of correspondence, the subjects of the dinner talks, items on the agenda and reports of subcommittees, the books gesture towards women's lived experience in the particularly male sphere of executive work. While members represented a very small minority of the women who worked in advertising from 1920 to 1954, it is possible to

[3] Sean Nixon, 'In pursuit of the Professional Ideal', in Peter Jackson, Michelle Lowe, Daniel Miller and Frank Mort (eds.) *Consumer Cultures: Economies, Practices, Spaces* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 70-2.

[4] Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British organisation man since 1945* (Oxford, 1994); D. H. Sutton, *Globalising ideal beauty: how female copywriters of the J Walter Thompson Agency redefined beauty for the twentieth century* (New York, 2009).

[5] Ethel Wood served on the Executive Committee of the AA from 1927-1929; Maud Woodward, Dorothy Cornforth and Mary Gowing served terms on the AA's Education Committee. It was not until 1962 that a woman, Olive Hirst, was elected to the Council of the IIPA.

glimpse how other women in less prestigious positions fitted into advertising's professional narrative through the Club's work in advertising education, career guidance, and in their membership criteria, making the Club a valuable starting point for investigating women's relationship with professionalism.

By considering how women actively negotiated the meaning of professionalism, through the work of the Women's Advertising Club, this chapter moves beyond current scholarship relating to gender and the growth of professions, which has largely been concerned with the mechanisation of labour and the concurrent influx of female workers. Meta Zimmeck's initial study of female clerical workers has been complemented by research on the 'white blouse revolution' which includes studies of women who worked in banks, the Civil Service and in computing.[6] Scholarship has been predominately social and economic in nature, with emphasis placed on documenting the discrepancies between male and female working conditions, career prospects, and pay.[7] While Roper demonstrates the importance of work to the construction of post-war managers' sense of masculinity, little attention has been given to the meaning of work to women or how women viewed their occupation.[8] Helen McCarthy's recent work documenting the lives of women who sought work in the Diplomatic Service is a notable exception.[9] In the history of advertising, focus has been either on emphasising female 'pioneers' or offering accounts of how exceptional women were passively integrated into 'the institutionalised masculinity of the business world'.[10] It is clear, however, that women in advertising – an occupation where contemporaries believed women to be peculiarly suited – took a much more active role in the construction of the profession's professional identity.

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[6] For example, Meta Zimmeck, 'Jobs for Girls: the expansion of Clerical Work for Women, 1850-1914, in Angela John (ed.), *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 153-77; ibid., 'Strategies and stratagems for the employment of women in the British Civil Service, 1919-1939', *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), pp. 901-24; Gregory Anderson, (ed.) *The white blouse revolution: female office workers since 1879* (Manchester, 1988); Maria Hicks, 'Only the Clothes Changed: Women operators in British Computing and Advertising, 1950-1970', *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* (2010).

[7] For example, Peter Wardley 'Women, Mechanisation and Cost savings in Twentieth Century British Banks and Other Financial Institutions' in Mike Richardson and Peter Nicholls (eds.), *A Business and Labour History of Britain* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 32-59.

[8] Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organisation Man since 1945* (Oxford, 1994).

[9] Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World* (2014).

[10] D. H. Sutton, *Globalising ideal beauty*, p. 19; articles in *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing: Remembering female contributors to marketing theory, thought and practice*, 5 (2013).

This chapter, therefore, considers how members of the Women's Advertising Club of London negotiated and shaped advertising's professional ideal. First, it discusses how the advertising industry constructed a conception of the 'advertising woman', and how this construction interacted with advertising's professional ideal. Using career guidance, in the form of books, pamphlets, transcripts of lectures, and newspaper articles, it examines the changing ways in which contributing authors (among them the agency owner William Crawford, and an agency director, Maude Woodyard of Saward, Baker) described career trajectories for women in advertising and, in doing so, positioned women within advertising's professional narrative. Secondly, the chapter examines the experience of women in post. Taking the activities of the Women's Advertising Club of London as a starting point, it considers whether the hopes expressed at the 1924 Convention were fulfilled in the interwar years, before examining the work of members during the Second World War and beyond. The chapter demonstrates how women holding executive positions in advertising sought to behave and be recognised as professionals, and in doing so, raise the professional profile of the industry in which they worked. It is only by recognising the contribution of women to advertising's professional narrative, that the professional priorities and aspirations of the advertising industry can be more fully understood.

The Professional Advertising Woman constructed

The slow demise of family firms, greater education and training opportunities, and a higher average age of marriage in the 1920s left many middle class parents asking 'What to do with our sons?'[11] 'It is,' Herbert Kendrick wrote in his guide to careers in commerce, 'a subject that is being discussed with more anxiety today; and a new, in some cases a complicating, issue has now arisen: "what to do with our daughters?"' As chapter 3 explored, career guidance aimed to place young people in occupations where they were best suited to serve society. Many of the career guides from the period 1918-1954 now held at the British Library were former local lending library copies, suggesting that material had a circulation stretching beyond its print run, even if its reach was uneven. Pat Thane, in her study of the career trajectories of alumni of Girton College, Cambridge, observes that career advice was seen to be lacking for this group of highly intelligent

[11] Herbert Kendrick, *The Game of Commerce* (1926), p. v.

women, arguably the most able to compete with men in the job market.[12] Similarly, the career guide author Joanna Chase maintained that limited knowledge about careers 'led to so many women being thrown into the nearest "job".'[13]

Much career guidance included advice that was applicable to both men and women. However, perhaps prompted by the needs of women following the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, which meant that marriage was no longer considered a disability for women in the work place, books specifically addressing the issues faced by working women emerged as a subset of the literature. Chapters on prospects for young women in advertising written by Maude Woodyard, Florence Sangster (director, W. S. Crawford's) and Margaret Havinden (director, W. S. Crawford's) show leading women using career guidance as a mechanism to establish the terms on which women were to be integrated into advertising, by describing an employment ideal which they hope would be fulfilled.[14] Piecing together this advice makes it possible to trace how attitudes about the nature of women and their place in the sphere of work changed over time, providing a wider context to the question of how women were incorporated specifically into advertising's professional narrative.

Although, following the 1919 Act, 'more and more women each year [were] claiming the right to choose their work in the world', it is clear from career advice that transforming attitudes towards working women took far longer.[15] The dedication in one guide, published in 1927, captured the tension between the scale of the challenges faced by young women aspiring to a career and their fundamental importance to post-war society:

> to those women pioneers who bravely faced new difficulties and successfully crossed the bridge that spans the gulf of sex, so that the powers of mind and brain bestowed on

[12] Pat Thane, 'The careers of female graduates of Cambridge University, 1920s – 1970s', in David Mitch, John Brown and Maro H. D. van Leeuwen (eds.), *Origins of the Modern Career* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 208, 218.
[13] Joanna Chase, *Please yourself – Careers for Women* (1949), p. 25.
[14] Maude Woodyard, *Careers for women in advertising* (1932); Florence Sangster, 'Advertising', in Margaret Cole, *The Road to Success* (1936), p. 210; Margaret K. Havinden, 'Advertising' in John Wadsworth (ed.), *Careers and Vocational training: a guide to the professions and occupations of educated women and girls* (1951), pp. 16-19.
[15] Eleanor Page, *Careers for Girls* (Woking, 1927), p. i.

> both men and women may be used to solve the problems, material and otherwise, which are the special inheritance of this civilisation.[16]

While expressions of hope for the improvement of women's position in the public sphere dominated the guides in the 1920s, career guidance during the 1930s was characterised by 'muddled thinking' about women's role in the work place.[17] For example, while the authors Bamberg and Platt reported, seemingly positively, that 'the freedom of girls to exercise their abilities in most careers, without being debarred by sex, is now well in hand', they go on to lament that, 'it is a great pity that more girls are not taught to respect housework; after all, it is one of the most important jobs created by modern civilisation'.[18] Guidance in the 1930s celebrated women's abilities, while simultaneously being unwilling to go beyond gender stereotypes to recognise the full extent of their talents. Guided by the assumption that men and women possessed inherently different natures, Countess Baldwin of Bewdley wrote in a career guide of 1939 that:

> [a]lthough an exceptional woman may make a success of what is generally looked upon as a man's job, I think it is usually wiser to choose one where women excel. I do not necessarily mean the softer jobs, but those where a woman's instinct, adaptability, capacity for detail and sympathy can have full play, remembering that men and women are no more alike in mentality than cat and dogs (no disparagement to either) and that where the man outlines, the woman dots the i's and crosses the t's.[19]

This mirrors Zimmeck's observation of 'the attribution... of different inherent characteristics to each sex which fitted each for different types of work', within the banking sector.[20] It was over this point – whether there was a fundamental difference between men and women – that the case in 1934 for women's entry to the British Foreign Service stumbled. McCarthy shows that witnesses were split between those who argued that women possessed uniquely feminine attributes that would be of use to the Diplomatic Service and those who advocated that sex was irrelevant once professional status was achieved.[21] Career guidance tended to side with the former view. Given that career

[16] Ibid.
[17] D. W. Hughes, *Careers for our Daughters* (1936) p. v.
[18] L. Bamburg and Charles Platt, *Careers for Girls* (1933), pp. 2, 16.
[19] *Careers for girls* (1939), p. 1.
[20] Zimmeck, 'Jobs for Girls', pp. 158-9.
[21] Helen McCarthy, 'Petticoat diplomacy: The admission of women to the British Foreign Service, c. 1919 – 1946', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20 (2009), pp. 293-305.

guidance aimed to match young people with occupations best suited to their personalities and abilities, reluctance to look beyond stereotypical female traits and attributes in women limited aspiration and shut down opportunities.

Following the Second World War, career guidance continued to focus on the realisation of individual talent. Joanna Chase wrote her 1949 guide in order to 'document the opportunities now opening in the world to women, through which they could not only earn a comfortable livelihood, but [also] in some measure fulfil themselves as women'.[22] Echoing advice given in the 1920s, Chase suggested that 'in the rebuilding of the world each person should be doing something which gives personal fulfilment'.[23] The tension between the work and domestic spheres remained, however. By the 1950s, career guidance supported the position of the married professional women, but also rationalised housewifery as a career choice in itself. Jeanne Heal wrote that:

> to me … being able to earn my own income even given the nicest husband in the world to keep me, is an absolute essential. But I know that most women prefer not to have a job, and I know there are intelligent reasons why being a housewife and a mother can be the most satisfying whole-time job in life.[24]

For those who chose to enter the work place, the 1950s saw a shift from fighting for acceptance as working women to making intelligent use of available opportunities. 'Whereas our grandmothers fought for equality of opportunity', Heal reflected in 1955, 'we very largely have it. Women entering the professions are seldom now called on to pioneer. Equal opportunities largely already exist'. However, suggesting the continued presence of acceptable and unacceptable female behavioural stereotypes within the work place, Heal concluded, 'it is up to the women of the future to take these opportunities *gracefully*'.[25] Pioneers, it seemed, were still required.

Advertising was one occupation where it was believed – remarkably, as early as 1924 – that, 'women ha[d] equal chances with men', and so it is unsurprising that it was strongly represented in entries to career guides for women.[26] In particular, advertising's status as a

[22] Chase, *Please yourself* (1949), p. 1.
[23] Ibid., p. 3.
[24] Jeanne Heal, *Jeanne Heal's Book of Careers for Girls* (London, 1955), p. 9.
[25] Ibid., p. 13. Emphasis added.
[26] 'Women and Advertising: a Profession in which women have Equal chances with Men. An interview with Lady Rhondda', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 January 1924, p. 75.

'modern industry' led Ethel Wood to assert that women faced fewer entrenched prejudices.[27] This belief is reflected in Thane's observation that Girton graduates gravitated towards, and found greater success in, emerging occupations such as local government and social work.[28] More specifically, like Crawford, guidance linked opportunities for women in advertising with the widely held belief in the importance to advertising of the woman's point of view. Since it was recognised that women undertook the majority of shopping (80% was typically quoted), it was commonly held that they had greater knowledge of both the products being sold and the psychology of shopping.[29] Equally, a woman, simply by virtue of her gender was thought to have 'sound... intuitive, almost unconscious knowledge of the working of her own sex', which was seen an advantage when appealing to 'whims' of the female consumer.[30] The woman's point of view also denoted practical knowledge and experience of household problems. Significantly, the woman's point of view was only put forward by career guides specifically aimed at women; it did not feature in career guidance addressed to both men and women, which suggest its role in raising aspiration in young women in particular.

What is remarkable about the woman's point of view is its persistence in justifying positions for women in advertising. Tthe woman's point of view flourished in the 1920s, when advertising agencies were smaller, personnel less specialised and the 'potential' of the female consumer newly discovered. By the 1950s, however, advertising agencies had access to the consumer's view point and behaviour from statistically-driven market research departments and the use of focus groups. There was no need to rely on subjective advice from individual female members of staff. Yet that the woman's point of view was still being advocated as a matter of course in career guidance of the 1950s suggests its power in legitimating women's careers in advertising. The woman's point of view represents a variant of the belief expressed elsewhere in career guidance that women were explicitly different from men. When competition for jobs was fierce, it is unsurprising that women were encouraged to play on their 'inherent' and 'uniquely feminine' features. Rather than challenging masculine professionalism, the espousal of the woman's point of

[27] E. M. Wood 'Advertising as a career for a woman', *Modern Advertising*, 1 (1926), p. 120.
[28] Thane, 'The careers of female graduates'.
[29] For example, Page, *Careers for Girls* (1927) p. 14; 'Women as copywriters', *Advertising World*, May 1932; Hughes, *Careers for our Daughters* (1946), p. 94; Chase, *Please yourself* (1949) p. 138; Margaret K. Havinden, 'Advertising' (1951), p. 16; Heal, *Jeanne Heal's Book of Careers for Girls* (1955), p. 30.
[30] Wood 'Advertising as a career for a woman' (1926), p. 121; Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising* (Boston, 1908).

view by career guidance encouraged the women to integrate into advertising through upholding traditional, and complementary, behavioural stereotypes: as Mary Gowing (head of the women's department, S. H. Benson) reflected in 1951, 'Advertising without women was only half a thing… Women were its other half: not by any means its lesser half, but its complementary half.'[31]

Yet, although much advertising career guidance for women started or concluded by using the woman's point of view as justification for women's jobs, it is an elusive concept. Authors used the woman's point of view to acknowledge that women had potential to make a valuable contribution to advertising, and that, broadly, advertising was an occupation open to women. However, they rarely evoked the woman's point of view when detailing specific positions. Havinden, for example, started her chapter with 'advertising is a profession which is peculiarly suited to women', because 'a very large percentage of advertised products are bought by women, and therefore they have a wider experience than men as to what points to stress in persuading other women to buy'.[32] However, the guidance that she gave about particular roles in advertising (accounts, research, space buying, for example), has little to do with particulars of the woman's point of view; her advice would have been equally useful to aspiring men. In career guidance, therefore, a tension is apparent between praise of women for their unique viewpoint, which contained them within a masculine professional narrative, and a desire to inspire women to achieve positions in advertising that were not stereotypically female.

While the woman's point of view was used to promote a way into advertising for women, it was not considered to be a sustainable concept for career development by successful women themselves, due to the way that gendered behaviour inhibited female aspiration and career progression. As Wood suggested, feminine attributes when 'properly trained and used', could form a valuable foundation to an advertising career for a woman. However, she continued, 'having said so much about sex in advertising, in my opinion the more it is forgotten and folks judged by the quality and effectiveness of their work and not by their gender, the better'.[33] Sangster, writing in 1936, was also clear that, in theory, 'once the

[31] Mary Gowing quoted in 'Wanted; Women sleuths for advertising to detect feminine needs: are women necessary in advertising?', *Advertiser's Weekly*, July 13 1951, p. 8.
[32] Havinden, 'Advertising' (1951), p. 16.
[33] Wood, 'Advertising as a career for a woman' (1932), p. 121.

professional outlook is attained, the sex factor is irrelevant'.[34] These successful women maintained that recognising professional achievement, rather than maintaining obvious gender difference, was necessary for women's ultimate progress and success in advertising. However, it was, perhaps, easier for those who had achieved success to make bold claims.

When career guidance explained specific qualifications and attributes necessary for roles in advertising, the woman's point of view disappeared. Guidance was almost unanimous that the best way for a woman with determination, imagination and a sound education to start a career, in advertising or elsewhere, was through secretarial work. This view is reflected by the Cambridge alumni of Thane's study, who complained that the Cambridge University Appointment Board offered teaching and secretarial work as the chief options for women graduates.[35] Yet Woodyard did not view this negatively. She emphasised that secretarial work allowed a newcomer insight into the workings of a company:

> It is as a secretary that many girls make their first entry into advertising. Nearly all – if not all – women holding leading posts in advertising today entered by that road. Naturally so. By who, and how better, can business be learned than by a wide awake, capable and intelligent person in constant and close association with a fine exponent of that work?[36]

Strikingly, similar advice was dispensed for boys.[37] The years following the Second World War saw increasing opportunities for (largely male) university graduates. 'Secretary' was substituted for 'apprentice', but, as chapter 3 discussed, career guidance continued to point to the practice of training on the job: 'the usual method of entering advertising for a girl coming straight from college or school,' wrote Havinden in 1951, 'is to become apprentice to an advertising agency, who will test her out in the various department of the business'.[38]

Advertising was said to hold prospects for women beyond administrative tasks and basic pay, and this set it apart from other occupations detailed in the career guides. The banking

[34] Sangster, 'Advertising' (1936), p. 210.
[35] Thane, 'Careers of female graduates', p. 218.
[36] Maude Woodyard, *Careers for women in advertising* (1932), p. 2. This booklet was based on a paper read at a Conference arranged by the Association of Women Clerk and Secretaries in October 1931.
[37] 'In many cases a boy would have entered the company's service as a general clerk, and equipped himself by part-time training or specialisation in the advertising department' City of Birmingham Education Committee, *Careers for Secondary School Boys* (1938), p. 40.
[38] Havinden, 'Advertising' (1951), p. 17.

sector and the Civil Service, for example, relied heavily on female clerks, stenographers, and low-level administrators, but scholarship has shown that it was notoriously difficult for women to make the transition from clerk to professional, and this was reflected in career advice.[39] In contrast, guidance suggested that in advertising 'once she has secured an opening, the girl who shows an aptitude of the work may rely on constant employment and promotion as she becomes efficient'.[40] While the rhetoric of career guides was positive by nature, the presence of women working in positions beyond basic administrative roles in *Advertiser's Weekly* suggests that women enjoyed greater opportunity in advertising. Most significantly, given the struggles of the British Federation for Business and Professional Women (BFBPW) in the 1930s and 1940s for equal pay legislation, Woodyard told her audience of female clerks that, in advertising, 'there is virtually no differentiation between salaries paid to men and paid to women'.[41] This was because 'payment [was] often by results, at any rate in part,' and women who achieved were rewarded for their efforts.[42] The extent to which women had opportunity to obtain results, however, is a different matter, and the chapter will return to this issue.

For women able to progress from clerical positions, career guidance outlined multiple specialisms, including 'business executive work, research work, space-buying, copy-writing, and the art side', all of which were open to young women.[43] However, rather than asking for the subjective feminine knowledge that the woman's point of view implied, copywriting and research (to take the two departments most closely related to the woman's point of view) required an objective practitioner. Sangster warned aspiring applicants that they would have to learn to think differently about the consumers to which they hoped to appeal:

> She must visualise the product through the eyes of the public for which it is intended… because to-day the great mass of advertising is addressed to the working and lower middle classes, and these are not the classes from which aspiring young copy-writers usually spring. They come to Advertising straight from good schools,

[39] Susanne Dohrn, 'Pioneers in a dead-end profession: the first women clerks in banks and insurance companies' in Gregory Anderson (ed.) *White Blouse Revolution* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 48-66; McCarthy, *Women of the World*, (2014); Zimmeck, 'Jobs for Girls', pp. 153-77.
[40] Page, *Careers for Girls* (1927), p. 14.
[41] Woodyard, 'Careers for women in advertising' (1932).
[42] City of Birmingham Education Committee, *Careers for Secondary School Boys* (1938), p. 40; Jessie Reynolds quoted in Louise Morgan, 'Key Women: Jessie Reynolds', *News Chronicle*, 30 January 1936.
[43] Havinden 'Advertising' (1951), p. 16.

> universities, and upper middle-class homes, with a tradition of softer living and better-quality clothes, food and amusements than the people to whom they are to write. They then have, painfully, to rid themselves of class prejudice and class consciousness, and this takes time which might have been saved had they been aware of their limitation in advance.[44]

Here, Sangster points to a limitation in the woman's point of view as justification for women's success in advertising: female consumers' behaviour was also divided strongly along class lines, and while women might respond to similar situations depicted within advertising, there was no universality of feminine appeal. Sangster states a truism, that consumer behaviours were varied among different economic groups, which were just as strong determinants of consumption as gender. This, however, did not lead to recruitment to deliver a 'working class point of view'; the advertising industry valued the status of its aspiring middle class employees too much. JWT, in particular, reflected the importance of consumer class in the research categorisation that they used to differentiate market appeal of their campaigns: upper classes were denoted as 'A', with middle and working classes B and C, while unemployed were category D.[45] Rather than appealing to the empathy inherent in the woman's point of view, Sangster urged self-awareness and scientific detachment in hopeful advertising women as the correct way to approach the consumer in their copy. In advertising, at least, it was easier to overcome barriers laid down by gender than by class.

Young men were also urged to cultivate an objective approach, but career guidance couched advice in rather different terms: 'a good advertising man', wrote Percy Burton (director, London Press Exchange),

> must be a good psychologist. He must understand peoples of all classes and creeds and know their needs and aspirations. Some men possess a flair for advertising – they instinctively know the public's mind – they know what appeals and what does not.[46]

Rather than being deemed effeminate or subjective, however, the ability to discern popular opinion in a man was described in more (appropriately) objective, scientific terms. Here, Burton widened the scope of his copy-writer's expertise: instead of merely being an

[44] Sangster, 'Advertising' (1936), p. 207.
[45] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'The Statisticalization of the consumer in British Market Research' in Tom Crook and Glen O'Hara (eds.) *Statistics and the public sphere* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 159.
[46] TWL, Reel 49 396.06.00, Percy C. Burton, 'Advertising as a Career for your Boys and Girls', *The Child*, October 1927.

authority on gender, he was an expert in the scientific human mind. Burton envisaged his male copywriter as an expert able appeal to everyone – regardless of gender or class.

Similarly, career guidance advised that objectivity (and the use of quantitative statistics), rather than subjectivity, was valued in research departments, the work of which drew on Britain's long tradition of social observation and instruction of the working class.[47] The importance of the objective observer was made explicit in JWT's agency publicity material promoting the merits of its market research department, which stated that staff 'get the feel of the public's pulse; they get to look at problem not through their own personal viewpoint, but as a typical class C-D buyer'.[48] These departments developed rapidly in this period, particularly following the Second World War, in order to 'take the guesswork out of the proposed advertising expenditure.'[49] Writing in 1949, Chase observed that

> the third side of advertising in which women do well in is the market research side. You need a logical and mathematical mind for this, for your work consists of compiling statistics and of reading them; also of finding out what the public reaction is to certain products which the agency is advertising… Yours is the analytical side of advertising, and on your carefully kept statistics and accurate assessment of the sales of a product may depend the whole ad policy of the firm with regard to it.[50]

To this advice, Haviden added in 1951, that 'the girl with University training is particularly fitted for this work… [because] she has the supremely valuable faculty of being able to look at things without prejudice'.[51] Although university education was largely the preserve of middle-class men, Haviden suggested for the women that did attend, such an education provided skills and approaches that overrode the perceived limitations of gender.

Career guidance posited education (and the class status that it accompanied it) as a significant factor in determining success in advertising. Chase and Haviden advocated qualities ('a logical and mathematical mind') and qualifications (a university education) in women that were not stereotypically female. In doing so, they urged women to aspire to

[47] E. P. Hennock, 'The measurement of urban poverty: from the metropolis to the nation', *Economic History Review* , 40 (1987), pp. 208-27.
[48] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 169, 'Agency in Action' (1936).
[49] William Crawford, 'Advertising' in Jocelyn Oliver (ed.), *What shall I be?* (London, 1938), p. 187.
[50] Chase, *Please yourself* (1949), p. 138.
[51] Havinden, 'Advertising' (1951), p. 17.

careers that would place them on an equal footing with men and in competition with them. By prefacing this advice with rhetoric on the woman's point of view, which emphasised the complementary roles of men and women in the advertising industry, Haviden and Chase suggested to aspiring young women that they could make a contribution to the industry that fitted their feminine nature, which, therefore, did not undermine the masculinity of men working in advertising (or indeed advertising women's femininity). Their use of the woman's point of view points to the ambiguous nature of the relationship between rhetoric on the woman's point of view and its practical importance. In this instance, by placing claims about women's potential in advertising within the context of the woman's point of view and the gender norms that it represented, Haviden and Chase made their bold advice less radical and more palatable.

The years from 1920 to 1954 represent a period during which career guidance was optimistic for the future gains of women in the work place. By the early 1950s, however, the woman's point of view in career guidance was beginning to limit the areas open to women. The Ministry of Labour observed, for example, that 'although most of the staffs of advertising agencies are men, there are some fields such as advertising of fashions, cosmetic, foods and domestic appliances which offer particular scope for women'.[52] While women had been engaged on accounts representing these types of products before the Second World War, there was now little recognition of women's potential beyond these fields, as other earlier career guides had suggested. Rather than advancement across the industry, the pamphlet observed that 'women have not progressed to high executive position to any great extent and the women who do hold positions of authority have usually reached them after being good private secretaries to executives'.[53] This could be in part due to executive women's tendency to be more reticent than their male colleagues. For instance, Gwladys Thomas (director, Samson Clark) observed in 1950 'that there were many women in advertising outside the limelight but nonetheless essential to the fabric of modern advertising. These women can be trusted to make a success of advertising everything, with the possible exception of themselves'.[54] However, such haphazard career routes suggest the influence of luck and personal circumstance over the establishment of

[52] Ministry of Labour, *Career Guide: opportunities in the profession and in business management* (1950), p. 14.
[53] Ibid.
[54] 'Wanted: Women sleuths for advertising: to detect feminine needs: are women necessary in advertising?' *Advertiser's Weekly,* 13 July 1951, p. 8.

recognised mechanisms of career progression for women. Despite the enthusiastic rhetoric of career guidance, it seems that by 1954 women in advertising had achieved little in terms of *relative* gain from their position in 1924, when they were thrust into advertising's spotlight at the international convention.

1924: A moment of promise

Although the lack of a strong successor movement to the suffragettes has led to the characterisation of the interwar years as the feminist movement's point of decline, it is clear that in advertising there was success for women who sought it.[55] The 1920s saw the fruition of the careers of women who had worked in the industry before the First World War. For instance, Marion Jean Lyon was appointed as advertising manager of *Punch* magazine in 1920, while Jessie Reynolds became chairman of Samson Clark in 1925. Reynolds's 'gift of leadership will be our greatest asset', the *Samson Clark Staff Gazette* predicted.[56] These women were part of a generation who fought for the practical formation of new ways of socialisation between men and women, rather than abstract rights and civil responsibilities of women in particular. Instead of tackling prejudice by engaging in debate about an egalitarian agenda, these women acted to improve their immediate social and economic position within advertising.[57] While their personal desire to find balance between femininity and women's rights was not overtly translated in the themes of their advertisement campaigns (many of which drew on traditional gender stereotypes, including a heavy bias towards the domestic sphere), advertising women, along with other professional women, 'helped to redefine the idea of female emancipation by living the lives of independent, self-supporting women'.[58] The Women's Advertising Club of London, an exclusive club for executive women, did not lobby for equality legislation on behalf of their female colleagues; rather, it challenged the industry's conception that professionalism was the preserve of men, by providing women with careers at the top of

[55] Adrian Bingham, 'An era of Domesticity? Histories of women and Gender in Interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), pp. 225 – 233. Cf. Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism* (Oxford, 1981); Martin Pugh, 'Domesticity and the Decline of Feminism, 1930-1950', in Harold Smith (ed.) *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century* (1990).
[56] HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 13 Feb 1925.
[57] Caitriona Beaumont, 'Citizens not feminists', *Women's History Review*, 9 (2000), pp. 411-429.
[58] Martin Pugh, *We danced all night* (2009), p. 176.

advertising with space to engage with and contribute to advertising's professional narrative, to act as professionals, and be recognised as such by their colleagues.

On 7 September 1923, *The Times* announced that an advertising club for prominent advertising women had been formed at a dinner held by John Cheshire (managing director, Lever Brothers and president, the Thirty Club).[59] As preparations commenced for the 1924 Convention, it was estimated that 300 of the 1000 American delegates would be 'ladies engaged in advertising in the States' and, therefore, 'it [was] desirable that there should be on this side some organisation of women to meet them'.[60] Cheshire brought together advertising women holding executive positions to form a club to receive and entertain these prestigious overseas visitors.[61] In founding the Women's Advertising Club of London, the women also fulfilled the promise made by Kathleen MacLachlan (director, W. S. Crawford's) to members of American women's advertising clubs at the 1923 Atlantic City Convention, where she was the sole female British delegate: 'if you would come to London for your Convention this year, you would find a women's club waiting to receive you.'[62] From its beginning, therefore, the Women's Advertising Club of London sought inspiration for its organization and purpose from women's advertising clubs in the United States, which they recognised enabled women to integrate into the American industry's structure of governance. Moreover, it was intimately connected (through its involvement with conventions) with the professional project of improving the advertising industry holistically: the Club never confined itself to just 'women's issues'. Crucially, the Club provided women with a platform from which to engage in work that advanced the industry as a whole.

The Women's Advertising Club was set up 'on a different plan from existing organisations', in that its membership was limited to women holding executive positions within advertising.[63] By restricting membership in this way, the Club enabled women to assume leading roles in its operation and direction. This gave members greater immediate influence within the industry than had they been granted membership of existing, male-only organisations. Although its foundation was hastened by the need to host American

[59] 'A Women's Advertising Club', *Times*, 7 September 1923.
[60] Charles Higham, quoted in Michael Cudlipp, *The Thirty Club of London* (Ravingham, 1999), p. 28; 'Women in Advertising: The new club; the president's ideals', *Advertising World*, October 1923, p. 66.
[61] HAT, WACL 18/3/2 'The Women's Advertising Club of London' (1964).
[62] 'English Business women welcome overseas sisters', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 16 July 1924, p. 174.
[63] 'Women in Advertising', *Advertising World*, October 1923, p. 66.

women at the 1924 Convention, the Club had other, broader founding aims. The President, Marion Jean Lyon, hoped that the Club would encourage executive women 'to co-operate for the purpose of mutual advancement, and to further the study of advertising in its several branches'.[64] The project of improving the advertising industry was inextricably bound with enhancing the position and expertise of the women within it. By meeting to 'advance' advertising theory and practice, the Women's Club hoped to enable members to translate culturally 'inherent' knowledge into expertise that was professionally recognised. Indeed, a further aim of the Club was to make women in the industry visible: 'to emphasise the work that women are doing, and are specially qualified to do, in the field of sale-promotion, in the many-sided business of advertising.'[65] The positive contribution of women to advertising was recognised by the men who had assisted in the Club's foundation; Lyon was grateful for 'the opportunities they [men in advertising] have given us and for the encouragement we have received [from them].'[66] Fundamentally, the Club was to be at the service of these executive women, who in turn sought to serve the industry: 'If I did not feel the club could be of help to women in advertising I would not be a member of it,' Lyon declared.[67]

The manner of the Women's Advertising Club's foundation reflects McCarthy's observation that, during the decades following the First World War, 'Britain witnessed a particularly important shift in the character of same-sex association, which reflected a more equal balance of power between the sexes'.[68] While 'the homo-social club-lands' and 'female communities' that had characterized associational lives before the war remained, greater social mixing between men and women, within certain boundaries, became the norm.[69] Significantly, the Women's Advertising Club provided executive women with an institution under whose name they could entertain colleagues and business associates, at the 1924 Convention and afterwards, which was recognised by the bodies of organised advertising. This gave women access to the industry's social scene: an overt sign of the masculinity and affluence of those at the top of advertising, an important informal regulatory mechanism for the industry, and a channel of status and power. Moreover, the

[64] Ibid.
[65] 'Women in Advertising form their own club', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 7 September 1923, p. 252.
[66] 'Women in Advertising', *Advertising World*, October 1923, p. 66.
[67] Ibid.
[68] McCarthy, '"Service clubs, citizenship and equality": gender relations and middle-class associations in Britain between the wars', *Historical Research*, 81 (2008), p. 532.
[69] Ibid.

Club's specific involvement in the 1924 Convention gave women the opportunity to be cast as leading actors for the first time, rather than in the supportive role of 'wife'. By acting as hostesses, women were not simply conforming to gender expectations: male members of the advertising industry were hosts of the highest degree. The 'unique authority' of the Women's Club, gained through their limited executive membership, gave members a foothold into the masculine world of advertising's clubs and associations, and a share in the International Convention, while still enabling adherence to social etiquette.[70]

Prompted by the foundation of the Women's Advertising Club of London in September 1923, the advertising trade press gave a platform to women working in the industry. This was the first time that serious column space had been dedicated to considering the professional women in advertising's midst. These articles demonstrate that these women, who were expert communicators, were seeking to establish and build on the position that they had already achieved by 1923. In this vein, Lady Rhondda, 'probably the foremost business woman in Great Britain', claimed that advertising was 'just about the one profession in which women have equal chances with men. There is no difference in prospects and salaries, especially in the higher branches'.[71] Rhondda – who as editor of the feminist publication *Time and Tide* was aware of where opportunities for women lay – probably genuinely held this belief; however, it is also clear that she was playing to her audience to bolster the position of women. In another article, Lyon pointed to 'the strength and stability of women in advertising'. By suggesting that 'the presence of women as executives in our leading agencies is now a commonplace,' Lyon sought to normalise the executive woman.[72] The position of leading women had been achieved quietly because of women's intrinsic importance for advertising, she suggested: 'No battles or revolutions have been necessary. Our triumph has been due to the fact that in advertising women have found a calling for which they are admirably equipped, and which in its turn depends for its success very largely on them'.[73]

As this chapter has demonstrated, Lyon was not alone in alluding to women's particular suitability for advertising, due to their unique feminine qualities. *Advertiser's Weekly*

[70] 'Women and Advertising: a Profession in which women have Equal chances with Men. An interview with Lady Rhondda', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 January 1924, p. 75.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Marion Jean Lyon, 'The Conventions' unifying influence for women', *Advertising World*, July 1924, p. xlii.
[73] Ibid.

published an article, 'A Sign of The Times', in September 1923, which explicitly presented the presence of women working in advertising as a response to modernity and the influence of the modern female consumer:

> Women are an undeniable force in modern advertising. You have your women on the boards of advertising agencies, your women copywriters, and your critical feminine readers of advertisements. The presence of the last is the cause of the first two. They are more vitally necessary than ever in general appeal to the women who so predominate amongst the buying element of today.[74]

Rhondda also used the woman's point of view to rationalise women's presence in advertising. 'Advertisers', she told *Advertiser's Weekly*, 'have come to realise that they appeal chiefly to women whose needs and tastes should be best understood by women. And so today women are well to the fore in every department and branch of the advertising world'.[75] In an age before the focus group, advertising's leading women themselves made the woman's point of view central to their justifications of women's position in advertising, using it to enable and empower them. The woman's point of view assured women of their inherent expertise and worth to the profession, yet reassured men that women's role was distinctly different. The presence of professional women, then, was constructed so as not to present a direct challenge to advertising's masculinity. It was within this context that, as organisers had anticipated, women were strongly represented at the 1924 convention.

As delegates to the convention, women were free to attend all general and departmental sessions. Photographs show women in the audience of the opening and closing ceremonies. Their presence was acknowledged and celebrated. Lord Leverhulme quipped at the National Advertiser's Dinner that 'every year a greater number of ladies were entering the profession of advertising, and he could not imagine a more vitalising and vivifying element to be introduced into advertising than the inauguration and skill of women. (Loud applause)'.[76]

The Convention schedule included a session for 'the Federation of Women's Advertising Clubs of the World' (the American-based umbrella organisation that brought together

[74] 'A sign of the times', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 7 September 1923, p. 251.
[75] 'Women and Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 January 1924, p. 75.
[76] 'Some straight talking at National Advertiser's Dinner', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 July 1924.

women's advertising clubs), which gave female practitioners a specific stage to speak about advertising and their position within it.[77] As part of their hospitality programme, the Women's Advertising Club of London hosted a luncheon to open this session, which was attended by over 400 advertising women (as opposed to delegates' wives).[78] In addition to this sizable audience, both *Advertising World* and *Advertiser's Weekly* gave coverage to Lyon's welcoming speech, which also received attention from *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, suggesting broader interest in the figure of the professional woman.[79] Indeed, advertising women were not alone in using conventions and exhibitions as a platform for their interests. Anne Clendinning highlights the work of the International Council of Women at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, (with which the 1924 advertising Convention coincided), to point to how 'organised womanhood' used world fairs 'to celebrate the expansion of the women's sphere outside the home'.[80] More than this, however, advertising women used the Convention to assert their status as members of the advertising profession.

In opening the session, Lyon framed her welcome in the trans-Atlantic context, which chimed with the wider spirit of the Convention (advertising's contribution to international prosperity and peace) and her American audience members. She spoke eloquently of the differences between the working conditions in the United States and Britain. In particular, she emphasised the challenge posed by 'tradition', which women working in the British advertising industry had fought, and were fighting, to overcome: 'it is certainly true that we are hedged in by traditions… well-nigh impossible to break down. For women, it has been a very uphill fight for recognition calling into play her finest qualities and greatest abilities. But', she concluded hopefully and speaking to the industry at large, 'I am proud to say that recognition has come at last'.[81] This was a very different narrative to the one of natural, effortless integration that Lyon had constructed for the trade press in the run up to the

[77] Duke, Charles W. Hoyt Company Records, Box 1, 'Official Programme' (1924), p. 27.
[78] 'Women in Advertising: Their peculiar qualifications', *Daily Telegraph,* 14 July 1924.
[79] 'English Business Women Welcome Overseas Sisters: Miss Marion Jean Lyon's address at the Inaugural Luncheon to the Women's Advertising Department', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 16 July 1924, p. 174; 'Women's part in the convention, *Advertising World*, July 1924 p. 452; 'The Advertising Convention', *Times* 14 July 1924, p. 19.
[80] Anne Clendinning, 'International peace activism at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition' in Boisseau and Markwyn (eds.), *Gendering the Fair*, p. 114.
[81] '"English Business Women Welcome Overseas Sisters": Miss Marion Jean Lyon's address at the Inaugural Luncheon to the Women's Advertising Department', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 16 July 1924, p. 174.

Convention. Here, speaking to an audience of international women, she invited delegates to place their gender before their nationality in order to reflect on their collective struggle that had culminated in collective triumph. The professional advertising women that Lyon described, although high-powered and able, were reserved and 'retiring', held 'great responsibility' but were non-domineering.[82] In their position 'behind the throne', they were 'a force to be reckoned with'. Lyon depicted women as enablers of male endeavour who fitted into the masculine narrative of professionalism that placed women largely in supportive, administrative roles. Rather than challenging stereotypical gendered behaviour, Lyon demonstrated how women could achieve considerable power and career success by playing to feminine attributes.

Significantly the speeches that women made in the session proper received only fleeting press coverage, which denied female advertising practitioners the opportunity to speak to a wider (male) audience.[83] Moreover, although the minutes of Women's Club show that members made a variety of proposals for talks to contribute to the general and departmental sessions of the convention, the only women who featured as speakers beyond the women's session were Mrs H. C. Squires (of the Advertising Club of Scranton, Pennsylvania), who took part in a round-table discussion about advertising clubs, and Mrs Nora Vincent Paul, (Vice-President of the National Underwriter Company) who spoke on the 'Place of an Insurance Journal in an Advertising programme'.[84] This suggests that, while it was acceptable for women to speak as spokesmen for women in advertising, limiting themselves to talking explicitly about women's experience in the industry, it was harder for them to take a leading role in general debates as advertising practitioners, with ideas and view stretching beyond their gender. This being the case, the Women's Club became particularly significant place for the formation of professional identities in women,

[82] Ibid.; see also Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British organisation man since 1945* (Oxford, 1994), Chapter 7 'Images of 'the Lady Manager'.

[83] Mrs. Wilson (A.J. Wilson & Co., London), 'The Psychology of the British Buying Public'; Miss Minna Hall Simmons, (President, League of Advertising Women, New York) 'The Psychology of the American Buying Public'; Miss Ella F. Thompson, (Advertising Consultant, London) 'The need to explain that the consumer does not pay for Advertising'; Miss Jessamine Hoagland, (Chicago), 'How the American Public is being Educated in Advertising'; Miss Julia C. Coburn, (Publicity Director La Salle & Koch Company, of Toledo) 'Women in Advertising': Duke, Charles W. Hoyt Company Records, Box 1, 'Official Programme of the 20th International Advertising Convention, London' (1924), p. 27; 'Women's part in the convention', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 452.

[84] HAT, WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 12 March 1924; 'Official Programme of the 20th International Advertising Convention' (1924), p. 32.

because the all-female environment removed gender as a point of difference, and enabled women to behave instead as advertising practitioners.

Following the 1924 Convention, the industry reflected on the significance of the event to the state and status of British advertising. Mr McDougall, 'a well-known publicity expert in London', hoped that 'the visit of the American women advertising experts to this country to attend the International Advertising Convention at Wembley will dispel the ignorance here concerning the enormous possibilities of an advertising career for our women'.[85] Certainly, the arrival *en masse* of American advertising women made leaders of British advertising take note of their own women.[86] Yet, while the need to entertain these American visitors had catalysed the foundation of the Women's Advertising Club, it was not the first organised movement of advertising women in Britain: the Association of Advertising Women was founded in 1909 for women working as 'makers and organisers of advertising' and was established enough to have a stand at the 1913 Holland Park advertising exhibition.[87] Despite this promising start, however, the association was 'forced to disband under the pressures of the First World War'.[88] Therefore, although the American women attending the convention drew positive attention to women's potential in the advertising industry, they did not create it. Ella F. Thompson, an Advertising Consultant, also pointed to the recognition that women had received as a result of the convention. 'No aspect of our profession has secured greater or more telling editorial comment', she wrote,

> Advertising women have captivated public opinion. We have 'arrived' in public estimation. It is early days to say more than that, but I feel sure advertising men and women, no less than captains of industry, will come to realise the value of woman's cooperation all the more readily as a direct outcome of this first International Convention.[89]

Thompson went on to write, however, that 'we are not feminists in this profession – neither is there any basic opposition to women – so perhaps finally the most abiding impression

[85] 'Women in Advertising: suggested openings', *Daily Telegraph*, 5 July 1924.
[86] For example, 'Big success of American Advertising Women: The important part they take in Market Research', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 11 July 1924, p. 120; 'A prominent delegation: Chicago women at the Convention' *Advertiser's Weekly*, 18 July 1924, p. 330.
[87] Eric Field, *Advertising: the forgotten years* (1959).
[88] 'Women as Advertisers', *Times*, 15 May 1914, p. 3; Field, *Advertising*, p. 43.
[89] Ella Thompson, 'My impression of the Convention', *Advertising World*, August1924, p. 450.

the attitude of commerce itself to this Convention.' Thompson explicitly distanced herself from 'feminists', such as Mary Stott, who, with campaigns to 'remove political, social and economic inequalities' in order to 'actively challenge the imbalance of power between men and women', were regarded as 'radical' and 'a threat to "natural" domestic order'.[90] Instead, Thompson identified as a professional woman seeking to fit into the stable world of employment. Offering her reflections on the attitude of commerce to the Convention, not as a woman, but as an advertising professional, she continued, 'here is something of vital concern to us all. Business is taking a wider interest in advertising; merchant princes and other cautious business men have met us more than half way. Already some of them are seeking information on their own particular problems.'[91]

The 1924 Convention saw an outpouring of hope and optimism for the position of advertising in public life. In particular, the press highlighted the position of women in advertising, and their potential to the industry. Women in advertising, playing to their gender, claimed their legitimate contribution to advertising's success by outlining the importance of the woman's point of view to effective advertising campaigns. Yet they also sought to be viewed by their occupation as professional advertising practitioners in their own right: they spoke to the needs and priorities of the industry as a whole in the women's session, and over the course of the convention hosted and dined as professionals. Ever publicists, they seized the moment at the close of the Convention to declare that they had achieved recognition for women's position within advertising. While the Convention brought women in advertising sharply into focus, to what extent did this hope and optimism translate into opportunities for women beyond it?

Hopes fulfilled? 1925-1939

Following the 1924 Convention, the Women's Advertising Club of London settled down into a routine of meetings and monthly dinners. That the Club found purpose after the close of the Convention and departure of its foreign guests is evidence of its value to the professional life of executive women. Specifically, under the banner of the Women's Advertising Club of London, elite women were able to integrate into the British advertising

[90] Beaumont, 'Citizens not feminists', pp. 411, 412.
[91] Thompson, 'My impression of the Convention', p. 450.

industry's professional networks, maintain contact with other international advertising women, and as well be part of the wider movement of professional women in Britain.

At its most basic level, the Club enabled executive women, still very much the minority in advertising, to meet with women of similar status.[92] It allowed them to develop a professional identity as women together, in the absence of men and male expectations: the Club gave 'women in executive position an opportunity of meeting each other, assimilating each other's views, and generally talking "shop".'[93] In an interview with *Advertising World* in 1927, Sangster suggested that the Club's 'main objective [was] to widen the range of advertising vision, and in doing this it cannot help widening the vision of women themselves'. Given the range of detailed expertise of members, members could learn much about advertising and professional practice from each other: for instance, Sangster was a director of W.S. Crawford's; Lyon was Publicity Manager at *Punch Magazine*; Anne Meerloo was founder of her own agency; Miss Taylor was an executive copywriter: these women had expertise that spanned the breadth of the industry. Yet the Club also enabled members to present themselves as advertising professionals to their male colleagues through their institutionalisation and their research, social and charitable activities. In doing so, the Club challenged gender as an obstacle to achieving professional status within the industry.

While women were a source of knowledge to one another, the Executive Committee recognised the importance to their professional development of 'keep[ing] its members in touch with important movements in the outside world'.[94] Therefore, at the Club's monthly dinner meetings a guest speaker of 'high calibre' was invited.[95] This provided members with the opportunity to meet influential people, as well as bring the Club to their attention. As a result, Sangster wrote,

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[92] The club had nineteen founding members, and grew to 28 by the opening of the 1924 Convention (although following the convention the Secretary was less thorough in recording changes to membership). It is difficult to know exactly how many women worked in advertising, because the source base is lacking.

[93] Florence Sangster, 'The Woman's point of view', *Advertising World,* February 1927, p. 523.

[94] Ibid.; 'A letter from the Hon Sec of the Advertising Assoc. was submitted asking for notes on the Club's best meetings of the year, and it was agreed that a reply should be sent explaining that the Club's policy had been to widen its general outlook by obtaining Speakers from among eminent women of other professions': WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 20 September 1926.

[95] WACL 18/3/2 'The Women's Advertising Club of London' (1964).

> you might hear debates on Russia carried on by two experts of European reputation; you might hear Frank Hedges giving us the truth about the coal situation; you might hear Miss Margery Fry on Prison Reform, or you might assist at an animated discussion on the ethics of Advertising itself.[96]

Indeed, on 7 October 1930, the Club welcomed Ernst Walls, managing director of Lever Brothers, who spoke about 'Advertising in Hard Times', while on 9 February 1932, members were addressed by Lord Leverhulme on the need for return to industrial stability.[97] Unlike the Convention speeches that received coverage in the press, and which focused on the potential of women in advertising, the summaries of the talks recorded in the Club's minute books suggest that there was little content specifically about members' gender. Instead talks addressed pressing topical issues, which were relevant to advertising's professional life in general. Short reports of dinners were issued as press releases, meaning that although the majority of the dinners that the Club itself held were strictly 'members only', the activities of the Women's Advertising Club were known to a much wider public. In addition to improving their own knowledge and understanding, the monthly dinners enabled executive advertising women to act in a way that was expected of those in executive positions. This was significant since, as the historian Herman Paul argues, professionalismwas largely a performance and enactment of recognised social values. [98]

The Women's Club also organised dinners of a more social nature. For instance, in September 1924, the Women's Club hosted the Thirty Club, of which their founders John Cheshire, Harold Vernon, and William Crawford were members, at a first year anniversary dinner that marked the close connection between the two exclusive clubs.[99] The Women's Club fondly referred to their founders as 'godfathers' in recognition of their continuing support of the Club and its objectives. This familial language, together with regular dinners and banter in the columns of the trade press, suggests a friendly and interested relationship between the Club and the men, but also implies autonomy on the part of the Women's Club. The circumstance of the Club's foundation gave members a direct connection to the powerful elite of the industry, which eased their entry into the network of male advertising

[96] Sangster 'The Woman's point of view', *Advertising World*, Feb 1927, p. 523.
[97] WACL 4/2 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 7 October 1930; 9 February 1932.
[98] Herman Paul, 'Performing history: how historical scholarship is shaped by epistemic virtues', *History and theory*, 50, 4 (2011) pp. 1-19.
[99] WACL 18/3/2 'The Women's Advertising Club of London' (1964).

professionals during the Convention, and afterwards. Membership of the Women's Advertising Club also gave executive women access to the networks of the British advertising industry, where informal offers of opportunity, protection, employment, advice and wealth were distributed.[100]

Yet, as noted by a pamphlet detailing the history of the Club in 1964, 'dinners are part of the club's activities immediately visible to the outside world. Behind the scenes, a wide range of activities on behalf of advertising [were] undertaken'.[101] Through the Women's Club, executive women were able to take part in debate and decision making which concerned the industry as a whole. For instance, Lyon, as president of the Club, sat on the 1924 Convention Executive Committee, which oversaw the running of the international convention. When the Advertising Association (AA) was formed in 1925 to supersede District 14, the president of the Women's Club was given an automatic place on the Association's Executive Committee. Significantly, this meant that women had a voice in the committee that set the parameters of the industry's professional identity and the direction of its development, although it was not until 1962 that a woman, Olive Hirst, was elected to the Council of the IIPA.[102] During the interwar years, members of the Women's Club had a constant presence on the Council of the National Advertising Benevolent Society (NABS), meaning that women shaped the way that the industry cared for its vulnerable and retired members. Club members E. M. Dougall and Bee Fielding served as chair on the Council in 1934 and 1938 respectively.[103] More significant still, women had input into the setting and maintaining of the industry's professional standards. Wood was the chair of the AA's Vigilance Committee in 1927, which sought to deal with complaints about the conduct of advertisers.[104] Equally, Woodyard and Dorothy Cornforth were members of the AA's Education Committee. Membership of the Women's Club gave women an enduring legitimate status and a platform from which to enter and engage in the debates that set the terms on which the British advertising industry operated.

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[100] Pamela Walker Laird, 'Introduction, Putting Social Capital to Work' *Business History*, 50 (2008), p. 686.

[101] WACL 18/3/2 'The Women's Advertising Club of London' (1964).

[102] WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 21 Dec 1925; HAT, WACL 18/2, 'The First Fifty Years', p. 5; HAT, WACL 11/8/1 Patricia Mann, 'Olive Hirst – Obituary Press releases' (1994).

[103] WACL 18/2 'The First Fifty Years', p. 9.

[104] 'The Advertising Association: the president on its programme for 1927', *Advertising World*, January 1927, p. 368.

A founding aim of the Women's Advertising Club was to be 'of particular help to the junior members of our calling'.[105] Through authoring career guidance and giving career talks at societies, and by acting as professional role models and mentors, members sought to raise the aspirations of young women working in advertising.[106] The Club's acknowledgment of the lack of recognition of women's achievement in the advertising industry was reflected in the provision of membership by the Club (of not more than 20% of total membership) for women who held 'important positions in the advertising field of a non-executive nature'. Mrs. Inglis, who was granted membership of the Club under this proviso following the failure of her firm to bestow an executive title on her, was representative of a host of senior administrative staff in the industry who were undervalued for their work.[107] While the efforts of the Women's Club to raise aspiration in women was a small step towards helping women to achieve in advertising, ultimately male attitudes had to change too if women were to be incorporated as professionals into advertising's professional narrative. It seems that some men were more enlightened than others. Reporting on the 1933 Advertising Exhibition, *Advertiser's Weekly* reported that

> in a talk with Miss Fielding, president of the Women's Advertising Club, at their stand, Prince George was surprised to hear that women in advertising shared equally the work with men, and that they frequently found men wrong in their ideas.[108]

However, a cartoon published in *Advertiser's Weekly* made the point that there was no 'typical' face in advertising, but in doing so also demonstrated that the typical advertising face was, in fact, male (Image 4.1).

The importance of gate-keeping to masculinity is well established. Sylvia Walby argues that the key feature of patriarchal relations in the workplace was the 'closure of access by men against women'.[109] Resentment towards women working in advertising was expressed clearly in an article from 1934, 'The inevitable eve', where 'P. D. Q.' argued that 'all this guff about "the feminine appeal" and the "the woman's viewpoint" has given women in the

[105] 'Women in advertising: The new club; the president's ideals', *Advertising World,* October 1923, p. 66.
[106] For example, Wood 'Advertising as a career for a woman' (1926); Woodyard, *Careers for women in advertising* (1932); Florence Sangster, 'Advertising'(1936), p. 210.
[107] HAT, WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 18 October 1938.
[108] 'Advertising and Marketing', *Times*, 22 July 1933, p. 6.
[109] Sylvia Walby quoted in Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the politics of masculinity' in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.) *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), p. 10.

Image 4.1: 'What is the Typical Advertising Face?', Advertiser's Weekly, 21 December 1933, p. 406

advertising business a predominance that they have neither earned nor deserved'.[110] The piece expressed frustration at the prevalence of the woman's point of view as a blanket justification for women's alleged expertise in the industry. It suggested that some men felt uncomfortable, even threatened, by the gains that women had made in advertising in a relatively short space of time. Yet the examples that P. D. Q. used are also arranged to infer that women themselves were not necessarily at ease in the environment that they had come to inhabit, and that they did not always understand the male rules that governed professional behaviour in advertising. P. D. Q. claimed that women did not always understand the male behaviour that shaped professionalism in advertising, or how to relate,

[110] P.D.Q. 'The inevitable eve', *Advertising World*, August 1934, p. 464.

as equals, to their male colleagues. While men had ready-made occupational stereotypes to fit into, women sometimes struggled to define themselves as experts of similar status. P. D. Q. observed that

> women at conferences… [have] to show somehow that she is just as good as the men present and make her personality felt irrespective of other considerations… The women of to-day, with men around, must be on the defensive and as the best defence is attack, she will begin to talk after some quick slovenly thinking and […] it will be some high-brow stuff about the 'Woman's angle'.[111]

Torn between emphasising their gender to legitimise their position as experts in the woman's point of view and dismissing it in order to achieve equal status, the women that P. D. Q. described lacked the training and experience necessary to do the jobs that they had been given. This makes Woodyard's and Cornforth's work with the AA syllabus especially important, as the education programme worked to equip both men and women with expertise relevant to advertising and qualify them accordingly.

Significantly, P. D. Q. suggested that the most outstanding women in advertising had achieved success by leaving the woman's point of view behind: 'These are the women who have risen superior to the bluff which it is in the nature of most of the sex to use to achieve success'. P. D. Q. concluded that 'ability only counts and in men has been built up in the thousands of years in which the male sex has been the business factor in social order. Not so with women, she is still the "enfante [*sic.*] terrible" of the business world.'[112] Although this is only one view, it validates the Women's Club and its role in female professional identity formation, as it enabled women to practice professional behaviour on their own terms, without the dictate of men.

While the Women's Advertising Club was significant in enhancing the authority of its members within the advertising industry, it also gave them a means of engaging with other business and professional women at both a national and international level. Through these networks, leading women of advertising met with women from other sectors. Having hosted foreign female delegates at the 1924 Convention, the Women's Club established itself as the first calling point for international women visiting London on business during the 1920s and 1930s. This meant that the Women's Club was integrated into the

[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

international community of advertising women, which, in an age when international markets were being explored after the First World War, further enhanced the status of the Club and its members. It also shows the Club investigating and respecting international difference, which, as Peter Mandler suggests, was understood by contemporaries as important to the maintenance of international peace.[113] Sangster, in particular, felt that 'it was so enormously important that the intelligent women in all lands should be internationalised, as much as possible'.[114] Dinners were held in honour of notable foreign guests to Great Britain, including, on 26 May 1930, Mrs Valentine, 'a well-known journalist' who was also a member of the League of Advertising Women of Germany.[115] Similarly in September 1937 minutes note that 'the club had entertained to lunch a director and two officers of the Advertising Federation of America. […] Miss June Hollister, another American visitor, had also been similarly entertained. Miss Cornforth and Miss Fielding had also lunched Miss Jadwiga Suchadolska of Warsaw, a representative of the Propaganda and Government Travel department'.[116] These international connections enabled British women to share the expertise of international women, while also offering hospitality to foreign women on business trips, raising the profile of the Club and legitimising women in business.

The Club corresponded regularly with its 'sister' organisations in the United States, with Wood and Sangster undertaking to 'maintain contact with The Federation of Women's Clubs and with the Women's representative of the AACW', following their initial introduction at the 1924 Convention.[117] On 6 December 1926, a minute noted that the responsibility of keeping up with American correspondence would be undertaken by the president and vice-president.[118] This correspondence was seen as a particular achievement of the Club: commemorative literature in the 1960s highlighted that the Club had 'maintained contact with overseas women's clubs of similar status, in particular those in America'.[119] As the 1924 Convention demonstrated, advertising women in the United

[113] Peter Mandler, *The English National Character* (2006), p. 144.
[114] TWL, 6BFB_01, Box 166, 'The first AGM of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs', 23 April 1934.
[115] WACL 4/2 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 26 May 1930.
[116] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 13 September 1937.
[117] WACL 4/1'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 16 November 1925.
[118] Ibid., 6 December 1926.
[119] WACL 18/2, 'The First Fifty Years', p. 9.

States had a longer tradition of organisation, and arguably members looked to their American counterparts for inspiration for action or activities.

Communication by letter was reinforced by visits to the United States and the Continent. Although these trips were at the expense of members' firms rather than the Club, members used the opportunity to meet American advertising women and enjoy hospitality from their respective clubs. Accordingly, departures and returns were recorded in the Club minutes. Trips aided the development of existing transatlantic networks. Beatrice Ward, for example, reported that during her recent visit to the United States she had 'seen Miss Curtis (Mrs. Harold Smith) who had sent cordial greetings to the Club'.[120] Members of the Women's Advertising Club also used visits to create new networks and to cement international contacts: on one occasion, club money was allotted to the president, Eunice Kidd, before a visit 'in order that she might entertain advertising women in America.'[121] The trips provided women with the opportunity to see American advertising first hand and to appreciate the social and economic context in which it was operating, which, given the interest of the British advertising industry in American methods, was important for those in leading positions to understand. Visits to the United States, then, enabled advertising women on their return to speak with authority about market conditions and techniques with which they had direct experience. Such authority further enhanced their professional standing, since it suggested expertise beyond the realm of gender and the female consumer.

At home, advertising women were well represented in British professional life. Of the eight executive officers elected at the first AGM of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women (BFBPW), founded in 1934 to promote the social and economic interests of women working in business or the professions, five were leading members of the advertising industry and members of the Women's Advertising Club of London: Florence Sangster, Beatrice Ward, E. M. Dougall, Ethel Wood, and Eleanor Comerford.[122] Dame Caroline Haslett, the Chair, was an engineer, while other members worked in law and teaching. Similarly, advertising women were represented in membership of the exclusive Women's Provisional Club, which, based on the model of the all-male Rotary Club, strove to bring business and professional women of high standing together in order

[120] WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 4 October 1926.
[121] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 21 February 1939.
[122] 6BFB_01, Box 166 'The first AGM', 23 April 1934.

to ‘encourage and foster the ideal of service as the basis of all worthy enterprise’.[123] By 1938, Marion Jean Lyon, Viscountess Rhondda, Ella Ward, Ethel Wood and Maude Woodyard were all members, demonstrating the concentration of achievement of women in the advertising industry and its associated branches, in comparison to other occupations.[124] Women in advertising were part of prestigious civic organisations that sought to improve the life of the nation. While the woman’s point of view partly accounted for the higher volume of women working in advertising, it was their expressed professionalism that made women eligible for membership of civic-oriented organisations, and the associated social capital that membership offered.

As a club of executive women, the Women’s Advertising Club was affiliated to the (similarly named) National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs. Through the Club’s links with the Federation, members found an appropriate outlet for political action on the status of women. Involvement in the Federation enabled advertising women to take an active part in campaigning for women’s rights, allowing the Women’s Advertising Club of London to remain apolitical and avoid the ‘feminist’ connotations that Thompson was so careful to sidestep in 1924. In 1933, the Club supported the Federation’s ‘mass meeting for the right of married women to earn’.[125] This confronted the prevailing opinion that married women should leave their jobs, and that female workers should be paid a single wage while men were paid on the basis that they had a wife and dependents to support.[126] In 1937, in appreciation of the Federation’s continuing work, ‘to improve the status and working conditions of the Business and Professional Woman in the country’, the Women’s Advertising Club donated 3 guineas.[127] Although a small donation, it reveals commitment to the aims of the Federation on the part of the Women’s Advertising Club: advertising clubs usually gave to NABS.

By the end of the 1930s, the Women’s Advertising Club of London had established itself as a presence both in the British advertising club scene, and in the international network of women’s clubs. It had maintained its momentum from 1923, and pursued objectives of

[123] TWL, 5/WPV/1/1 ‘The Women’s Provisional Club Constitution’.
[124] TWL, 5/WPV/8/1, ‘WPC Bulletin’, December 1938.
[125] WACL 3/1 ‘Executive Committee Meetings’, 30 October 1933.
[126] Pugh, *We Danced all Night* (2009), p. 182; At Lloyd’s Bank, for example, it was not until 1957 that an unmarried woman doing work comparable to that of a man received 4/5 rather than 2/3 of his pay, Winton, *Lloyd’s Bank 1918-1969,* p. 166.
[127] WACL 3/2 ‘Executive Committee Minutes’, 14 December 1937.

fellowship, hospitality and continued learning. Significantly, under the sponsorship of the Club, women had a voice (albeit it small) in the founding of the AA and its subsequent work, which gave them input into how organised advertising's professional narrative was formed and regulated.

Women at war

As a non-essential industry, advertising's young and healthy men were called up to join the services, leaving, in the off-hand words of George Begley, 'the flat-footed, short-sighted, elderly men plus some women [to] produce the advertising'.[128] In the absence of men, women working in advertising had opportunities to assume responsibility and authority for the duration. Yet, as chapter 2 explained, advertising's work to stimulate demand was limited in wartime economic conditions. While some firms, notably Dunlop and Bisto, continued advertising in order to keep their name before the public, reports in *Advertiser's Weekly* suggests that many agencies were short of commercial clients, and increasingly relied on government advertising accounts to remain in business.[129] So, while Penny Summerfield has shown that the war provided opportunities for women in other traditional areas of female employment, such as in processing industries and clerical work, it seems that there was little need for *additional* personnel in the advertising industry, which struggled even to find jobs for those practitioners who remained.[130]

A 'round robin' newsletter, distributed during November 1939 among the Women's Advertising Club of London in order to keep them informed about other members' situations, records the immediate reactions of executive women to these changed conditions. Jean Lorimer, for example, was forced to close down C. F. Higham's editorial department and Miss Corderoy 'spent September liquidating [her] department at PWP'.[131] In the face of mounting production costs and loss of advertising revenue, magazines folded: Beatrice Berman, for example, was made redundant by the magazine *British Fur Trade*.[132] *Punch* proved to be an exception. Lyon reported that 'many advertisers who had

[128] George Begley, quoted in Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 174.
[129] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, pp. 169-75; David Clampin, 'The role of commercial advertising in Britain during the Second World War', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth (2007).
[130] Penny Summerfield, *Gender, memory and the Second World War* (Manchester, 1998) p. 3.
[131] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 21 Nov 1939.
[132] Ibid.

cancelled are now returning, and we have not dismissed any staff. *Punch* thrives in war, and there is every indication that the paper will again be as popular as in 1914-18'.[133] However, the employment chaos that followed the outbreak of war did not appear to affect elite women disproportionally: Club minutes record Amy Pearce's observation that 'women were suffering no more than men. She knew of few executive women in the advertising profession who were suffering particular hardship on account of the war'.[134] Nevertheless, the Women's Advertising Club ensured that its unemployed members were on the 'Register of Women with Specialised Knowledge […] compiled at the Women's Employment Federation with the knowledge and support of the Ministry of Labour', which demonstrates external recognition of their status as professionals.[135] Some members swiftly found work again, in similar fields to the ones they had left. Lily Bailey, for example, who had worked as a space buyer at E. Walter George, received an appointment at the Ministry of Food, while Lorimer found a job as a reporter at the *Sunday Dispatch*.[136] Other, older, women took the war as an opportunity to retire.

Before the War, the focus of the Women's Club had been to establish its members as professionals within the sphere of advertising; the changed socio-economic conditions of war presented members with new opportunities to engage with wider society as professional women instead. For instance, their research expertise was recognised by the 'women's branch' of the Ministry of Information, which, on the outbreak of war, requested that they report on the reactions of the public to news and publicity (and to make suggestions for better results); public behaviour in times of stress; and difficulties in civil defence.[137] Kidd, the wartime president of the Club, felt that members' pre-war experience in advertising made them particularly suited to this task. [138] 'It is obvious' she wrote,

> that women, who move about among all classes and industries, as do all members of this Club in the ordinary course of their business, are in a particularly favourable position to obtain the kind of information the ministry require. Further, it is recognised that as trained business women we should not only give the right kind of information –

[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 15 November 1939.
[135] Ibid., 26 September 1939; 21 November 1939.
[136] Ibid., 21 Nov 1939.
[137] Ibid., 13 October 1939.
[138] Ibid.

> i.e. simple facts and not just opinion and gossip – but we would also be able to apply the right psychology in summing up the subject on which we were reporting.[139]

Kidd emphasised that advertising's professional training imparted particular skill sets to its employees: rather than falling into the trap of reporting 'gossip' and 'opinion' (the 'raw' woman's point of view), women with a scientifically-based education in advertising were able to apply their knowledge of 'psychology' to their observations, making their findings particularly valuable to the Ministry. In doing so, Kidd set advertising women apart from other women, who would also be able to offer a woman's point of view, by appealing to their training and professional status as points of difference.

Kidd urged her members to undertake the work, and to a high standard, because

> this is the *Women's* branch of the MoI and they are having the same old difficulty of obtaining recognition for the value of women's work, so do let us help all we can and show how skilfully we women can handle such work as this.[140]

There is no record of the 'women's branch' that Kidd referred to in the papers of the Ministry of Information, although it is possible that she meant the WSS, the department of door-to-door investigators who received bad press as 'Coopers' Snoopers' in 1941.[141] Regardless, it is significant that she felt that women's work was consistently undervalued, especially in light of the hope of recognition that was expressed so fervently by advertising women in 1924. Perhaps more significantly, however, Kidd regarded the war as an opportunity for women to prove their ability and talent in the workplace. She was not alone in this belief.

The British Federation of Business and Professional Women (at which Eleanor Comerford acted as representative for the Women's Advertising Club) sought to capitalise on women's wartime service and achievements in order to improve their position in professional life once hostilities had ceased. The Women's Club's round-robin newsletter shows that some women took on increased responsibility 'for the duration', to cover for men who had been called-up. Kidd, for example, was 'offered a post as managing director

[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid. Italics in the original.
[141] Philip Ziegler, 'Cooper, (Alfred) Duff, first Viscount Norwich (1890–1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32547, accessed 22 Feb 2015.]

(Acting) with G. B. Hony, as Mr. Hony ha[d] re-joined the service.'[142] The absence of men created new appointments for women already working in advertising, which gave members an opportunity to experience power of management positions, albeit in limited market conditions. While some promotions were permanent, such as Dorothy Cleverly's appointment to the board of C. F. Higham's in 1942, the practice of appointing women to temporary positions of increased authority seems to have been a common practice in advertising agencies.[143] This was recognised by the Women's Advertising Club, which, when reviewing their membership criteria in 1945, observed that

> There are several women doing contact executive and space buying jobs, but we feel that although these women have the actual title of contact executive or space buyer, in many cases we are sure it is merely a temporary appointment. We would prefer to postpone giving names in these categories until their positions are clarified after the return of men who held such positions before the war.[144]

Although the war gave a small group of women the experience of executive work in advertising, they were aware of its temporary nature. The wartime presence of women, such as Freya Stark, Nancy Lambton, and Mary Craig McGeachy in positions of authority in the Civil and Diplomatic Service had significant ramifications for women following the war, as they set important precedence for women's capabilities to undertake such work.[145] In contrast, members of the Women's Advertising Club of London were already proving women's competence in executive work in advertising and its related sectors. Therefore, the significance of women taking on senior jobs in advertising in particular (where women had already made gains before the war) lay more in cultivating individual aspiration in the women who had gained temporary experience of executive work. Indeed, it was as a result of her wartime work, that Doris Grundy was promoted to a group head in the copy department at JWT.[146]

Affiliation with the work of the BFBPW, however, enabled members of the Women's Club to be part of the broader movement that sought recognition for working women across

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[142] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 13 October 1939.
[143] '"Clev" and H. W. Hobbs join Higham's Board' *Advertiser's Weekly,* 18 Dec 1941, p. 293.
[144] WACL 3/2, 'Executive Committee Minutes', 28 February 1945.
[145] McCarthy, *Women of the World*, pp. 172 – 200; 212 – 224.
[146] She reflected that 'The younger men did no care for us women Group Heads I think they thought we were blocking their promotion.' Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Unmarked Ampex tape, part 1', p. 12.

sectors. In the introduction to *Women at Work*, the magazine of the Federation, Caroline Haslett (the President) wrote,

> once again in this war, women are proving their great adaptability, their skill and their willingness to carry on difficult and unusual work. … A definite epoch is being created because of hard work necessity, and there can be no return to a state of doubt regarding women's initiative [and] responsibility.'[147]

Pearce and Audrey Deans were involved on behalf of the Women's Advertising Club in the Federation's continuing campaign for equal compensation rates for men and women under the Civilian War Injuries Scheme, and were part of a deputation that represented between 4 and 5 million people that appeared before Clement Attlee on 9 September 1942.[148] Although it was an impressive demonstration of opinion, Deans reported to the Women's Club that 'the question is still being considered, no decision having yet been reached.'[149] It was not until 1943 that the Government reluctantly backed down, when no satisfactory answer could be found to Labour MP Edith Summerskill's question, 'why is a women's arm or leg not of the same value as a man's?'[150]

Similarly, the Club offered support to the BFBPW's campaign for equal pay for equal work, despite the fact that members themselves felt that their remuneration was fair. In an article in *Advertiser's Weekly* in 1942, Constance Bourne was 'anxious to assure the advertising world that the members of the Women's Club at least are not a body of dissatisfied, repressed and acquiescing underpaid workers, but women whose work and worth are recognised'.[151] In doing so, Bourne asserted her position as a professional working within advertising; she was not concerned that her status as a woman impaired her contribution to the industry, which she claimed was 'recognised'. Her comment, however, offers a glimpse into the distaste with which some elements of the feminist movement were viewed within advertising, and the figures against whom members of the Club defined themselves. Nevertheless, the article reported that

> there are far too many women in our business still being paid a miserable £3 or £4 a week who are well worth, and should be getting, £5-£10. Please note that in my survey

[147] TWL, 6BFB_08 box 170, Caroline Haslett, *Women at Work* (1941).
[148] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 22 July 1940.
[149] Ibid., 13 October 1942.
[150] Quoted in Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World*, p. 161.
[151] 'Mainly Personal: Payment of Advertising women', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 2 July 1942, p. 15.

> I include those women who come within the secretarial class as well as those who include in their qualifications some copywriting and the more exclusively advertising activities.[152]

Equal pay for equal work had a new resonance in a climate where the Government called for equal sacrifice.[153] In 1944, Pearce reported to the Women's Advertising Club that the Federation had agreed that

> a campaign should be run for equal pay and that it should deal first with equal pay in the civil service in the classes which enter the service under identical conditions, the men and women having the same examinations and the same positions.[154]

The terms of this campaign demonstrate the importance of advertising's examination syllabi as a step towards professional equality between men and women. Examinations in advertising enabled women to demonstrate that they were equally capable as their male colleagues, and formed a basis for demanding equal remuneration. Moreover, the campaign emphasises the gains that advertising women, operating in the private sphere of business, had already made for themselves in comparison to the position of women in other, primarily public sector, occupations. That the Club should take an interest in a campaign that was of marginal significance to them suggests the extent to which it considered itself as advocates for women in industry more generally, a theme they were to develop in campaigns in the post-war years. On a more pragmatic note, equal pay for women had the potential to give working women more purchasing power, women that members of the Women's Club ultimately sought to influence in their professional lives. Working women were the consumers of the future; it is unsurprising that the Women's Advertising Club sought to make them better off.

In addition to their support of the BFBPW's wartime work, the Women's Club mobilised its own civic campaigns, which they hoped would draw attention to the position of women – both waged and unwaged – in post-war society. In July 1942 'following Margaret Havinden's suggestion… that the club should identify itself with the post-war planning

[152] Ibid.

[153] For further literature see, Harold L. Smith, 'The Problem of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" in Great Britain during World War II' *Journal of Modern History*, 53 (1981), pp. 652-672; Harold L. Smith, 'The Womanpower Problem in Britain during the Second World War', *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), pp. 925-945.

[154] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 19 January 1944.

movement', the Club set up a post-war Reconstruction Committee.[155] This Committee aimed to investigate 'what was being done' about the issues of 'food, education (including citizenship), health and social services, town and country planning (including architecture and building) and household equipment', so that 'a decision can be reached as to what part, if any, the Club should play in furthering such post-war plans'.[156] Secondly, using established practice in advertising to extend their influence, it aimed to ensure that women were included on the appropriate government committees, so 'that the woman's point of view is fully represented in their reports'.[157]

As professionals in advertising, embedded in professional networks and involved with an array of commercial interests across the areas of investigation, members of the Women's Club were well placed to undertake work associated with the post-war planning movement. Yet, it is significant that they chose to emphasise their position as women – rather than as advertising professionals – in order to justify their suitability for the task. By making gender central to their case, the Committee differentiated itself from the majority of (male) professionals, in order to gain immediate access to higher decision-making processes. This strategic approach demonstrates the Committee's awareness that society remained divided along gender lines, and its belief that it was important to have women present in decision making processes on civic issues that would affect the housewife as well as her husband. As women who had justified careers through their understanding and provision of the woman's point of view, this surely was a natural course of action.

The War represented a pinnacle of hope for increasing rights for working women across society. However, once peace resumed and the troops started to return to civilian life and work, advertising women turned their attention back to the issue of raising the profile of advertising in society.

The Development Committee

Through the continuing work of their Development Committee, which had grown out of the post-war Reconstruction Committee, the Women's Advertising Club of London took a

[155] Ibid., 16 July 1942; 'View, News and Reviews: Women's Ad Club investigates', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 9 September 1943, p. ii.
[156] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 1 June 1943.
[157] Ibid., 13 October 1942.

leading role in raising the profile of advertising in British society following the end of the Second World War. From 1946, the direction of the Development Committee shifted from ensuring women's representation in government policy to focusing on the broad, non-gender specific purpose of publicising advertising's potential in post-war British society. A minute on 23 October 1946 records the aim of the Committee for 1947:

> to promote a wider understanding of, and a less critical attitude to, advertising. The people interested to include the general public and members of government. The approach to be non-controversial; to set out to interest, entertain, and inform people, and to avoid any suggestion that we are in any way on the defensive.[158]

To that end, by March 1947 the Club had received a number of invitations to speak at advertising groups and was in the process of developing connections with a wider, lay audience. It was hoped that connections would be made through addresses to organisations, such as Townswomen's Guides, as well as by writing and 'the briefing of articles to be written by responsible journalists'.[159]

In pursuing this project, members were consistent in seeking to behave and to be recognised as professional advertising practitioners; their identity as women was of secondary concern. It marked a departure from the Club's activities in the interwar years, which had aimed to integrate women into advertising's professional life. Emboldened by their experience of wartime campaign work, and perhaps frustrated by the lacklustre and somewhat ineffective attempts of the AA to promote advertising's value to society, the Women's Club now sought to take a leading role in the presentation of the industry's professional narrative. Not only had members of the Women's Club absorbed advertising's professional narrative, they were vocal and active in setting the terms of the dialogue between advertising and society about advertising's achievements, and the role that advertising could fulfil in the post-war world. Given that professional status of advertising practitioners was largely justified by advertising's social good standing, this campaign enabled members to play an important role in asserting not only their own professional identities, but the professional industry of the industry as a whole. Their work was praised by *Advertiser's Weekly:*

[158] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 23 October 1946.
[159] 'Women's Advertising Club to Combat Critics', *Advertiser's Weekly* 13 March 1947, p. 423.

> In seeking to promote the good reputation of advertising by positive publicity it has given a lead to those who tend to rely on restricted ordinances. We congratulate the Women's Club on eschewing the defensive attitude. In the campaign to tell the world what it owes to advertising the club merits the help of all who draw a living from this business.[160]

A second campaign undertaken by the Development Committee was 'mobilising the women of this country to fight the crisis'.[161] Here, members used their skills as communicators to address women and the family unit in order to incorporate them into the national drive for economy that accompanied the fuel crisis of 1947. This project was similar to the wartime work that Caroline Haslett (a trained engineer and President of the BFBPW) and Winifred Cullis (a professor of physiology) had undertaken in the United States on behalf of the Ministry of Information and British Information Services to win over American female hearts and minds to the British cause.[162] Members of the Women's Advertising Club heard about their success in galvanising female opinion when Ethel Wood (a founding member of the Club, who had also contributed to wartime public diplomacy in the United States) addressed members at their Dinner in November 1944 on 'American women in relation to National life'.[163] The idea of the need to mobilise women as a specific part of society in a time of need, therefore, was not new, but the success enjoyed by Haslett and others convinced members that it was an effective one.

As part of their campaign, the Women's Club assembled a session, 'Getting the Family behind the National Effort', at the AA's 1947 Convention at Margate, which met under the theme of 'Advertising: a vital stimulus to national recovery'.[164] Here the Club chose to focus on the important part that advertising could play in encouraging women (and, therefore, the family) to take part in 'the great drive to Britain on the map again'.[165] In this environment of advertising professionals, who met in order to make a case for advertising's social value, members of the Women's Club advocated the importance of

[160] 'Editorial: Our women lead to way', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 20 March 1947, p. 492.
[161] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 29 October 1947
[162] McCarthy, *Women of the World*, pp. 201-2
[163] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 2 Nov 1944; Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World* (2014), p. 208.
[164] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 23 April 1947; HAT, AA 4/1/3 'Minutes of the Executive Council', 30 Jan 1947.
[165] Margaret Havinden, 'Ten Million Women are a Great National Asset', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 May 1947, p. 414.

appealing to women in particular, 'because we feel that few people look at them, think about them or consider what they could do for us'.[166] Housewives were presented as the great enablers of recovery, through their work in supporting their husbands and educating their children.

Havinden opened the session, by outlining the 'numerical might' of women, and suggesting their further importance in influencing men and children in the family context.[167] She argued that 'the collective influence of more than half of our population will act either as a brake upon or an accelerator to the National effort', and, therefore, it was vital that government publicity and propaganda should engage with women. Secondly, Pearce laid out ideas and techniques of how to communicate appropriately with such women. 'Translate our national problems into the language of the home', she advised, 'Tell her in a warm and friendly manner… give her *confidence'*.[168] Pearce explicitly worked on the basis 'that what goes on behind a woman's eyes is essentially different from what goes on behind a man's eyes. Those who aim to enlist the collective support of the family woman to any undertaking must try to see the problem as she sees it.'[169] Fielding (a director at G. S. Royd's) made the 'third and most important point' by showing 'that to harness the influence which the family woman undoubtedly exercises [was] a perfectly practical proposition'.[170] Like Pearce, Fielding advocated the use of terms that housewives could relate to. She pointed to the novel and effective channels of communication available to advertisers and the government when addressing the housewife: PR campaigns, women editors, women's associations. Finally, she suggested that the primary objective of any campaign should be to 'inspire [Mrs Jones] with a knowledge of the inspiration she can give'.[171]

What does this session reveal about advertising women's relationship with professional identity? Significantly, when panel members spoke of women, they explicitly referred to 'the woman in the home', the housewife, the mother. Havinden did not include

[166] Mary Gowing, 'Plan would give Impetus to Uphill Drive', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 May 1947, p. 418.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Amy E. Pearce 'It does matter that Men and Women think differently', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 May 1947, p. 414. Italics in original.
[169] Mary Gowing, 'Plan would give Impetus to Uphill Drive', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 May 1947, p. 418.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Bee Feilding, 'Terms, Channels, and Objectives', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 29 May 1947, p. 416.

professional women like herself in the 'ten million women' that she spoke of. Thus, the speakers placed a distance between themselves and their subject. Although Pearce argued that men and women thought in different ways, she merely stressed it as a consideration, as one might also consider the peculiarities of a particular class or residents of a region. Unlike her colleagues before the War, she did not suggest that the gender of the person engaging with women was important, nor does it appear to be an underlying tone of her argument; the changed social and economic conditions, together with advances in market research and psychology that furnished practitioners with information and techniques, made such an argument out-dated. Instead Pearce's focus was squarely on studying and then addressing the needs and outlook of the housewife. This was continued by Fielding, who outlined to delegates the ways in which a housewife could be reached. By taking this approach, these women presented themselves as experts in communication with understanding of how to appeal to particular social groups, rather than as women with an inherent knowledge of the home.

As a result of the panel, Havinden, Pearce, Fielding and Gowing (who had chaired the session) were invited 'to meet Mr Leslie at the Office of the Lord President of the Council', since he 'had studied the speeches with great care and indicated his willingness to implement certain suggestions put forward in them'.[172] This represented a much hoped for opportunity for members to engage with government. The Women's Advertising Club had advocated forming a widely representative committee of men and women to deal with the problem of national efficiency. However, their efforts to differentiate themselves from the housewives that they sought to mobilise was lost on Leslie, who

> said he would much prefer to meet the Development Committee from time to time to discuss the point of view of women and the course of action necessary to obtain their support and co-op in the national drive for economic security.[173]

The Club agreed to this concession. In doing so, however, they enhanced their status as experts on women in particular, more than as knowledgeable advertising professionals. As McCathy has shown with regards to women in the Diplomatic Service, this was a dilemma faced time and again by women seeking to work within government and the public sector: compromise and be marginalised consultants on 'women's issues', or decline and face an

[172] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 2 July 1947.
[173] Ibid.

indefinite wait for a seat at the table in their own right.[174] Perhaps because they already had successful careers, in this instance members of the Women's Advertising Club believed that any input into policy making – even in a peripheral advisory role – was better than no input at all. Unfortunately, the minutes do not record what input, or indeed effect, the members had on the Committee, since 'it was agreed that such meetings must, for the time being, be kept confidential'. [175]

Following the success of their initial campaigns, the Club's Development Committee turned its attention at the end of 1948 to a third, much broader project:

> The problem of the shortage of man and woman power… [with] particular emphasis to be placed on the training of women workers so that their job was not regarded as merely a temporary stop gap between school and marriage.[176]

Characteristically of the Club, it was an issue of social importance that concerned both men and women, but which held a particular point of interest for women. This approach allowed members of the Women's Club to be advocates for women in the work environment and simultaneously address an issue of national social and economic importance. While the advertising industry had never operated a marriage bar, Tosh and Roper suggest that it remained so commonplace that there was a sense of it as 'just how things are'.[177] Indeed, it seems from the personal columns of *Advertiser's Weekly* and agency newsletters that many women chose, or felt obliged, to leave work when married. With public opinion towards women's paid employment slow to change, and household help increasingly expensive following the Second World War, women had to be particularly determined if they wanted to continue pursuing a career.[178] In the context of the labour shortage following the Second World War, however, seeking to change such attitudes towards women's career trajectories was a sensible aim, which fitted with the Women's Club more specific work in raising aspiration in young advertising women. Taking inspiration from their American counterparts who had produced a film about

[174] McCarthy, *Women of the World*, p. 208.
[175] WACL 3/2 'Executive Committee Minutes', 2 July 1947.
[176] Ibid., 24 November 1948.
[177] John H. Arnold and Sean Brady, 'Introduction' in John H. Arnold and Sean Brady, *What is masculinity?* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 1.
[178] Barbara Wootton, 'The Married Woman's Dilemma', *World Review*, April 1947, pp. 20-3.

careers for women, by 3 October 1950 the proposed output of the project had become a film, 'Women in Industry', 'which was going well'.[179]

Sadly, however, the film was never realised. Despite 'strenuous efforts' on the part of the Development Committee, funding could not be found from either government sources or private industry. While firms said that they 'were in sympathy' with the aim, they 'had too many other calls upon their funds to be able to assist' the project.[180] Nevertheless, when plans for the film were wound up in February 1952, Club President Gwladys Thomas reflected that 'the Government economy drive might delay immediate action, but there was no doubt that the Film Project had done a great deal to the status of the Club.'[181] Indeed, although the film itself was not put into production, through their fundraising, members had brought Women's Club 'forcibly to the attention of a very large number of important industries throughout the country'.[182] Such publicity for the Club went towards achieving its aim of 'widening the scope of advertising's vision': by bringing the Club to the attention of 'important industries', Club members broke down stereotypes of the successful advertising executive being the preserve of men. When it became apparent that the film would not go ahead, the Club bought a copy of a 'vocational guidance film produced by the Women's Advertising Club of Chicago… Members had an opportunity of seeing it and the general feeling was that it was a valuable investment'.[183] It proved to be so: a pamphlet from 1964 identifies this American film strip as 'the basis of a film strip produced by the Advertising Association.'[184]

*

The Development Committee was disbanded at the Club's 1952 AGM, when Havinden resigned as chairman. Following a discussion, it was felt that the Development Committee had fulfilled its founding aim, and that 'any special work to be done in the future could best be carried out by a subcommittee of the executive for that particular purpose'. Members agreed, although Thomas emphasised that the Club should 'not become just a

[179] WACL 3/3 'Executive Committee Minutes', 3 October 1950.
[180] Ibid., 8 January 1952.
[181] Ibid., 5 February 1952.
[182] Ibid., 19 June 1952.
[183] Ibid.
[184] WACL 18/3/2 'WACL: The Women's Advertising Club of London' (1964).

series of social gatherings'.[185] By 1952, the Club enjoyed a rich social life, which gave members access to networks at domestic and international levels and the requisite social capital to sustain their careers at the top of the advertising industry. Moreover, the Club enabled executive women to foster a sense of solidarity among one another. It is striking that there was also desire for continued engagement with wider society and work for the betterment of advertising. As chapter 1 argued, such wider social engagement and service was an important way in which professionals justified their status. Through their activities, the Women's Club of London played a part in sustaining the professional prestige of the advertising industry.

Women at the top of advertising were recognised by their peers as exemplary professional women. Reflecting on women in 'public and business life' in 1939, Alice Head, Editor of the British edition of *Good Housekeeping* magazine, pointed to

> 'the shining examples of Miss Reynolds of Sampson [sic.] Clark's, Miss Sangster, and Miss Murrell of Sir William Crawford's advertising agency. None of these ladies is given to advertising herself. All are dignified, distinguished and supremely worthy of the responsibilities that they have shouldered.[186]

'Dignified and distinguished', the femininity of these advertising women, all of whom were members of the Women's Advertising Club of London, was inseparable and indistinguishable from their professional manner. Yet these women were not only recognised as professional women, but as professional advertising practitioners. The Women's Advertising Club of London played an important role in supporting this identity. Not only did the Club promote a sense of solidarity and independent achievement among advertising women, it also gave women in advertising a platform to behave as professionals – to host, entertain, debate and campaign – while adhering to social etiquette. Jill Seddon observes there is 'always a risk that women-only organisation would contribute to women's marginalisation and make their dismissal by a patriarchal establishment that much easier'.[187] This does not seem to have been the case with the Women's Advertising Club. Instead, the separate body gave women immediate access to institutional power. Women, like their male colleagues, adopted received professional behaviour, and enacted it.

[185] WACL 3/3 'Executive Committee Minutes', 7 July 1952.
[186] A. M. Head, *It could never have happened* (1939), p. 197.
[187] Jill Seddon, 'Mentioned, but Denied Significance: women designers and the 'professionalization' of design in Britain c. 1920 – 1951', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), p. 433.

Through recognition of their professionalism, some gained a place at the table to direct the future shape of the profession's identity. They used the 'woman's point of view' pragmatically to ease entrance into advertising and to further their interests; as representatives of the other half of the population (to which much advertising was directed), executive advertising women fought to have their say.

The Club could not change all attitudes to working women, however. While executive women used the woman's point of view to suggest that advertising was a place in which women might flourish, it took determination and a great deal of good fortune for a woman to have a fruitful professional career. Women found particular success in agencies with forward thinking directors: Saward, Barker and W.S Crawford, for instance, were noted for being particularly good at nurturing female talent.[188] Despite the promises made by career guidance about advancement from the typing pool, such elevation depended on potential being recognised by largely male superiors. Consequently, while advertising was an occupation in which women did have opportunities to both act and be recognised as professionals and to shape the identity of the profession itself, there were very many more women employed in the industry who merely supported the professional identity of others. However, given the fragmented and incomplete nature of the source base, it is very difficult to find evidence of their experience, identities and aspirations.

The Club's motto was 'widening the scope of advertising's vision'. Members fulfilled this, in part, by challenging the notion of *who* could succeed as a professional advertising practitioner. The Club's work in advancing the theory of advertising and the ways in which advertising engaged with society also worked towards this end. A further way in which members of the Club sought to widen the scope of advertising vision was through their participation in international networks of advertising and professional women and their foreign travel. The effect that such travel and this broader international context had on the formation of professional identity is the examined in chapter 5.

[188] Percy V Bradshaw, *Art in Advertising* (1924), p. 95.

5: British Professional Identity in the International Context

> In London today there is a dozen American advertising agencies preparing the way for the international advertising era. It is only a matter of months, or a year or so before their London telephones will be connected with New York, before we shall be able to ring up business houses in Montreal, Bombay or Melbourne… Events are moving with giant strides and we must quicken our pace too. Individually and collectively we must be prepared, must broaden our vision, must think, work and plan along international lines.
>
> Sir Lawrence Weaver, February 1924[1]

Sir Lawrence Weaver, speaking as British advertising prepared to host the 1924 International Advertising Convention, predicted the increasingly international context in which the industry in Britain would operate. This environment would be made possible by advances in technology, to enable swift and effective communication between trans-Atlantic and imperial markets, and sustained by improvements in transport to allow quicker and more affordable travel to distant places. To flourish in this new age, Weaver predicted that the British advertising industry would have to adapt quickly to foreign markets, as well as to foreigners who were operating within their domestic market. Weaver pointed to two distinct international influences on British advertising and the formation of professional identity: first, Americans, who were portrayed as the harbingers of this new 'international advertising era' and secondly, British dominions, which Weaver depicted as places ripe for British business expansion.

The movement of advertising agencies into foreign markets and the institutionalisation of advertising at an international level, made the vision of an international age increasingly a reality. T. R. Nevett has demonstrated a constant American presence in British advertising since the mid-nineteenth century, through American advertising agents such as Paul E. Derrick and Charles H. Fuller. Before 1920, however, American influence was felt

[1] 'Summary of Sir Lawrence Waver's address "It Pays to Advertise" at the Aldwych Theatre': HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 29 February 1924. Weaver was the director of British Exhibitions at Wembley.

primarily on the format of advertisements rather than in agency structure.[2] Following the First World War, another clutch of American advertising agencies, including JWT, Lord & Thomas, and Erwin, Wasey & Co, broke into British and European markets as their clients sought new customers for their products. In turn, British firms W. S. Crawford and Samson Clark ventured into France and Germany and into Australia respectively, while British personnel were sent to imperial offices on behalf of JWT. Others British agencies, such as C. F. Higham, set up partnerships with local advertising agencies abroad. Concurrently, from 1920, networks of transcontinental advertising clubs and associations grew in number and influence, enabling collaboration and knowledge exchange between advertising practitioners of different nationalities. The Associated Advertising Clubs of the World (AACW), the American umbrella organisation for advertising and publicity clubs that sponsored an annual convention, and the International Advertising Association (IAA), which was reformed as a representative body for international advertising following the AACW's 1929 Convention in Berlin were particularly significant. Advertising practitioners, therefore, were brought increasingly into contact with foreign influences in the office environment, at club meetings (where travellers would give accounts of overseas journeys), and at international advertising conventions. Internationalism was explored and experienced by practitioners – not merely assumed. How did this international environment affect the formation of professional identity in British advertising?

The question of the affect of the international, and more specifically, American, influence, on British advertising is not new. The expansion of American advertising concerns to Europe has been used by Victoria de Grazia and others to substantiate the idea of American cultural imperialism in the twentieth century.[3] However, research by scholars including Stefan Schwarzkopf, Sean Nixon, Mary Nolan and Jessica Gienow-Hecht refutes this paradigm, suggesting instead a two way process of cultural hybridisation, adaption and indigenisation between American and British (and European) practitioners.[4] For instance,

[2] Terence Nevett, 'American Influences on British Advertising before 1920' in Terence Nevett and Ronald A. Fullerton (eds.), *Historical perspectives in marketing* (Lexington, 1988), pp. 223-40.

[3] Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's advance through twentieth century Europe* (Cambridge MA, 2005); D. H. Sutton, *Globalising Ideal beauty: how female copywriters of the JWT Agency redefined beauty for the twentieth century* (New York, 2009).

[4] Sean Nixon, *Hard Sell: advertising, affluence and transatlantic relations, c. 1951-69*, (Manchester, 2013); Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Who said "Americanisation"? The case of Twentieth Century Advertising and Mass Marketing from a British Perspective', in J. C. E. Gienow-Hecht (ed.) *Decentring America?*

Nixon demonstrates how the London office of JWT sought autonomy from its American parent office and adapted American advertising practice to suit the British market conditions in the period 1945-1967, while Schwarzkopf points to the persistence of strong indigenous creative advertising cultures in Germany.[5]

Literature that considers the professions and the process of professionalization is generally quiet on the influence of nationality. Perhaps, as a sociological concept, professionalism has been understood to transcend national boundaries. An exception is work in history of accountancy, an occupation that underwent professional ascendency at the height of the British Empire when national differences between colony and coloniser were sharply defined. Research by W. F. Chua and C. Poullaos points to the close relationship between accountants and the British state at the turn of the twentieth century, and portrays British accountants as representatives of British interests and power in the colonies. However, as with American interests in the British advertising industry, ultimately what emerges is a account of negotiation between the British ideals of professionalism and the reality of Australian, Canadian and South American accountancy practice.[6]

While British and American professional interests did not achieve hegemony in their foreign outposts, it is clear nevertheless that the presence of different cultures and nationalities altered the way that occupations operated. Indeed, Schwarzkopf goes so far as to argue that 'European advertising, its aesthetics, institutions… and advertising agencies, was profoundly changed by the arrival of American advertising agencies during the inter-war period'.[7] This chapter examines how the change precipitated by American advertising agencies contributed to the formulation of a professional identity by British practitioners. However, it argues that it is only by placing the arrival of American practitioners into the wider 'international age' imagined by Weaver, which included British journeys to the

(New York, 2007); Mary Nolan, *Visions of modernity: American business and the modernization of Germany* (Oxford, 1994).

[5] Sean Nixon, 'Apostles of Americanization? JWT Company Ltd, Advertising and Anglo-American Relations 1945-67', *Contemporary British History*, 22 (2008), pp. 477-99; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Creativity, Capital and tacit knowledge', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1 (2008), pp. 181-97.

[6] W. F. Chua, and C. Poullaos, 'The Empire strikes back? An exploration of centre periphery interaction between the ICAEW and accounting associations in the self-governing colonies of Australia, Canada and South Africa, 1880 – 1907', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 27 (2002), pp. 409-45.

[7] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'From Fordist to creative economies: the de-Americanisation of European advertising cultures since the 1960s', *European Review of History*, 20 (2013), p. 859.

United States and Europe as well as Empire trade, that the full effect of nationality on professional identity formation can be understood.

Material relating to advertising conventions is a valuable source for piecing together the international environment inhabited by the British advertising industry. With sessions on overseas marketing, Empire trade, and the American industry reported in the trade press, conventions reveal the changing ways that the British industry used the international dynamics of advertising to British advantage. More importantly, the international scope and agenda of conventions, which included imperial and European delegates, offer a means of moving beyond conceptualising American advertising agencies as the sole agents of international change. Articles and talks about the itineraries, purposes and travellers' lasting impressions of journeys, many of which were to the United States, suggest how British practitioners understood their professional practice in relation to that of other countries. While practitioners rarely articulated how American professional identities explicitly influenced their understanding of their own professional identity, it is possible to recognise that change had occurred. Textbooks suggest the importance of knowledge of foreign practice and foreign markets in the corpus of advertising expertise. Finally, through oral histories and newsletters, company archives suggest the ways in which national difference shaped professional identity on an everyday level in the office. In particular, JWT's well-documented international operations make a good case study of how the people and practices of American advertising agencies affected the professional identity of British employees.

Using these sources, this chapter examines the impact that the international environment inhabited by British advertising had on professional identity formation. First, it discusses the fundamental significance of the relationship between the British and American advertising industries to British practitioners' sense of professionalism. Given the importance placed on this relationship by contemporary British advertising agents, this aspect is explored in some depth. Starting with the 1924 International Convention, the chapter demonstrates how practitioners articulated the difference between Britain and the United States through the flexible language of 'teaching and learning'. It explores how the rhetoric of friendship espoused at the 1924 convention was practised and maintained in the interwar years, through the examples of associational relationships and American agency expansion to Britain. The second section considers the place of the British Empire in advertising's professional narrative. It argues that the potential of the Dominions as largely

unexploited markets for British goods gave practitioners scope to enact the claims on which their professional legitimacy rested, namely, the restoration of prosperity through the expansion of British trade. Through promoting Empire trade, the AA could claim that the advertising industry was working for the good of the nation. Finally, the chapter considers the professional identity expressed the 1951 International Conference. Held in the changed context of the Cold War, in celebration of the AA's Silver Jubilee, this Convention prompted reflection by delegates on the changing relationship between advertising practitioners from different nations.

International beginnings: teaching and learning with the United States

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the United States flourished as a modern consumer society. Ford produced cars at an unprecedented rate, refrigerators, freezers and labour saving devices tumbled from productions lines, while bold advertising proclaimed the benefits and delights of these new products. Leaders of the British advertising industry looked to the United States with interest, curious to understand how advertising was 'not only acknowledged but respected' as an agent of economic prosperity.[8]

Charles F. Higham, agency owner, M.P., and member of the Thirty Club, who had lived in the United States as an adolescent, was particularly significant in creating an image of the American advertising industry in Britain during the opening decades of the twentieth century. His obituary records that in '17 years he held 29 jobs. He worked as chemist's assistant, jeweller's assistant, district messenger boy, railway freight checker, newspaper reporter, assistant hotel manager'.[9] These jobs gave him comprehensive experience of American commercial life. Returning to England in 1906, he worked for W. H. Smith before setting himself up as an advertising consultant. He travelled back to the United States frequently during his later career, both to launch products in the American market (including a campaign to promote tea) and to attend American advertising conventions and club meetings. Higham's transatlantic experiences made him somewhat of a cultural intermediary: his friend and rival William Crawford observed that 'in England we look upon Higham as an American advertising man, and in America they look upon him as an

[8] Michael Cudlipp, *The Thirty Club* (Raveningham, 1999), p. 15.
[9] 'Sir Charles Higham', *Times*, 27 December 1938, p. 10.

English advertising man'.[10] Forceful and imaginative, the restless outsider who was never quite at home, Higham was influential in promoting dialogue between the organised bodies of British and American advertising, which ultimately led to the 1924 International Convention in London and the creation of the International Advertising Association.

For Higham, American practice was an important point of reference when developing ideas about professionalism in advertising. In particular, he admired the organisation of the American advertising industry – made up of a network of advertising clubs that spanned the USA and Canada – which he believed underpinned their status in American professional life. After attending the 1920 AACW Convention in Indianapolis, Higham described in *Advertiser's Weekly* how

> they work together in the United States of America and they lay all their cards on the table. We have much to learn from them in this respect. There is a co-operation and good feeling existing between the advertising agents and the newspaper which it would be well to emulate in this country to the interests of both sides.[11]

Despite strong independent corporate cultures and the competition between them, Higham admired American practitioners' willingness to collaborate for the good of advertising. This was in stark contrast to the British industry, where newspaper circulation figures and the *bona fide* status of advertising agencies historically had created acrimony and distrust between agencies and the press in Britain. (It was not until 1931 that the British Audit Bureau of Circulations was set up to verify press circulation figures.[12]) Although heartened by the success of the 1920 White City Exhibition, where the separate components of the advertising industry working together for the first time, Higham believed that a delegation from the United States to a British convention would further convince leading advertising agents, press representatives and advertisers of the many benefits of working together in association. Comparing the social status of those working in advertising in the United States to their British counterparts, he reflected that

> we [in Britain] are inclined to look down on advertising as a profession. When British advertising men see the fine type of cultivated American university man in the American advertising profession, and realise that his social position is equal to that of

[10] Quoted in Cudlipp, *Thirty Club*, p. 27.
[11] Charles Higham, 'Recent advertising happenings in the U.S.A and what we may learn from them', *Advertiser's Weekly*, June 1920, p. 40.
[12] T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain* (1982), p. 155.

> any professional man, they will appreciate the possibilities of the profession in England.[13]

Higham believed that hosting a convention of the AACW in Britain would be an ideal opportunity to expose the British advertising industry *en masse* to the practices of the American industry that he found so convincing, and in doing so, inspire British practitioners and raise their professional aspirations. As chapter 1 explained, The Thirty Club's admission to the AACW's District 14 in 1922 allowed Higham to lead a bid for such a convention. By joining the American association in 1922, leaders of the British industry integrated British advertising concerns into the American structure of advertising organisation and abided by the ideals of practice laid down by the American industry. This is not to say, however, that British leaders of advertising sought American professional hegemony or believed British advertising to be 'less developed' than its American counterpart. Rather, it seems that men like Higham and Crawford appreciated not only the prestige that came with being associated with an established international body such as the AACW, but also the opportunity that the AACW's convention gave for allowing the British voice to be heard on advertising's international stage.

As part of the bid to host the AACW's 1924 convention in London, *Advertising World* ran a piece urging British practitioners to form a delegation to the United States. Joining the group came at a considerable cost: not only would delegates be absent from their businesses for over a month, they were also required to cover their own transport and accommodation costs. Nevertheless, the newspaper suggested that the benefits to those who travelled would be manifold. While this in itself is unsurprising, the reasons put forward indicate how the industry's relationship with America was presented to British advertising practitioners:

> [Delegates] will learn even from a fortnight in the States much about advertising and marketing conditions that they could not otherwise acquire and thus be better fitted for the discharge of their duties. They will also be able, further to cement the bonds of good feeling between this country and the States, and promote an understanding between the two nations and of their aims, ideas and objects, the importance of which at the present time it is practically impossible to exaggerate.[14]

[13] Cudlipp, *Thirty Club*, p. 28.
[14] 'The 1924 Convention', *Advertising World*, March 1923, p. 214.

Advertising World presented the trip to the United States as an opportunity to learn about a different way of conducting advertising; it argued that first-hand experience of the United States was an advantage in everyday business. Perhaps it was felt that knowledge of American techniques would improve advertising practice and give agencies an edge over their rivals; maybe clients expected their agencies to advise them on American market conditions. However, more than personal benefits, it is significant that the newspaper emphasised the service that delegates would render in developing good public relations between Britain and the United States, which placed the work of the delegation beyond the scope of furthering the interests of the advertising industry.

Some, however, were indignant at the assumption that British practitioners had much to learn from their American colleagues: Cudlipp records how at a meeting of the 'On to London Committee', James Strong of the Association of British Advertising Agents (ABAA) 'said rather sourly that they hoped the Convention would come to London because the British had something to teach the Americans'.[15] As is explored below, British national identity was tied firmly to its status as imperial power, from which it derived a considerable sense of superiority. Strong felt that British advertising was developing well along its own lines, without the need for American influence or inspiration. W. H. Radford, of the Publicity Club, presented a third stance, envisaging the American nation as creators and innovators of advertising practice, with Britons as experienced arbitrators: 'British manufacturers and advertising men are receptive to ideas emanating from America, and progressive enough to offer valuable improvements'.[16] Thus, at the outset of British advertising's formal relationship with the American industry, the British industry was curious about American methods and keen to imitate certain practices – most notably in club organisation – while simultaneously seeking recognition from the American industry that though the industries were distinct, they were of equal status.

Comparisons between Britain and the United States continued at the 1924 Convention itself, which welcomed over 2,000 delegates from Europe, the United States and the Empire. British advertising practitioners, as hosts, positioned themselves alongside their American colleagues as leaders of international advertising. The introduction to *Advertising World's* convention coverage drew on tradition to cement the seniority of

[15] Cudlipp, *Thirty Club*, p. 32.

[16] W. H. Radford, 'Why the convention should come to London', *Advertising World special supplement*: March 1923, p. vi.

Britain among nations. Delegates from the British Empire were welcomed first; a reminder to all assembled that British power and market potential extended beyond the shores the British Isles. Next, *Advertising World* turned to the USA, which it portrayed as coming forth from Britain with an English-derived common culture: 'Together we share the joy of a great inheritance in the English literature which poets and prophets fashioned for us in the years that were. And many a song binds our souls together'.[17] Delegates from 'other lands and other languages' were welcomed, but on British terms: 'We shall not be strangers among us, for the Convention is a fellowship, a festival of friendship. We bid you, therefore, sit down at our tables and be one of us'.[18] This portrayed non-English speakers as outsiders in advertising who were welcome to join the Convention, but on the condition that they conformed to Anglo-American hegemony.

The marginalisation of non-English speakers was reflected in the organisation of the Convention: despite being an international gathering, sixty-four of the sixty-five sessions were conducted in English; French was spoken at a single session on Export Trade development, 'for the benefit of Continental delegates'.[19] Given that that coverage in the trade press focused on the content of sessions, very little was said of the non-American foreign delegates. Perhaps this lack of interest was due to market potential: Europe was not a significant target market for British products, and with the Empire, the Dominions, and North America speaking English, British organisers did not feel the need to accommodate non-English speakers. Common language, from which common culture was partly derived, was vital for creating alliances, and after all, it was American, rather than European, friendship and admiration that British advertising courted.

Indeed, in his speech at the Convention's closing ceremony, Lou Holland, president of the AACW, used the commonality of the English language to draw those present together:

> it is just and right that the great English speaking nations of the world should meet in conference in Great Britain, and I hope that from this world-wide convention of advertising men there will come a great brotherhood movement that will lead all the nations of the world into the path of peace and prosperity.[20]

[17] 'Our word of welcome', *Advertising World,* July 1924, p. xxi.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Duke, Charles W. Hoyt Company Records, Box 1, 'Official Programme of the 20th International Advertising Convention, London 1924', p. 26.
[20] 'This greatest convention', *Advertising World,* August 1924, p. 404.

The resolution to work for peace and prosperity, and the alliance on which it was based, was cemented by the exchange of symbolic gifts, which *Advertiser's Weekly* described as 'tokens of enduring friendship between clubs and nations'. [21] Vernon, president of District 14, gave Holland 'an autographed photograph of the Prince of Wales framed in heavy silver'. In return, the Americans presented the British Organising Committee with 'a charming bronze group of two figures, Britannia and Columbia holding aloft between them the torch of Truth.' The statue was a generous gesture on the part of the Americans, since it depicted both industries as leaders in the pursuit of 'truth in advertising', which was the core value of the AACW. The composition of the figures suggested that the ambitious convention resolutions, which, as chapter 1 explained, also included an 'Advertising Creed', were achievable only through the continued friendly association between advertising men and women of different nationalities, and in particular, between the British and American advertising industries. Thus, the pursuit of 'truth' in advertising was depicted as a shared venture, and international professional identity was constructed as an interdependent Anglo-American alliance, understood as a union between the two leading, but distinct, advertising industries, emerged from the Convention as an influential element of professional identity in British advertising.

When reflecting on the 1924 Convention, British advertising practitioners highlighted above all else the Convention's role in fostering friendship between the British and American industries. For instance, the advertising agent Paul Derrick, an American who had emigrated to London in the early 1900s, suggested that the effects of the Convention

> were, and will be, to consolidate a British-American entente cordiale based upon a fuller mutual appreciation of each other... The greatest good to come out of the Convention is the friendship made between Britisher and those from overseas. The Convention will have established many hundreds of new friendships and each will continue to be a widening circle of British-American good will and common purpose in world affairs.[22]

While the press was unlikely to publish negative reactions to the Convention, it is significant that respondents focused on friendship over and above particular techniques or practices learnt from American visitors, which had – after all – formed the basis of the original Convention invitation. 'Friendship' was understood as being important for laying

[21] 'Convention Creed for Advertising men', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 25 July 1924, p. 232.
[22] Paul E. Derrick, 'My impression of the Convention', *Advertising World*, August 1924, p. 440.

foundations for future exchanges of knowledge and expertise; although a sporadic archival trace makes it difficult to gauge the extent to which business acquaintances made at the Convention continued afterwards. While the idea of 'teaching and learning' tried to express mutual exchange, it was not always clear whether this was the case. The rhetoric of friendship, however, was warmer in tone and suggested more equitable relations. It also acknowledged mutual support in a common endeavour.

International organisation

Following the 1924 Convention, the British advertising industry challenged the organisational structure of the AACW so that it began to relate to American organised advertising on a more equal footing, to reflect the relationship between the two nations at the end of the Convention. Membership of District 14 of the AACW had given British advertising the right to host the 1924 Convention of the American-based association. However, following the Convention, it became clear that District 14, which had grown to be the biggest of the AACW, no longer met the organisational needs of the British industry. In the spring of 1925, the total number of clubs had grown to forty-four, of which thirty-two were British and twelve were 'continental'. Vernon, the chairman of District 14, lamented that the international membership caused 'difficulties – geographical and philological'.[23] Prompted by a desire for an entirely British convention, Vernon suggested to the American executive headquarters of the AACW in 1925 that District 14 should be divided. The suggestion was accepted and, as a result, the 'Continental clubs' were grouped into a new district, known as District 17. This arrangement enabled the British advertising industry to hold the 1925 Convention at Harrogate, 'as an entirely British organisation, and devote our time, our thought and energy not only to the betterment of advertising but to the betterment of British trade'.[24] In making clear the difference between the European clubs and the British clubs, the British industry made a strong claim for the particular unifying features that constituted its professional identity, which was shaped by service to the British nation. By making itself distinct from European advertising organisations, the British industry made space to carve out a particularly 'British' niche within the American organisation of the AACW.

[23] Harold Vernon, '1923-1925 and After', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 17 July 1925, p. 150.
[24] Ibid.

Institutional reorganisation continued with the foundation of the British Advertising Association (AA) in 1926. The AA was better placed than the AACW to meet the specific needs of its British members. Since it was based in the United States, the directives of the AACW were not always relevant to British clubs: minutes of the Women's Advertising Club, for example, note that 'the chairman read a reply which she had received to her letter to Mr. Earle Pearson of the AACW regarding the small value to the English clubs of the material sent out from America'. [25] With the foundation of the AA British advertising was free to pursue its own professional agenda rather than being a subordinate part of an American directed international organisation.

Further reorganisation of the international advertising industry occurred at the 1929 Convention of the International Advertising Association in Berlin, where three representative federal bodies, the American Federation of Advertising, the Continental Advertising Association, and the British Advertising Association, each represented by 10 delegates, met to discuss a new international organisation for advertising.[26] Delegates pursued equal representation of each body within the international organisation, 'and equal prestige for its own interests with the other'.[27] This reconfiguration aimed to balance international advertising's regulatory power across the USA, Europe and the British Empire, although the extent to which these bodies had any concrete authority is unclear. Nevertheless, British and European organisations sought to redistribute influence (albeit it largely symbolic) away from the American federation, so that their professional interests and constructions of professional identities were represented and acknowledged equally on the international stage.

The meeting ambitiously aimed to 'remove possible causes of international jealously – than which nothing is more foolish but nothing more easily aroused – among men of the same business belonging to many nations'.[28] Such striving for peaceful internationalism is characteristic of the 1920s and early 1930s, where national difference 'was to be protected and celebrated as a source of human strength and (largely metaphysical) unity rather than feared and at the same time coveted as the motor of international competition'.[29] In setting

[25] HAT, WACL 4/1 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 17 May 1926.
[26] 'The Task at Berlin: The IAA is Dead. Long Live the IAA', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 9 August 1929.
[27] Ibid.
[28] 'What has Berlin has done for Advertising?', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 23 August 1929.
[29] Lord Ernle, *Whippingham to Westminster* (1938), quoted in Peter Mandler, *The English National Character* (2006), p. 145.

this agenda, delegates recognised that national concerns could obstruct the development of international professional practice. Therefore, it was important to have structures in place, such as the International Advertising Association, that enabled cordial relations and ways of sharing what practitioners of different nationalities held in common. In this way, shared professional values could be celebrated, including a commitment to 'truth' and service, while national difference put to work to create healthy business competition. While the American industry had provided the initial organisational model for international advertising, the British and European response to American methods and professional ideals should be understood in terms of negotiation and contestation and not as the imposition of hegemonic economic and cultural model by American practitioners.

Encountering America

In the 1920s and 1930s a significant and influential minority of British advertising practitioners travelled to the United States, often combining business interests with attendance at American conventions. Travel to the United States was used to make and maintain the transatlantic business contacts and friendships that were celebrated as the measure of the 1924 Convention's success. Indeed, District 14 sent prominent British delegations to the Houston Convention of the AACW in 1925, as well as to their Convention in 1926, which was held in Philadelphia.[30] Equally, immediately after the 1924 Convention, Ethel Wood sailed for New York on behalf of the Samson Clark Advertising Agency, where she spoke 'at the American Gas Association's Annual Conference, in Atlantic City', visited 'leading American cities', before spending time in Canada. As a result of her travels, the *Samson Clark Staff Gazette* noted that she 'gathered information that will undoubtedly be of considerable use', although, frustratingly, did not record the specific information.[31] David Ogilvy also used visits to the United States in the late 1930s to make valuable business contacts: he met the influential advertising executive Rosser Reeves, as well as George Gallup, who was pioneering public opinion polling. Ogilvy returned to Mather & Crowther brimming with ideas about how 'scientific' American research methods could improve his firm's business.[32] Acting as vectors for ideas and

[30] 'Advertising Methods', *Times*, 17 June 1925, p. 11; 'Advertising Convention at Philadelphia', *Times*, 31 March 1926, p. 11.
[31] HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 18 July 1924; 22 August 1924; 12 September 1924.
[32] Kenneth Roman, *The King of Maddison Avenue* (New York, 2009), pp. 59, 63.

information – market research techniques being an important example – these men and women used their first-hand experience of American advertising practice, and the organisation of American professional life, as a point of reference for the construction of British professional identity.

An article in *Advertiser's Weekly* describes Edith Parnell's three-week tour in the United States in 1936. Parnell deputised for Higham at the AACW's 'Truth in Advertising' Convention at Boston, and 'at the same time, represented British advertising womanhood'.[33] Parnell, the editorial manager at C. F. Higham's, recounted how she made extensive use of the club and company networks that had been the envy of the Thirty Club in the 1910s: she attended special luncheons and dinners, and gave 'speech after speech, describing British women's part in publicity'.[34] Parnell's fluency within such networks indicates that she was well practiced at using them, which in turn suggests that by 1936 British organised advertising had developed along comparable lines to the United States. Parnell's speaking tour and her informal role as ambassador for British advertising's womanhood (although she was not a member of the Women's Advertising Club) points to the presence of an American audience that was interested in British advertising practice and women's particular role within it; it seems that cultural exchange was mutual. The importance of personality and patronage within networks is striking: Parnell travelled under the banner of the renowned Charles Higham.

In addition to her speaking engagements, Parnell 'amasse[d] impressions for Sir Charles (himself a USA inhabitant for 20 years) of American business and advertising methods'.[35] Given Higham's familiarity with consumer culture in the United States, Parnell's role suggests, first, the British perception that American advertising methods developed rapidly, and secondly, the importance of knowledge of current American business practice to British professional identity. Parnell had first-hand experience of one such innovation: her speaking tour included a twenty-minute interview over a radio network. While broadcasting in the United States was comprised of commercial radio stations, funded by advertisers, in Britain the BBC controlled broadcasting to the exclusion of commercial interest. Radio, therefore, was a technology that British advertisers looked to the United States for inspiration and guidance; indeed, it was the American agency JWT that was

[33] 'Mainly Personal: Miss Parnell is Back', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 30 July 1936, p. 170.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

among the first to bring radio advertising to Britain through their connections to European English-language broadcasting stations, Radio Luxemburg and Radio Normandy.[36]

Parnell went to the USA in search of a particular 'America': she confirmed the truth of gangster films, having been woken by sirens and armed police one evening, and was impressed by the wealth of advertising executives, one of whom she reported owned an aeroplane. Parnell looked for difference, and she found it. However, when reflecting on her experiences in *Advertiser's Weekly,* Parnell was reluctant to compare American and British advertising methods directly, although she ventured that 'the former has a different appeal'. She described American advertising as 'a trifle verbose, has too many adjectives. But, like everything American, it's full of pep and enthusiasm'. In contrast, she felt that Americans 'think that this country's advertising too conservative'.[37] This observation says more about the national stereotypes of the consumers that each respective industry targeted than any relative advertising truth. Yet, it was convinced of a universal (American) advertising truth that some firms moved blindly into new markets. Sarah Howard's work, for example, argues that JWT failed to find a niche in the Parisian alcohol market for their clients because of their ignorance of (and insensitivity towards) French cultural norms.[38] It seems that while European practitioners were aware of multiple ways of doing things, their American counterparts were less alert to value in difference.

Knowledge and experience of the United States was increasingly important for bolstering professional status, and therefore, the business prospects, of individual advertising agencies. For the vast majority of practitioners, however, transatlantic travel was simply too expensive. Nevertheless, the impressions and accounts of returning travellers, such as Parnell, created a collective image of 'America', which enabled those unable to travel to keep abreast with American developments (and give historical insight into the journeys themselves). Talks about American practice – given both by visiting American guests and returned travellers – occurred fairly regularly in advertising clubs' calendars in the interwar years, suggesting continued interest among members. For instance, the *History of the Publicity Club* records that Higham addressed the Club on 'the latest trends in American advertising', following a visit to the USA in 1928, while minutes of the Women's Club

[36] Duke, JWT, London office papers, Box 3, 'Agency in Action'.
[37] 'Miss Parnell is Back', p. 170.
[38] Sarah Howard, 'The advertising industry and alcohol in interwar France', *Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), pp. 421 – 455.

note that the Club hosted a session on the effects of the Depression, featuring speakers who had recently returned from the USA.[39] Not only did presentations inform members of current trends in the United States, they also contributed to the professional authority of speakers, who were able to present themselves as expert observers of a foreign phenomenon.

In 1929, W. H. Harford (director of Saward, Barker) addressed the Fleet Street Club on 'A frank admission about a visit to America', following a six-week stay in the States. While Parnell was reluctant to compare British and American advertising methods, preferring to dwell on her impressions of the United States more broadly, Harford's observations were founded on explicit comparison between the two countries and sought to present British advertising positively. Harford's single major criticism of British advertising was as old as organised advertising itself: that 'the only thing that advertising has failed to do – in spite of all its conventions – has been to convince the public that advertising is true – 99% true. *Only* in this respect does English advertising compare unfavourably with American'.[40] This observation reflects the different emphases of British and American organised advertising. While the AACW focused its efforts on the campaign for 'Truth in Advertising', partly in response to the demands of the growing American consumer movement, the AA chose instead to engage with manufacturers in order to boost overseas trade.[41] In this effort, practitioners made clear that only truthful advertising sold products, but 'truth in advertising' was never run explicitly as public campaign in the way that it was in the United States.

Harford also drew lessons from American good practice. He was particularly impressed by the 'orderliness of American office organisation' and the American work ethic. 'I think the average American business man works harder than we do', he said, 'whenever one is called to a business interview in America, the table is cleared for action'. This work ethic, he believed, drove the success of American advertising: 'I do not admit that the American is more clever or has more intelligence than the Englishman. But he has the ability of using his ability.' Harford also noted differences in the expectations of advertising's clients: while British advertisers expected immediate return on advertising expenditure, the

[39] HAT, PUB1 'The history of the Publicity Club of London, vol.2', (1953), p. 95; HAT, WACL 4/2 'Monthly Dinner Meetings', 9 November 1931.

[40] 'British Scepticism about Advertising: some transatlantic contrasts', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 26 July 1929, p. 119. Italics in original.

[41] 'To inform the consumer', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 6 January 1938, p. 4.

'Americans know that to acquire a market he must regard his advertising as an investment'. [42] Perhaps seeking to shake up stereotypical British reticence, Harford argued that it was not particular methods of advertising – such as colour-work or copy-writing techniques – that Britain could learn from the United States, but rather the wider working culture surrounding advertising in America: 'it is in their courage of putting ideas into practice that America scores', he wrote.[43] Ten years later, having spent time in the United States with Claude Hopkins and Rosser Reeves, David Ogilvy came away with a similar impression.[44] Harford's bite-sized chunks of observation were persuasive and digestible. They generally affirmed the methods on which British professional practice was founded, while offering to his audience specific points for improvement through insight into the American industry.

Differences between British and American professional practices in advertising were also the subject of articles in advertising books and journals, which, as chapter 3 explained, flourished as advertising was theorised as part of its professionalization and education programmes.[45] *Modern Advertising* (1926) for example, was a work which was

> intended for the use of those who advertise either directly or indirectly. Its endeavour is to be helpful to the practical man, and, in consequence, great pains have been taken to get down to simple principles and methods. It is intended, also, to be of use to the student of advertising who desires to adopt publicity as a profession.[46]

Significantly, this anthology contained a piece entitled 'Contemporary American Advertising: A survey of Press advertising in America and of British and American Methods'.[47] The article emphasised that, although the geographical size of the United States meant the absence of a daily national press, weekly magazine publishing flourished. It argued, therefore, that it was not possible to translate American practices wholesale to the British market (and vice versa) because of differences in the organisational structure of

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[42] 'British Scepticism about Advertising: some transatlantic contrasts', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 26 July 1929, p. 119.
[43] W. H. Harford, 'Can we still learn from America? Not in copy or layout, but in ideas and courage', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 2 August 1929.
[44] Roman, *King of Maddison Avenue*, p. 60.
[45] Harold Wilensky describes a sociological process of professionalization in his article 'The professionalization of Everyone?' *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (1964), p. 114.
[46] 'Introduction', in *Modern Advertising*, 1 (1926), p. 2.
[47] G. W. Kettle 'Contemporary American Advertising: A survey of Press advertising in America and of British and American Methods' in *Modern Advertising*, 1 (1926).

the media. The textbook nature of the publication suggests the importance of knowledge of the United States and its market conditions for a professional in British advertising. Equally, book reviews in the trade press suggest the availability of works about the United States and those written about American methods: H. Borden Neil, *Problems in Advertising* (1938), for example, provided an analysis of American advertising campaigns, while the American psychologist Walter Dill Scott's *The Psychology of Advertising* was so popular that it was reissued by London publishers, Isaac Pitman and Sons, in 1932.[48] Chris Chisholm's *Simplified Practice* (1927) was a comparative study that considered American 'simplification' processes in manufacturing on both sides of the Atlantic. These works suggest that British advertising practitioners looked to the United States as a point of comparison for professional practice and techniques, not necessarily to emulate, but against which to gauge progress and to measure their own successes.[49]

As Europe became increasingly politically unstable in the late 1930s, advertising practitioners once more cast their public relations work in the United States, undertaken on behalf of their firms and clients, as a contribution towards the higher goal of fostering understanding between the two democratic nations. Writing to *Advertiser's Weekly*, Ernest Whitaker, proprietor of *Border Mail* (Kelso) described a trip to the United States that he was to make in order to 'introduc[e] American weeklies to the weeklies of their namesake on this side.'[50] However, he also saw the trip as an opportunity for cultivating friendship. 'What an opportunity for building the world walls of peace and helping to restore sane and civilised condition throughout the world', he wrote. Perhaps Whitaker was naïve and his conviction little more than repeated rhetoric or self-aggrandised blunder. Nevertheless, he argued that travel and networking in the United States by British advertisers could strengthen political relations between the two countries, suggesting belief that his mundane professional activities were part of a higher social and political calling.

British practitioners' focus on an Anglo-American relationship in advertising came at the cost of others, however. Reflecting on the 1937 Paris Exhibition, *Advertiser's Weekly's* correspondent mused that

[48] 'The Advertiser's Bookshelf', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 6 January 1938, p. 5; Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising* (1902, 1932 edn).
[49] For a German perspective, see Nolan, *Visions of Modernity* (1994).
[50] 'Readers' Forum', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 15 June 1939, p. 344.

> advertising men who have seen the Palace of Publicity at the Paris exhibition are impressed by the progress made during recent years in other countries. Perhaps most of us have been too ready to think of advertising as largely an Anglo-American game, and it is true that we do more of it than other countries. Yet while we have the quantity, we do not always have the quality, and mass of the publicity being produced today by Switzerland, Germany, France and Poland commands respect and merits study.[51]

Crawford's agency was the exception. Ten years before the Exhibition, he addressed a luncheon:

> in my office we are searching the Continent and not America for new notes in advertising. We should all do better if we were to take heed of the stronger and more direct and forceful types of advertising instead of the well-manicured advertising of which we see so much.[52]

Led by the ambition of his American client, Chrysler, the agency opened a small office in Berlin in the spring of 1927, which quickly grew to a staff of forty.[53] Here, Crawford's organisation could witness first-hand the effect the emerging Bauhaus movement had on 'all forms of applied design', which included advertising. Indeed, the modernist style of his celebrated head designer, Ashleigh Havinden, spoke strongly to the idiom of German design. [54]

Nevertheless, Crawford's stood largely alone in its European venture and desire to learn from continental design. Indeed, 'advertising in Europe' was absent from clubs' speaking programmes, and it seems that, in comparison to the United States, there were very few books published on the subject of Continental advertising. While the Women's Club hosted European women, the urge to 'learn' from them was not explicitly expressed, as it was with American visitors. The IAA's Convention in Berlin in 1929 represented the high point of Anglo-American engagement with European advertising industries; Europe's multitude of languages and unstable political conditions of the 1930s meant that agencies overlooked European practice as a source of inspiration, seeking instead association with

[51] 'Paris Conclusions', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 9 September 1937, p. 336.
[52] 'Club notes', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 1 July 1927, p. 30.
[53] G. H. Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide* (1954), pp. 81, 84.
[54] Ibid., p. 59 – 61.

the democratic United States. Yet, as the Paris correspondent argued, by ignoring European developments, agencies denied themselves a rich and intricate body of work.

International agency office

A second significant place of American encounter before the Second World War was the British branch office of the American advertising agency. During the 1920s and 1930s several American agencies, including JWT, Erwin Wasey and Co., and Lord & Thomas, set up divisions in London to facilitate their clients' moves into British and European markets. These multinational firms posed considerable business competition to British agencies. For instance, despite the economic crash in 1929, which led to a fall in advertising spending, *Advertiser's Weekly* reported that the Lord & Thomas agency saw three consecutive years of growth, handling '£6,000,000 worth of business in 1928, £8,000,000 in 1929 and £10,000,000' in 1930.[55] In contrast, David Dunbar estimates that the total national advertising expenditure in the UK fell from £57 million in 1928 to £53 million in 1930. [56] Moreover, these offices were large operations: by 1938, JWT's London office (which had been registered as a limited company in its own right in 1931) was the biggest agency in Britain, employing over 300 British and American staff.[57] Staff turn-over meant that many more would have had experience working in their methods. Equally, when Graham and Gillies split away from JWT in 1937 to form an agency of their own, they took with them staff who had knowledge of JWT's organisational structure, as well as market research techniques. So, through their sheer economic clout and employment figures, American branch offices played an increasingly significant part in shaping the professional operation of British advertising, as well as the professional identities of its practitioners. The coverage of these agencies' activities in *Advertiser's Weekly* alongside British agencies suggests that they integrated into the British industry with a measure of success.

While initially agencies came to Britain to serve existing American clients, on arrival their branch offices sought out local business, placing them – and their professional values – in direct competition with British agencies: both Lord & Thomas and JWT were among

[55] 'Agency's £10,000,000 turnover', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 30 January 1931, p. 150.
[56] David S. Dunbar quoted in Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 146.
[57] The American parent firm, the JWT Company, was the biggest shareholder, although British staff members also owned shares.

advertising agencies that advertised their services in *Advertiser's Weekly.* By the 1930s, JWT was handling British accounts that included Rowntree's confectioneries and Lever's Lux soap in addition to its American business. In 1938, British Airways also transferred its advertising to JWT. When reporting the change of account, *Advertiser's Weekly* noted the Agency's American origin, and observed that 'much of the advertising it prepares may seem, in British eyes, tied too much to our cousin's apron-strings. But JWT is predominantly British in staff, is the largest agency in this country and has international affiliations'.[58]

According to *Advertiser's Weekly,* JWT's British staff compensated for the overtly American style of its advertising output. While West and Nixon argue that the 1950s and 1960s saw the concerted integration of JWT into wider British cultural life and lexicon, the presence of a predominantly British staff suggests that cultural integration of American staff (visiting and permanent) occurred far sooner at the level of everyday life in the office.[59] JWT's primary strategy for easing this process of internal cultural integration was to cultivate a strong corporate identity among employees. This included a policy to make each branch office feel like a JWT office wherever it was in the world; that is, to make the corporate identity of the firm, and the American professionalism that it represented, apparent above and beyond the nationality of its employees. Branch offices, however, had to balance the need to be part of a coherent international company, with making themselves palatable to the culture of their host country; significantly, when advertising its services, Lord & Thomas argued that the work produced by its London office was based on universal principles.[60]

Despite the misgivings of *Advertiser's Weekly* about JWT's work, it seems that it broadly achieved this balance. Sam Soper records that it was not necessarily the 'reason-why' and testimonial-based advertising that the agency prepared that impressed potential British

[58] 'Editorial', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 21 April 1938, p. 66.

[59] Nixon, 'Apostles of Americanization?', pp. 477-99; Nixon, *Hard Sell*; West, 'From T-Square to T-Plan', pp. 199 – 217; Douglas C. West, 'Multinational Competitions in the British Advertising Agency Business, 1936 – 1987', *Business History Review,* 62 (1988), pp. 467-501.

[60] 'While advertising campaign hailing from this office are generally "created at Thomas House" in their entirety, we recognise that logic and human appear are good currency everywhere. All over the world, in fact, the only right conception of advertising is as SALESMAN IN PRINT. We should therefore maintain no immigration restrictions again ideas that have *provided* good for our clients in other markets', in 'Because Lord &Thomas are Realises in Advertising', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 26 March 1936.

clients (which, in comparison to the creative work produced by Crawford's and Benson's was judged by contemporaries as being rather dull), but rather the Agency's organisation. In particular, Soper felt that the market research and requisitions departments, which allowed the agency to map the target markets of products and predict return on revenue spent, set JWT apart from other agencies:

> When I first settled in at Bush House, I gradually absorbed a feeling of superiority, first engendered by the dignity and luxury of the Reception Room, later by realising that JWT's organisational methods were new to Britain, because Art Hobbs (General Manager) would regularly walk prospective clients round our floor… and I would note how they all seemed to marvel…These devices were also evidently admired and not to be found at Benson's or Streets or T. B Browne's and other English agencies. To be truthful, our British staff hated requisitions and tried to ignore them! I was at first too new to realise that our main attraction for the big English advertisers, was the Marketing and Market Research expertise which we brought to England from our American parents.[61]

Soper believed that working for an American agency gave him a professional edge over other practitioners who worked at British agencies. He recalled how, when at advertising evening classes, students were taught that clients could be told the level of sales they could expect to receive from a given expenditure on advertising: something that was common practice at JWT. Soper remembered how

> the class received this dictum with some awe, but as I've said earlier, the knowledge that I was… a member of the JWT Company was impressing me with increasing force. We were, indeed something special and I think everyone, at all levels, knew this to be true.[62]

Soper was not the only one in the Company to believe in its superior methods. The London office of JWT saw a constant flow of American advertising practitioners who came to work with British colleagues as part of their professional development. Despite conventions and exhibitions that showcased European advertising, continental Europe – and to an extent Britain – was considered an advertising backwater in comparison to the United States. In his 1963 history of JWT, Sidney Ralph Bernstein notes that in the 1920s, many 'European publishers… were still operating pretty much as their counterparts in

[61] HAT, JWT, Sam Soper papers, Box 1, 'My JWT Life' (1996), p. 15.
[62] Ibid.

American had operated 60 or 70 years earlier'.[63] In particular, Bernstein emphasised that circulation figures were measured by publications themselves and that agency remuneration via commission was not standardised. Placements to European branch offices, therefore, were viewed as training for management, rather than to learn European techniques. At JWT, the British copywriter Sanderson recalled that

> the usual New York ploy was to send people into the wilderness, to places like London and Paris. This was their policy for a long long time. And then they would recall them after about 3 years, after all their main careers would have been in the States.[64]

Sanderson spoke with a twinkle in her eye when talking about the wilderness. However, her observation points to the schism between how American and European practitioners perceived European (including British) advertising practices. Europe was not a place to study; in the absence of American advertising culture, it was seen as wild and undeveloped. This observation also suggests why Higham's rhetoric of teaching and learning never quite rang true in the interwar period. While Britons went to the United States to observe, to question and to learn, it appears that American advertising agents, convinced of a universal advertising truth, had little intention of absorbing European practices to take back with them to inform advertising in the United States. This conviction in their methods gave British staff working for American agencies confidence in their professional identity as advertising practitioners. Perhaps for this reason, however, British practitioners in the 1920s and 1930s seemed keener to cultivate relationships with Americans in the United States – where they were hosted and dined in the name of cultural exchange – than they did with American practitioners who had come to do business in Britain. This supports the idea that travellers went to the United States not just to learn about American methods, but to observe the wider consumer culture and attitudes towards consumerism. Nevertheless, American agencies in London added further diversity to the British advertising industry. Their presence stimulated competition between agencies, and provided a wider choice of service models to clients and manufacturers, and brought internationalism to the heart of the British industry.

[63] Duke, JWT, Sidney Ralph Bernstein papers, Box 10, 'Chapter nine', p. ix.
[64] Duke, JWT, London Office Records, Box 1, 'Unmarked Apex tape part 1', pp. 5-6.

Empire

While the British advertising industry looked to the United States as a model on which to base professional practice and as a point of comparison for professional development, the British Empire played an important role in sustaining the prestige and clout of the British advertising industry abroad. Bolstered by Empire, Britain stood equal next to the continent of Europe and the United States in international advertising organisation.[65] The presence of Empire, therefore, assured British practitioners of their place in taking a leading role in institutionalising and regulating professional practice at an international level. Empire supported the industry's assumed superiority of professional practice in the international arena.

More significantly, however, the Empire, and particularly the Dominions, was seen as providing markets for British manufactured goods. Economic historians have long grappled with the question of trading affinity between nations. Drawing together arguments, Gary Bryan Magee suggests that trade developed readily between Britain and the Empire due to 'shared language, currencies, tastes, institutions, and expectations; preference for British goods when available; colonial dependence on British investment for continued development; and the density of their [imperial] transport, distribution, and communication networks with Britain'.[66] Following the First World War, however, which had seen foreign competitors move into markets neglected due to the conflict, falling market share suggested that the reputation of firms and their 'Britishness' was no longer enough to guarantee sales.[67] As was observed in chapter 1, in response to Britain's declining share in world trade, the AA spent considerable energy and resources urging manufacturers to advertise their goods in overseas markets on the basis that revitalised export trade supported by advertising provided the solution to British economic malaise. Advertising's ability to create and sustain trade, therefore, formed an important part of the industry's professional narrative and practitioners' professional identities; in 1927, Crawford envisaged that 'the advertising men of tomorrow would be trade makers and

[65] 'The Task at Berlin', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 9 August 1929.

[66] Gary Bryan Magee, 'The importance of Being British? Imperial Factors and the Growth of British Imports, 1870 – 1960', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 63 (2007), p. 342

[67] At the outbreak of the First World War, about 30% of the economy's goods and services were sold abroad. By 1937, the figure had more than halved. See C. Knick Harley 'Trade, 1870-1939: from globalisation to fragmentation' in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain vol II: Economic Maturity, 1860-1939* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 162.

Empire makers'.[68] While the United States found new markets in Europe and South America, leaders of the British advertising industry looked primarily to the Empire. In the Empire, the rhetoric of economic prosperity through advertised export trade, which underpinned advertising's professional claims of service to the nation, was – to an extent – fulfilled. The markets provided by the Empire played an important role in enabling the advertising industry to present itself not just as a profit-seeking industry, but as a professional occupation with credible solutions to Britain's economic difficulties.

This narrative is found in the early press directories of Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne. A remnant of the nineteenth century space-selling advertising agent, these books – which were published annually – listed the newspapers and publications that agencies had competitive rates with. To emphasise the agency's expertise in creating advertising, in addition to its ability to place campaigns favourably, the books were prefaced by articles detailing the specialist services offered by the agency, and essays forecasting economic conditions and offering advice to clients about how best to respond to them. The affinity between Britain and Empire was used to persuade potential clients to explore the Empire as a market for their goods, in order to restore economic wellbeing. An introductory article in Mather & Crowther's 1921 directory explained the importance of export trade to Britain, arguing that:

> The first step toward convalescence must be to secure the healthiness of our system of export trade. For some nations export trade may be a luxury; for us in this small island, the nerve centre of Britain's overseas markets, export trade is our very life book, and the only way of replenishing the national coffers, and replenishing that vast wealth which has been expended and destroyed. [69]

Export trade was represented as a fundamental to British national identity and economic past prosperity, and vital to recovering debts created by the First World War. By engaging in export trade, Mather & Crowther suggested that manufacturers were acting not only in the interests of the nation, but also in deep-seated national tradition. In turn, Mather & Crowther presented itself as an expert economic and business commentator, assisting in a natural economic process. The firm used imperial rhetoric to strengthen the case for export trade to the Empire specifically. It argued that not only would trade with the

[68] 'Banquet to Sir William Crawford', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1 July 1927.
[69] HAT, Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising*, (1921), p. xiv.

Empire help to ease economic hardship, but that such trade would act to strengthen the Empire itself:

> We belong to the greatest democracy and the strongest association of Free Nations the world has ever known. Our Empire is bound together by double chains, one of kinship made yet stronger by a common sacrifice, and the other the golden chain of commerce, which though strong, may well be strengthened by a closer and fuller co-operation. [70]

Rather than setting-up branch offices in the cities of the Empire to facilitate the advertising which would accompany ventures into imperial markets, Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne established contacts with colonial newspapers. This meant that when producing an advertising campaign for a client, space in colonial newspapers could be included in the scope of the media. The similarity of format between the two agencies' press directories suggests that it is likely that other leading advertising agencies also forged links with the Empire press in order to reach overseas markets. Given that successful advertising appeals to particular cultural norms and values, this process demonstrates assumption of shared values between the populations of Britain and Empire, and the work of advertising in supporting British cultural hegemony. To provide background details to the newspapers, their readership, and the areas in which they circulated, Mather & Crowther relied on statistics created by the Department of Overseas Trade, which had 'Trade Commissioners and representatives throughout nearly all the civilised world' whose job it was to 'further the interest of British trade'.[71] Through statistical data and qualitative observation, the Empire was envisaged in terms of population, wealth, climate and manufacturing potential. Mather & Crowther argued that 'with all these weapons in their armoury British Traders need have no fear of the successful result of their labours if they will only use them to capture that share of Dominion trade which, under existing conditions, is now essential to ensure the continued prosperity of this country.'[72]

Building on this tradition of imperial trade, the AA sought, from its foundation in 1926, to convince British manufacturers to accompany goods destined overseas with advertising campaigns. These efforts to promote advertising in overseas markets were in accordance with the cultural and financial strengthening of Empire that the 1926 Balfour Declaration

[70] HAT, Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising* (1922), p. xi.
[71] HAT, Mather & Crowther, *Practical Advertising* (1923).
[72] Ibid.

sought to engender. The rhetoric of advertising agencies, now joined by the AA, dovetailed into wider campaigns to promote Empire trade, which were co-ordinated by the Empire Marketing Board (EMB). Crawford's presence on the Board, along with Frank Pick (famous for his advertising for London Underground), was taken by *Advertiser's Weekly* to represent the Government's recognition of advertising's importance to modern life, as well as the industry's particular expertise in publicity practice.[73] (While Higham had worked on the promotion of war bonds in the First World War, it was to co-ordinate a campaign. Crawford's appointment, therefore, represented the first time that an advertising practitioner had been appointed to a policy making role.)

Established in 1926 under Dominion pressure to foster empire trade without the use of preferential tariffs, the EMB aimed to stimulate imperial preference by redirecting British consumer choice away from 'foreign' goods towards the produce of 'home and empire'.[74] While the main focus of the Board was promoting Empire produce in the British market, its work was underpinned by the idea that advertising was necessary to direct consumption effectively. This suggests that the AA had achieved some success in promoting advertising's uses for economic and social good. Indeed, addressing the opening session of the AA's 1927 Convention, Leo Amery as chair of the EMB and Secretary of State for the Colonies, claimed that advertising had the power to do great things in the service of the Empire:

> If by advertising and publicity they were able to strengthen the idea of economic unity and development in the Empire, undoubtedly they would have done something more valuable than any constitutional building could do towards bringing strength, prosperity and unity to the British Empire.[75]

Unlike other empires, which were held together by force or 'particular constitutional basis', Amery argued that the British Empire relied on freedom and good will for its cohesion. He envisaged advertising in particular – rather than trade in general – as helping to stimulate the good will that Empire trade and mutual co-dependence relied on. The EMB was a government initiative, but with a budget limited to £1 million, it depended on commercial

[73] The Committee comprised Leo Amery, Sir Stephen Tallents, Walter Elliot, Frank Pick, Frank McDougall, John Grierson and William Crawford. See Saxon Mills, *There is a Tide*, p. 130; Scott Anthony, *Public Relations and the making of Modern Britain* (Manchester, 2012), p. 29-62.
[74] Felicity Barnes, 'Bringing Another Empire Alive? The Empire Marketing Board and the Construction of Dominion Identity, 1926-33', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42 (2014), p. 61.
[75] 'The opening session, Tuesday, July 19th', *Advertising World*, August 1927, p. 538.

advertisers to present their advertising campaigns using similar themes, in order to achieve the widest possible coverage of the message. The budget did not include provision for advertising British products in the Empire. Therefore, the AA's 1927 Convention and concurrent Exhibition were a concerted effort to demonstrate to manufacturers the benefits of engaging with Empire trade; Crawford argued that the Convention aimed to 'create greater trading within the Empire'.[76]

In addition to the idealism of Imperial unity that was expressed by Crawford and Amery, other speakers at the Convention emphasised the financial consequences of not taking up the opportunities offered by empire trade. Reminding manufacturers that being 'British' alone was no longer enough to guarantee sales in the Empire, William Ormsby-Gore, Undersecretary for the Colonies, argued that

> if we in this country show ourselves indifferent to the possibilities of trade within the Empire, our rivals abroad will be grateful to us. They are trained to the last man and the last buckle to capture every potential new customer who appears in our Empire overseas.[77]

Similarly, Major Astor MP, reflecting on a 'fairly recent tour in Canada, Australia and New Zealand', argued that

> he came away with the definite impression that many of our manufactures had studied our Imperial markets less closely than they should, and that American salesmen seemed frequently to understand better than our own the needs and psychology of potential customers.[78]

The message was clear: if manufacturers ignored the needs and nuances of Empire markets, others – in particular, American interests – would capture them. In many instances it was reported that Americans were already making inroads into Empire markets, and were proving more adept than British concerns at selling their commodities to the resident populations.[79] At the 1927 Convention, the AA urged manufactures to take advantage of advertising practitioners' expertise of overseas trade and markets – including knowledge of

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[76] 'The Meaning of the Convention', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 8 July 1927.
[77] 'General session', *Advertising World*, August 1927, p. 544.
[78] Ibid.
[79] The Prince of Wales also commented on the lack lustre approach of some Empire advertisers in 'Create the Demand: is our salesmanship up to date? The Prince of Wales' Question', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 22 February 1929.

foreign consumers, press structure and consuming habits – rather than venturing into such markets alone.

Expertise of overseas markets was an important component of the services offered by the British agency Samson Clark, and played a significant part in the agency's corporate narrative. The agency had a long history of sending its staff overseas to gain knowledge of markets and foreign practice. Before becoming director of the firm in 1912, Jessie Reynolds spent 'twelve months touring Australia, New Zealand and South Africa acquainting herself with men and women and social conditions and at the same time selling syndicate blocks'.[80] The founder of the agency, Henry Samson Clark, died suddenly in Mombasa in February 1925 while on a tour to meet business concerns in British East Africa.[81] In 1925, the *Samson Clark Gazette* reported the international movement of its staff: for instance, a Mr G. M. Garcia returned 'to Australia, via New York and Vancouver'.[82] The *Gazette* also reported the arrival of a Mr Rosier to the copy room staff in London. Knowledge exchange was an explicit goal in these travels. Rosier was described as having 'had a wide experience in all branches of sales management and advertising in America and Australia and has come to us to get a knowledge of how things are done in London, and to give us the benefit of his experiences in other lands.'[83] By facilitating international travel, Samson Clark made expertise of foreign places a component of the professional identity of its staff. While the United States was a point of interest for Samson Clark, the Empire was the focus of the agency's energy. Since advertising agencies were ultimately profit-making entities, Samson Clark's preference for Empire markets suggests that it believed that not only would their clients' goods be received favourably by consumers there, but that it would be able to translate British advertising principles to these foreign markets.

Building on its informal international staff exchanges, in 1925 Samson Clark founded a branch in Melbourne, Australia, under the leadership of A. O. Richardson, who had been made a director of the company in 1924. Offices in Brisbane and Sydney swiftly followed. By 1928, Samson Clark listed among their clients in Australia Rothman's Pall Mall Cigarettes, Bulloch Lade Whiskey, Francis & Co. (chemists), Lines Bros. (Toys), Old Gold

[80] Louise Morgan, 'Key Women: Miss J A Reynolds', *News Chronicle*, 30 January1936.
[81] HAT, SAM 21/336/1 'A history of Progress 1896-1925', p. 5.
[82] HAT, SAM 21/336/4 *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 3 July 1925.
[83] Ibid., 2 October 1925.

Chocolates and Sykes (musical instruments).[84] Prior to his appointment as a director of Samson Clark, Richardson had had five years' experience in copy departments of London and New York advertising agencies, and had spent time working as assistant Advertisement Manager of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, before becoming director of the Richardson Advertising Agency of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide.[85] In Richardson, Samson Clark appointed a director with considerable exposure to different national methods of advertising, as well as the workings of different components of the international advertising industry. Richardson's appointment demonstrated Samson Clark's commitment to international trade, and their desire to expand their business along imperial lines.

In 1928, a poster announced Richardson's visit to London, and invited British manufacturers to make an appointment to meet with him to 'frankly and fully the whole possibilities of extending [their] sales in the Australasian and New Zealand markets'.[86] Describing Samson Clark's operations in Australia, the poster argued that 'there is only one satisfactory way of developing the rich markets in Australia and New Zealand – by directly informed and expert service ON THE SPOT'.[87] Rather than relying on statistics from the Department of Overseas Trade and the readership profiles of newspapers, by being 'on the spot' Samson Clark was able to appreciate first-hand the specific local market and distribution channels, in addition to understanding particular consumer appeal. (A leaflet advised manufacturers against using snow to appeal to Australian consumers at Christmas time).[88] Since the branch office was run by Richardson, one of their directors, the agency ensured that the professional values and ethos of the firm were maintained overseas, while the branch had the benefits of Samson Clark's resources and financial backing.

Samson Clark was a text-book example of agency oversea expansion. Indeed, while Simmit acknowledged that it was possible for local agencies be approached for overseas trade, he observed that

[84] HAT, SAM 5/1, 'We know advertising inside out'.
[85] *Samson Clark Staff Gazett*e, 4 January 1924.
[86] SAM 5/1 'We know advertising inside out'.
[87] Ibid.
[88] HAT, SAM 5/11 'Co-operation in Advertising'.

> usually a greater degree of effectiveness is achieved by the manufacturer retaining his home advertising agency to develop his overseas advertising… There is less necessity for him to explain policy to the local branch agency, since this may be done through its home office… Most agencies with overseas branches exchange advertising plans, ideas and materials between each branch and the home office so that the experience of each branch is that of the entire organisation.[89]

In contrast to Samson Clark, Street's agency did not set up an office abroad, although it did claim particular knowledge of Empire markets. It seems that this knowledge was derived in part from travel: in an advertisement feature of the *Daily Mail's* souvenir to the 1937 Empire Convention the Agency claimed to have 'made an intensive on-the-spot study of marketing problems wherever the Union Jack flies'.[90] It is likely that the agency also relied on press listings and the statistics of the Department of Overseas Trade to enhance its knowledge of Empire markets, as well as drawing on its own experiences of successful appeal to particular audiences. The advert continued:

> [Street's] can tell you just why your home advertising will fail to hit the bull's eye in the Colonies, and how it is possible to ensure definite results in a branch of publicity which is going to prove of tremendous importance to home manufacturers. It does not follow that Australian publicity is applicable to New Zealand or that that which appeals in Sydney must necessarily appeal to Dunedin. They have studied marketing problems and marketing psychology in those overseas Dominions in whose prosperity the British manufacturer rightly aims to share. The experience of Street's in this important area of investigation must ensure the saving of much money and disillusionment. They *know* the overseas market, its requirements, its preferences and the class of publicity that will bring a maximum yield.[91]

While it is unsurprising that the agency emphasised its expertise in Empire trade in a souvenir to the Empire Exhibition, this description of Street's operations suggests that even by the late 1930s, the Empire continued to be regarded by some as a significant market to be cultivated for British trade.

By supporting Empire trade through knowledge and experience, Samson Clark, Street's, Mather & Crowther and T. B. Browne were in a minority; facilities to sustain successful

[89] R. Simmat, *The Principles and Practice of Advertising* (1935), p. 468.
[90] A. F. Harrison, 'Home and Empire Marketing: Sales Problems which Call for Specialised Knowledge', *Daily Mail,* 14 June 1937 (Souvenir Edition of The Empire Advertising Convention), p. x.
[91] Ibid., italics in original.

overseas marketing were beyond the capacity of most advertising agencies. Despite the possibilities offered by imperial markets, and the concerted push by the AA in 1927 towards them, it seemed that most advertising agencies were content to confine their business to serving the domestic market, especially since the EMB's focus was on selling imperial and British goods in the *British* market. When reporting on plans for a further Empire Convention, to be held in 1932, *Advertiser's Weekly* commented that

> it would certainly widen the scope the average British advertising agent's vision. This alone would make the exhibition worth whole. The home field has been ploughed until every corner is now covered. The vast markets of the Empire, like those of Europe, have been left almost untouched. The number of our agents with overseas branches or facilities for handling business can be counted on the fingers of two hands.[92]

So, although the rhetoric that described the power of advertising in binding the Empire together formed a significant part of the narrative used by the AA to underline the importance of advertising in the interwar years, facilitation of Empire trade was a reality for only a minority of British agencies. Moreover, the value of this rhetoric was brought into question at the Ottawa Conference in 1933, where the implementation of preferential tariffs within the Empire was agreed and the 'experiment of trying to direct the flow of trade by persuasion instead of by the coercion of tariffs' was 'abandoned'.[93] The EMB's work was made redundant; the AA's interest in promoting the Empire markets waned, and the focus shifted instead to the markets of northern Europe.[94]

While only a minority of British advertising agencies had the resources to support advertising campaigns in imperial markets, the Empire formed a significant part of British national identity more broadly, especially in the late 1920s and 1930s. As such, is important to recognise it as part of the international context in which British advertising operated. Unlike the United States, used as a point of comparison by British advertising practitioners, when the Empire was discussed it was as an illustration of the power of advertising to uphold an ideal, or as an opportunity for commercial expansion. It is striking that organised advertising chose to hold international advertising conventions to coincide with the 1924 Empire Exhibition at Wembley and then again at the 1937 Empire Exhibition

[92] 'Empire Convention shaping for 1932', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 13 March 1931, p. 377.
[93] 'The end of an Experiment', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 15 June 1933, p. 311.
[94] 'Cruising Convention In July: Sessions to be Held in Four Northern Capitals – and at Sea', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 23 January 1936, p. 123.

at Glasgow. These exhibitions visually supported the idea that British culture was shared by people from across the globe. British advertising could represent itself as shaping the social values and consuming habits of a significant proportion of the world's population. While having an opinion on American advertising culture and technique was part of a professional identity in British advertising, the significance of the Empire for professional identity lay instead in the sense of importance and entitlement that it gave to British practitioners when they negotiated corporate relationships at an international level.

1951 International Advertising Convention

Coinciding with the Festival of Britain and marking the Silver Jubilee of the AA, the 1951 Convention was the third international convention arranged by organised advertising. It was also the first time that many of the 2,000 international delegates who attended had visited Great Britain since the end of the Second World War. As chapter 1 demonstrated, the AA drew on Cold War language of freedom and democracy at the 1951 Convention in order to present the British advertising industry as leading 'free world' in responding to the 'challenges of the times'.[95] The rhetoric of the Cold War allowed the British advertising industry to describe the purpose of advertising and the role of its practitioners in relation to the fraught international political context. Moreover, as chapter 3 explained, a focus on the international exchange of young people enabled organisers of the 1951 Convention to engage with ideas about the future of advertising. Moving beyond rhetoric, this chapter is concerned with what the 1951 Convention revealed about the changed relationship between the British industry and the international advertising community, and implications this has for how professional identity in 1951 is understood.

By 1951, the international landscape had changed considerably since Lawrence Weaver had predicted in 1924 the coming of the 'international advertising era'.[96] International networks developed during the interwar years were put on hold during the Second World War, since transatlantic travel was dangerous and Europe was a war zone. The British Empire was in decline; Indian independence in 1947 called for new relationships between Britain and its protectorates, colonies and dominions. The 1950s are commonly regarded as the start of affluence and renewed consumer culture in Britain, which was stimulated by

[95] 'Conference summing up', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 19 July 1951, p. 132.
[96] *Samson Clark Staff Gazette,* 29 February 1924.

American financial investment and advertising. However, while the American agencies Young & Rubicam and Foote Cone Belding set up operations in London to conduct work for US clients in 1945 and 1948 respectively, the second wave of American advertising agencies only started to arrive in Great Britain in the late 1950s, following the legalisation of commercial television in 1955 and the ending of exchange controls in 1958.[97] British agencies were also cautious about building international profiles in the immediate aftermath of war, since overseas travel was expensive and agency budgets were limited.[98] There were exceptions, however. Following the War, the London Press Exchange (LPE) established an international division, which formed the foundation for the subsidiary company, Intam (founded in 1948). This coordinated LPE's international advertising through a number of international offices and associate agencies.[99] Similarly, David Ogilvy drew on his experience of American advertising before the war to launch a branch office that was jointly sponsored by the British agencies Mather & Crowther and S. H. Benson.[100]

It is difficult to assess how these international operations affected the professional identity of staff as there is an absence of sources that describe impressions and experience. While David Ogilvy wrote *Confessions of an Advertising man* (1963), the book reads as a primer on how to write successful advertisements. Unrelentingly positive, it demonstrates American influence on advertising technique, but it does not offer insight into career trajectories, aspirations, or reflections on the experience of founding and running an international advertising agency. In contrast, the 1951 Convention was an opportunity for practitioners from around the world to gather, united in their common identity as advertising professionals. Moreover, since the 1951 Convention occurred before the arrival of the second wave of American advertising firms, it indicates British professional identity at a point just before the global take-overs and international mergers of the late 1950s and 1960s changed the advertising landscape. After this point, it is increasingly difficult to talk about professional identity in a national context.

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[97] In October 1958 Lambe & Robinson was bought out by the American agency Benton & Bowles and Hobson Bates & Partners was acquired by Ted Bates in 1959.

[98] Indeed, David Clayton estimates that it was not until 1954 that advertising expenditure returned to pre-war levels. David Clayton, 'Advertising expenditure in 1950s Britain', *Business History*, 52 (2010) pp. 651-665.

[99] Nixon, *Hard Sell*, p. 28.

[100] The office opened in September 1948 as Hewitt Ogilvy Benson & Mather, and was shortened to Ogilvy Benson Mather (OBM) in 1952 following the departure of the founding partner Anderson Hewitt. See ibid., p. 29; Roman, *King of Madison Avenue*, p. 84.

The confidence of the AA in British professional identity was particularly striking as it hosted members of the international advertising industry. Coinciding with the Festival of Britain, which was organised by the Labour Government to promote the British contribution to science, technology, industrial design, architecture and the arts, the 1951 Conference celebrated the contribution of British advertising to 'world peace and understanding'.[101] Unlike the 1924 Convention, which was a conference of the American-based AACW, the 1951 Convention was organised by the AA in conjunction with the Thirty Club (a nod to the Thirty Club's involvement in the 1924 Convention). The British Committee set the agenda. Although 'freedom', 'the free world' and 'democracy' resonated with the political climate in the United States – in 1951, the USA was in the midst of the 'Second Red Scare' and Senator Joseph McCarthy's prosecution of alleged communist sympathisers – these terms were also indigenously British. While in 1924, the relationship between Britain and the United States was explored explicitly in terms of teaching and learning from one another, in 1951 the AA set out to showcase the work of the British industry as an example of best practice. Constructive criticism was invited from all delegates:

> In recent years we in Britain have demonstrated to the world how economic difficulties may be overcome with the aid of efficient and worldwide marketing carried out with all the resources of modern publicity. We know there were faults in the selling methods used in some phases of the post-world export drive. Visitors from overseas may be able to spot-light a few of the failings of these campaigns, and any advice they offer will be welcomed as an invaluable guide to future planning.[102]

Rather than courting American friendship and advice in particular, the AA aimed to create alliances from around the 'free' world, through emphasising shared practices and common professional values. Social events surrounding the Conference that celebrated the international diversity of delegates enhanced this message. *Advertiser's Weekly* suggested that 'never was international friendship symbolised more successfully demonstraded than in the reception' that opened the Conference.[103] A focus on broader international, rather than specifically transatlantic, friendship was also evident in the youth exchange programme, where 120 practitioners aged 18-28 from nineteen different countries were

[101] 'Freedom Topics for the July Conference', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 8 Feb 1951.
[102] 'Stage is set for an historic occasion', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 5 July 1951, p. 10.
[103] 'Over 1,500 at the first reception', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 10 July 1951, p. 10.

invited to attend the Conference.[104] Sinclair Wood, who organised the 'Conference Youth Scheme', hoped that the scheme would lead to 'a real interchange of views about what is being done in advertising, what should be done and the purposes for which advertising should be used; and the organised interchange of ideas between young people in advertising in various countries, in the years to come'.[105]

The occasion of the AA's Silver Jubilee enhanced the impression of British confidence in professional identity. *Advertiser's Weekly* used the anniversary as an opportunity to explain to international delegates the structure of British advertising and the ways in which it operated, in order to present the achievements of the past 25 years. The international context, therefore, provided a chance for reflection on specifically British professional identity and the mechanisms that supported it. The link between professional identity and British organised advertising was made clear when *Advertiser's Weekly* suggested that in order for overseas visitors to 'comprehend the collective character of their hosts' it was necessary to understand the structures of organised advertising.[106] In particular, the piece sought to differentiate the British industry from its American counterpart, by emphasising that there was 'no federal organisation of advertising, no central body to which all associations connected with advertising are affiliated. Even the Advertising Association does not constitute such a body, although it is the nearest thing to it'.[107] Instead, *Advertiser's Weekly* compared organised advertising to the British constitution: 'It is one of those intangible things that everybody claims to understand but few venture to define. It is a force to be reckoned with, yet has no formal existence and no written rules.'[108] In doing so, *Advertiser's Weekly* presented British national identity as having had a fundamental effect on how professional identity in British advertising was understood and organised. The piece continued, alluding to the stereotypical British characteristic of reticence and aversion to centralised action:

> A valid criticism of organised advertising is that while its members are quite ready, as the International Conference proves, to talk collectively they are reluctant to embark

[104] 'Message from the patron, the Duke of Gloucester', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 5 July 1951, p. 3.
[105] Sinclair Wood, '600 Foster Parents are wanted for Youth Scheme Delegates to Ad Conference', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 4 January 1951, p. 5. For discussion about the relationship between youth and the future of the industry, see chapter 3, p. 140.
[106] 'Conference background', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 5 July 1951 p. 12.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

> on collective action, unless compelled to by force of circumstances. It is perhaps significant that there is nothing in this country equivalent to the Advertising Council, which has so successfully channelled the public spirit of the American advertising business in to service to the community.[109]

This statement specifically distinguished the British model from the America model, explaining to delegates that there were other, equally valid, ways of organising the advertising profession. Advertising firms wishing to establish offices in Britain would have to integrate into this particular national structure.

Despite the decentralised nature of power in British advertising, *Advertising's Weekly* was quick to point out British advertising's achievements. It suggested that 'the AA itself is an achievement; so it the Club movement'. The Audit Bureau of Circulations and the Advertising Appointments Bureau, which was run on a non-profit making basis by a number of associations, were listed as further examples of professional accomplishment. More specifically, *Advertiser's Weekly* stressed the effect of the British Code of Standards for Advertising of Medicines and Treatments in raising levels of 'truthfulness and integrity'.[110] By using the international context to reflect on past professional achievements and the shared history of the British advertising industry, *Advertiser's Weekly* invited British practitioners to take ownership of organised advertising's professional narrative and to feel proud to be part of a peculiarly British type of professional advertising identity.

The Silver Jubilee anniversary also gave the Convention an air of nostalgia. *Advertiser's Weekly* reported that

> About 80 who attended the Wembley Convention in 1924 – chairman Harold Vernon called them 'old boys' – were entertained by the chief organisers of the Conference … at lunch on Tuesday. Mr. Vernon recalled how he and 'Andy' Milne were in the 'sixth form' in 1924. 'Pat Bishop is the head prefect now' he said 'but many complain that he is too often seen in the Master's Common Room!' He paid tribute to Andy Milne, who had the bright idea of holding the luncheon. 'He is the man who did the work in 1924' said Mr. Vernon. Messages were read from Lou Holland and Gil Hodges who could not get over from USA.[111]

[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] 'Conference commentary', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 12 July 1951, p. 76.

The comraderie of the 'pioneers' of organised advertising is striking. This notice, which appeared as part of the trade press conference commentary, suggests once again the importance of common experience and collective endeavour in creating and sustaining the friendships that supported professional identity. This makes the aims and aspirations of the youth exchange programme at the 1951 Conference particularly poignant. The notice points to the lasting importance of the 1924 Convention as point of corporate memory, uniting men on both sides of the Atlantic. Moreover, the use of the school metaphor signals recognition of the passing of a generation. As this thesis has shown, Vernon, Milne and Holland were influential in forging mechanisms – in particular District 14 and the AACW – that supported and policed the professional standards of international advertising in the 1920s. While their influence had waned by 1951, the metaphor of the 'head boy' suggests that the new generation of practitioners were being schooled in the same core values. This underlines the importance and lasting effects of the work in the late 1920s that established professional institutions.

The 1951 International Conference was a pivotal moment in the history of professional identity in advertising. Looking forward, British practitioners used new language – 'education', 'freedom', and 'democracy' – that was informed by the international political relations of the Cold War, in order to combat new critics and win new customers, with new aspirations and incomes. Amidst the Cold War rhetoric, however, the Conference also addressed the staple topics of finding new markets for manufacturers and the stimulation of world trade. Moreover, the Silver Jubilee of the AA invited delegates to look backwards to mark the progress made since the 1924 Convention and to celebrate the achievement of the British industry. These achievements meant that, even in the absence of imperial rhetoric, in 1951 the British advertising industry was confident in presenting itself as leading advertising practice and setting the future agenda of the international industry. Acknowledging the timeless and common values shared by advertising practitioners around the world, in the closing ceremony delegates reaffirmed 'the principle of truth in advertising, proclaimed by the first International Advertising Conference at Wembley, in 1924'.[112]

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[112] 'Advertising Standards', *Times,* 14 July 1951, p. 4.

Commenting in 1935 on the development of advertising practice along national lines, Simmet observed that

> the technique of advertising has been changing very rapidly during post-War years. The success of certain methods in one country has been a temptation to the advertising man in another to copy them. It has not always followed that methods successful on other countries have also been successful here. Speaking generally, America and Germany have both developed an advertising technique of their own. Great Britain has also done so to a less extent.[113]

A consideration of the international setting in which the British advertising industry operated reveals the important influence of American ideas and practices on the formulation of British professional identity. Indeed, as Simmit suggests, the international arena led to awareness of other, multiple ways of doing advertising and being an advertising practitioner; some of which were more readily translatable than others. Travel through global markets meant that national boundaries began to break down and differences erode as ideas merged and were adapted, making it increasingly difficult to speak of uniquely 'British' professional practice. However, during the interwar years and immediately following the Second World War, at least, practitioners located themselves and their practices within particular national paradigms.

The international context of the British advertising industry is unique among national advertising industries. While other national industries, in particular the United States, exercised influence abroad, as an imperial power during the period 1920-1954, Britain's relationship with its overseas markets was different to that of other nations. Moreover, the Empire gave the British industry a heightened status on the international stage, giving leading representatives access to higher decision making processes, which shaped the nature of advertising at an international level. Through the rhetoric of Empire trade, which was thought to be both the key to economic recovery and a means of strengthening Empire, British practitioners justified their practice as service to the nation, as they sought to establish themselves as professionals. With the changed nature of Empire following the Second World War, the British industry used its past achievements as a basis for justifying its role in shaping the agenda of international advertising.

[113] Simmit, *Principles and Practice,* p.1.

Conclusion

> The aim of advertising is, in its narrowest sense, to inform the public, including those concerned with industrial and commercial operation, of available commodities, services and opportunities; in its boarder sense, to influence and control the behaviour and expenditure of the public. The professional work of planning and executing advertising campaigns is in the main carried out by Practitioners in Advertising, practicing in advertising agencies.
>
> *Ministry of Labour and National Service Career Guide* (1950) [1]

This career guide suggests that by 1950 advertising was recognised by the government as 'professional work', which was executed 'in the main' by advertising practitioners. While in 1920, advertising was produced by an array of agents, manufacturers, artists and publications, by 1950, it was understood specifically to be the products and services emanating from advertising agencies. The consolidation of occupational power by practitioners can be explained by the creation of advertising expertise, which was supported by the creation in the late 1920s of professional institutions with standards enforced by regulation, and crystallised in education syllabi and exams. The driving force behind these changes was the creation and adoption of professional identity by those working in advertising. The starting point of this thesis was that significant numbers of advertising practitioners first began presenting themselves as 'professionals' from around 1920. Its subject has been what the substance of professional identity in advertising and the manner of its construction reveal about both the process of professional identity formation, and the priorities and aspiration of the advertising industry.

A central argument has been that the professional identity of practitioners is strongly related to the purpose of the occupation as understood by society. In order to dignify their work, practitioners were persistent in presenting the social and economic benefits of advertising. As experts in communication, they were well placed to do this, and it seems that advertising practitioners spoke about their purpose more publicly and more frequently than other professionals. Chapter 1 interrogated the professional narrative of organised advertising: the stories that those in the institutions of advertising told to themselves and

[1] *Ministry of Labour and National Service Career Guide: opportunities in the profession and in business management* (London, 1950), pp. 12-13.

society about their purpose, abilities, and aspiration. Practitioners consistently placed their occupation in service to the nation, but analysis of the narrative suggests the industry's flexibility in responding to changing social, political and economic climates.

During the interwar years, leaders of organised advertising presented advertising as strengthening Empire through trade and assisting manufacturers to break into new markets, as a solution to the slump and the depression. Through advertising exhibitions, practitioners also emphasised the aesthetic merits of advertising, emphasising the function of advertising in Britain's emerging 'culture of democracy' in educating the masses in good taste.[2] The scientific language used by practitioners to describe the purpose of advertising is striking. Unlike the advertising of the nineteenth century, practitioners presented twentieth-century advertising as a sound financial investment that would return reliable results, through their use of scientific language that had connotations of precision, methodology, and expertise. Engagement with science was commonly used across the cultural sphere in Britain in the years around the First World War, as an emblem of 'being modern'. By describing their work in scientific metaphor, practitioners associated advertising with wider understanding of progress and the future, while aligning themselves with scientists, professionals with a long history of academic rigour and profitable discovery.

The industry was initially slow to adapt to the changed conditions of war. However, by 1942 the AA was assuring manufacturers that continuing to advertise their goods would retain consumer goodwill in the post-war era, while suggesting to customers that advertising guaranteed them quality goods and helpful consumer guidance. Following the War, the industry developed this narrative further by using Cold War rhetoric of 'freedom' and 'democracy' to present advertising as a means of defending consumer choice, though the provision of information. Advertising was presented as educational and instructional; but ultimately in a democratic society, consumer choice was free. Organised advertising argued that the economic value of advertising was its creation within consumers of a desire to earn, in order to partake in the benefits of affluence. Therefore, rather than 'selling' modernity, as Pamela Swett et al. suggest, organised advertising in Britain consistently

[2] D. L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford, 1988).

presented advertising as addressing existing contemporary issues, in order to reposition it within the changing status quo.[3]

While the professional purpose of an occupation is important in framing the value of work, and, is therefore, related to the social status of employees, it is through the behaviour of practitioners that the virtues and values that make up professional identity are understood. After convincing society of the social and economic power of advertising, the challenge faced by advertising men and women working in service agencies was to present *themselves* as practitioners responsible enough to create and control such advertising. Millerson argues that professions create images of their occupation in order to cement status, and 'image content is a complex of perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the educational attainments and background of professionals, their conditions of work, income, style of life'.[4] Chapter 1 explained how the IIPA's PPC sought to define the professional characteristics of advertising practitioners, which included honesty, integrity and a duty of service to clients. These characteristics were formulated with close reference to other professional occupations, demonstrating a desire on the part of organised advertising to seek out common ground with other recognised professions – including law, medicine, accountancy and architecture – in order to become part of 'professional society'. The byelaws of the IIPA enshrined the values of the Institute to ensure that the business practice of fellows met their standards of professionalism, while education syllabi aimed to instil best practice in new recruits. Indeed, it was partly because the bodies of British organised advertising convinced society of their members' ability to conduct advertising responsibly that the period from 1920 to 1954 saw very limited intervention into how consumer society was governed. It was not until 1959, within the new context of the politics of persuasion and commercial television, that the Advertising Inquiry Committee was set up.[5]

The advertising agency office was the most important location of professional identity formation, because it was where practitioners could be observed by colleagues and clients as acting as professionals. In the office environment practice was developed, standards created and regulations enforced; it was where the professional narratives of organised

[3] Pamela Swett, Jonathan Wiesen and Jonathan Zatlin (eds.), *Selling modernity: Advertising in twentieth century Germany* (Durham, N.C., 2007).
[4] Geoffrey Millerson, *Qualifying professions* (1964), p. 159.
[5] T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain* (1982), p. 197.

advertising were translated into everyday professional identity. A focus on particular agency offices reveals the interaction between particular corporate ideals and an overall professional identity in advertising. For instance, while W. S. Crawford and S. H. Benson emphasised creative methods, Samson Clark modelled his agency on stability and efficiency of earlier professions, and JWT presented its practice as based on scientific principles. This demonstrates the multiplicity of attributes within professional identity and practice in advertising, and the importance of the common core aims and standards that organised advertising sought to uphold. Moreover, unlike the bodies of organised advertising, which sought to present advertising as offering service in the public interest, the activities of advertising agencies were ultimately driven by profit.[6] Indeed, the need to return profit explains why service agencies overwhelmingly emphasised virtues of efficiency and reliability in the 1920s when, in the absence of professional controls, it was vital that clients trusted that an agent would remain solvent. The environment of the office supported practitioners in developing professional identity, through the incorporation of features of professionalism – including hierarchy, efficiency, punctuality and creativity – within the architecture, furnishing and layout of the agency building. Additionally the relationships that made up the office community helped to create and sustain professional identity.

The recruitment, training and education processes of organised advertising and advertising agencies shed light on how the advertising industry sought to create advertising professionals from scratch. As chapter 3 explained, career guidance and job advertisements suggest that agencies looked primarily for school leavers to be trained in the professional ideals of advertising, although, as an innovative industry in the sphere of economics and commerce, advertising also attracted a number of graduates, who were drawn to it because of its creative freedoms. 'Personality', although rarely defined, was understood to be particularly important for success in advertising, making it a significant element of professional identity. By recruiting staff with 'personality', advertising agencies sought to differentiate themselves from other office-based occupations, and industries that supported business. However, increasingly, it was necessary for personality to be accompanied by certified knowledge and expertise. Millerson argues that professional Qualifying Associations have largely prioritised education and the establishment of a morale and

[6] David Cooper and Keith Robson, 'Accounting, professions and regulation: locating the sites of professionalization', *Accounting, Organisations and Society*, 31 (2006), p. 415.

competent membership, over policing of standards, and this also was the case in advertising.[7] The requirement for technical practice within the IIPA syllabi suggests that advertising expertise was learnt by doing, rendering education in the office as important as the theories learnt in evening classes. Similar to law and accountancy, in order to become an associate member of the IIPA, practitioners had to demonstrate both a sound knowledge of advertising and its constituent parts as a whole, and specialist knowledge of a particular area, which was acquired through study and practice. Minutes of the AA's Education Committee, however, reveal members conflicted about the extent to which all-round education should be pursued, and struggling to strike a balance between testing general knowledge, and specific expertise. While it was important for practitioners to have an overview of the industry as a whole, professional claims rested on specialist knowledge. The overhaul of the AA syllabus after the Second World War suggests not only the rate at which advertising practice developed, but also the flexibility of professional identity in evolving to meet the needs of each new cohort of practitioners.

Professional qualifications enabled young people to be recognised as advertising practitioners. Adopting the professional identity that underpinned such qualifications offered youth a means of engaging with the agenda and future direction of the industry. It seems that advertising offered real opportunity for ambitious young people, who, at key moments, were portrayed as idealists and the future of the industry. The focus on youth at the 1951 Conference, for example, suggests that organised advertising took the views of young people who engaged with professionalism quite seriously.[8] Women too found that cultivating a professional demeanour helped to negate the perceived limitations of gender in the higher realms of the profession. While Stefan Schwarzkopf suggests that the advertising industry presented itself as a profession in the years from 1900 to 1939, in order to gain social and cultural capital and access to political influence, a focus on these two demographic groups reveals that individuals also adopted professional identity in order to wield power within the industry itself and to progress in their careers.[9] Professional identity, therefore, could be used to assert authority both within and beyond the advertising industry, and on an individual basis as well as at an institutional level.

[7] Geoffrey Millerson, *Qualifying professions* (1964), pp. 148, 159.
[8] 'Conference summing up', *Advertiser's Weekly,* 19 Jul. 1951, p. 132.
[9] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Respectable Persuaders: the advertising industry and British society, 1900-1939' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (2008), p. 2.

The presence of professional women in advertising, working in positions above administrative roles, made advertising distinct from other occupations claiming professional status. As chapter 4 demonstrated, despite advances in market research and copywriting techniques across the period, contemporary men and women consistently argued that women could achieve particular success in advertising due to the fact that '80%' of the consumers that advertising addressed were women.[10] Since advertising was in the private sector, wages broadly reflected results, meaning that, although women were not necessarily given the same opportunities as men, female practitioners did not suffer the same pay differential as women working in other sectors. Moreover, they were not subject to the marriage bar. Nevertheless, successful female practitioners were torn between emphasising difference, and the advantages that a uniquely 'woman's point of view' brought to advertising, and insisting on equality achieved solely through professional merit. As studies by Helen McCarthy, Jill Seddon and Nicola Verdon have shown, the dilemma faced by women over how best to integrate into occupations and have their work justly recognised by colleagues was not limited to the advertising industry.[11] Ultimately, the majority of female advertising practitioners tended towards using the woman's point of view to justify their work in advertising. However, by also presenting themselves as professional practitioners, women claimed common values and similar status to male colleagues.

The Women's Advertising Club of London, which admitted only women holding 'executive' positions in advertising, played an important role in supporting professional identity in women. Based on the model of British male social clubs, the Club enabled women to host, dine and debate; to act and be recognised as professionals. Moreover, the Club gave executive women access to the decision-making processes of the industry. The president of the Women's Club served on the Organising Committee of 1924 Convention and was given an automatic place on the Executive Council of the AA. Therefore, in

[10] For example, Page, *Careers for Girls* (1927) p. 14; 'Women as copywriters', *The Advertising World*, May 1932; Hughes, *Careers for our Daughters* (1946), p. 94; Chase, *Please yourself* (1949) p. 138; Margaret K. Havinden 'Advertising' (1951), p. 16; Heal, *Jeanne Heal's Book of Careers for Girls* (1955), p. 30.

[11] Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World* (2014); Jill Seddon, 'Mentioned, but denied significance: women designers and the 'professionalization' of design in Britain c. 1920-1951', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), pp. 426-47; Nicola Verdon, 'Business and Pleasure: middle-class women's work and the professionalization of farming in England, 1890 – 1939', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), pp. 393-415.

addition to the influence that members wielded in the firms where they held executive status, membership of the Women's Club enabled women, though their work on organised advertising's committees, to contribute to how professional identity in advertising was formulated. This underlines the importance of clubs more generally – the Thirty Club, the Regents Club, the Publicity Club for instance – in acting as a platform through which practitioners could engage with the professional ideals articulated by organised advertising, and develop them into meaningful professional identities.

The Women's Advertising Club of London gave members access to international networks of advertising practitioners, and patronage under which to travel. As a result, members had opportunity to see first-hand consumer culture and developments in advertising practice in the United States, Europe and the Empire. A central claim of this thesis has been that the international context in which the British industry operated was influential on the formation and articulation of professional identity in British advertising. Through their travel women contributed to the communication of foreign professional values and practices against which the British industry defined its own professional identity, as well as observations of markets ripe for expansion. Mary Nolan has demonstrated European interest in American business methods; advertising practitioners were not alone in looking to the United States with curiosity during this period.[12] This emphasises the international nature of the trade that the industry worked to support; advertising was an inherently global phenomenon. Therefore, it is unsurprising that, compared to other professional occupations that were isolated along national lines, advertising strove to further advertising practice at an international level.[13] While the Empire bolstered a British sense of superiority and entitlement at the international conference table, articles in text books, talks at clubs and travel reports in the trade press suggest that knowledge of advertising culture in the United States, in particular, was significant in providing a point of comparison for British professional practice. Moreover, the growing number of American advertising agencies in London brought British practice into competition with American techniques within the British market. Rather than regarding these developments as American cultural and

[12] Mary Nolan, *Visions of modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (Oxford, 1994).

[13] W. F. Chua and C. Poullaos, 'The Empire strikes back? An exploration of centre periphery interaction between the ICAEW and accounting associations in the self-governing colonies of Australia, Canada and South Africa, 1880-1907', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 27 (2002) pp. 409-45.

economic hegemony, however, they should be understood in terms of British negotiation with and contestation of a flourishing international culture of advertising practices.

Several overriding themes about the nature and formation of professional identity in advertising have emerged from this research. Particularly striking is the all-consuming nature of work in advertising, and the sheer quantity of time that practitioners dedicated to performing as professionals. The history of everyday life has largely been written in terms of private domestic sphere, as a means of incorporating women back into historical narratives, and as a way of exploring negotiation in democratic and totalitarian consumer societies.[14] However, for the men and women working in advertising, the vast majority of their everyday life was spent, not as husbands or wives, fathers or mothers, or consumers, but as professional practitioners. Memoirs, novels, and industry satire suggest that advertising practitioners worked long hours at the office, and that practitioners were also expected to attend the social events – which included annual dances and balls – of an agency's calendar. Equally, more senior members of staff were sometimes required to spend weeks at a time abroad on business trips, while, in the case of JWT and Samson Clark, junior members could be posted overseas for training and experience in foreign branch offices. Moreover, those who were keen to develop professional identity further attended club meetings, sat on club committees, and took part in club-led evening activities. There was also the AA's annual conference and convention to attend. For younger practitioners, evening classes and study awaited when working hours were finished; the Special Committee for Commercial Education noted, 'day-time release by employers on any worthwhile scale for commercial education does not take place'.[15]

Practitioners, therefore, spent a substantial amount of time practicing advertising, socialising with other practitioners in advertising, and studying advertising. As this thesis has argued, their identity as professionals influenced their conduct, outlook and aspirations both during and after the working day, as well as in and beyond the physical site of the workplace. However, this is not to say that all who worked in advertising cultivated

[14] John Brewer, 'Microhistory and the histories of everyday life,' *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 87-109; E. Rubin, 'The Order of Substitutes: Plastic Consumer Goods in the *Volkswirtschaft* and Everyday Domestic Life in the GDR', in D. F. Crew (ed.), *Consuming Germany in the Cold War* (Oxford, 2003); 87-119; E. Rubin, 'East German Plastics: Technology, Gender and Teleological Structures of Everyday Life', *German History* 25 (2007), pp. 596-624; Joe Moran, 'Queuing up in post-war Britain', *Twentieth Century British History* 16 (2005), pp. 283-305.

[15] Special Committee on Education for Commerce, *Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce* (1949), p. 14.

professional identity as a primary social identification. As chapter 2 explained, many creative staff eschewed professional identity, instead regarding advertising as a financial stopgap that may eventually enable them to pursue higher goals of writing literature or painting classically. Meanwhile chapter 3 demonstrated that the number of practitioners taking advertising examinations in the interwar years represented only a small proportion of those working in the industry (although this changed following the Second World War, due to broader changes in the structures of vocational education). While advertising did not officially operate a marriage bar, it seems that many of the young women working in junior positions did not view a career in advertising as compatible with marriage, and therefore did not consider it worthwhile to invest in becoming professional. It is important to acknowledge, therefore, that not all those working in advertising adopted professional identity, or sought to be recognised as professionals. This makes professional identity that was activity adopted by people a strong, conscious cultural identification.

Perhaps since practitioners spent so much time together, it is unsurprising that friendships and relationships with colleagues played a significant role in shaping and supporting professional identity. Chapter 1 observed how friendship featured in advertising's professional rhetoric: by the close of the 1924 Convention, the relationship between British and American advertising industries was expressed in terms of friendship and comradery, rather than as teaching and learning. Travel in the 1920s and 1930s cemented friendships and business contacts. Chapter 5 described how in the 1950s the AA organised youth exchange so that international friendship could continue. The office community was a focus of chapter 2. The chapter demonstrated how agency directors sought to cultivate friendship among staff through trips away and social events. However, it argued that staff were also united in the common gripes and gossip of everyday life. Crucially, it suggested that the office community created in the interwar years helped to sustain professional identity of practitioners during the Second World War and eased the transition to peace. Chapter 3 suggested the importance of the Regent's Club in supporting friendships as young people learnt advertising, while chapter 4 emphasised the role of the Women's Advertising Club in providing companionship for women as they forged a collective identity as executive practitioners. The importance of friendship in shaping the way that professional identity is understood is acknowledged by Catherine Clay, who, through their diaries, letters and correspondence, has mapped the changing ways that a group of British

women writers related to one another, from 1914 to 1945.[16] However, unlike the friendships that Clay traces, the friendships within advertising are difficult to follow due to lack of surviving source material. Yet, the persistent presence of friendship, albeit it often fleeting, both in rhetoric and in practical action, means that friendship's influence on professional identity formation in advertising should not be ignored.

A focus on the formation of professional identity in advertising provides a new perspective on the history of advertising. By regarding professional identity as something that was adopted by practitioners, that was lived and embodied rather than necessarily achieved, this thesis moves beyond studies that trace the development of particular advertising techniques and practice, or the industry's progress towards an imagined fixed professional status. Leah Armstrong argues that the design profession is 'in a constant state of becoming'.[17] In the years before the Second World War, the advertising industry institutionalised professional identity and set up mechanisms for regulation and vocational education. Professional identity was based on principles carefully drawn from other recognised professions – among them medicine, law and accountancy – in order to give advertising legitimacy and a connection with the past. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, professional identity was repeatedly reformulated and remodelled from these foundations to serve the contemporary social and economic climate. The continual arrival of new practitioners to advertising meant that at any given time professional identity was being built from scratch in individuals, as new people joined the occupation, and created new ways of being practitioners. Professional identity in advertising, an industry that was creative, commercial and increasingly influential, was deeply traditional, constantly evolving, and promised prestige and power to those who practiced it.

[16] Catherine Clay, *British Women Writers 1914-1945: professional work and friendship* (Aldershot, 2006).

[17] Leah Armstrong, 'Designing a profession: the structure, organisation and identity of the design profession in Britain, 1930-2010', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Brighton (2014), p. 289.

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