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BUSINESS ARCHIVES COUNCIL of SCOTLAND

CBH
THE CENTRE FOR BUSINESS HISTORY IN SCOTLAND

Business and Industrial History: *A Journal of Archival Research* is published by The University Court of the University of Glasgow acting through the Centre for Business History in Scotland with support from the Business Archives Council of Scotland.

This journal was relaunched in 2024 and is the direct successor to *Scottish Business and Industrial History*, which dates back to 1977. Our journal is for archivists and historians to share and develop knowledge and awareness of business and industrial history and archives both in Scotland and internationally. The journal welcomes submissions from both archivists and historians on all aspects of business and industrial history and related archives. The new journal will offer a space in which archive professionals, academics and other researchers can enter into a dialogue and learn from their respective practices and research.

We welcome a range of papers in different formats and word lengths including articles, reviews, case studies, collections in focus pieces and reflections. Articles will typically be between 5,000-8,000 words but other pieces will be shorter. To discuss a potential submission, please email the editorial board through either Kiara.King@glasgow.ac.uk or Christopher.Miller@glasgow.ac.uk. For more information on submission requirements, visit https://journals.gla.ac.uk/bih/about/submissions.

The Business Archives Council of Scotland

The Business Archives Council of Scotland was established in 1960 as an independent voluntary archive body concerned with the active preservation of the records of Scottish business and industry. It has published a journal on Scottish business and industrial history since 1977 and supports the essay prizes for this journal.

Today it operates as an active network of archivists, academics and businesses to connect all those with an interest in Scottish business archives & history. It holds an annual conference, a summer AGM event, online webinars and provides a biannual newsletter for members. Membership of the Council is open to all individuals, institutions and businesses interested in its aims. A printed copy of the journal is provided as part of the annual subscription to the Business Archives Council of Scotland. Further details about joining are available on our website.[1]

The Centre for Business History in Scotland

The Centre for Business History in Scotland (CBHS), was inaugurated in 1987 through funding from the Lind Foundation. The Centre builds upon a long tradition of pioneering research in business history dating back to the 1950s by Professor Sydney Checkland and by Professors Peter Payne and Tony Slaven who were successively Colquhoun Lecturers in Business History. Professor Slaven was the Centre's first director until 2005, succeeded by Professor Ray Stokes to 2024. The current director is Professor Neil Rollings.

The prime objective of the Centre is to encourage, facilitate and conduct research in all aspects of business history. The research interests of the Centre and its members are both Scottish and international in scope, and it plays a part in the development of the discipline over a broad front. It does so by hosting a programme of seminars and conferences; by conducting research projects and encouraging individual scholarship; by supervision of research students; and by active participation in professional bodies at both national and international levels.

[1] https://busarchscot.org.uk/

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Editorial

Whisky Business: Regulating and Recording the Whisky Industry

It is fitting that the launch of *Business and Industrial History*, which started out as *Scottish Industrial History* (1977-2010) and then continued as *Scottish Business and Industrial History* (2011-23), as an open access platform, should have as its subject one of Scotland's most enduring and both materially and symbolically significant industries; that of Scotch whisky. In its almost 50-year history, the journal has published historical research by professional historians, archivists and independent scholars, covering a wide range of topics on Scotland's business and industrial past into all periods and facets of Scotland's industrial and commercial past. The revival of the journal is also an appropriate tribute to and legacy of the work of two much-missed stalwarts, Professor Michael Moss (1947-2021) and Lesley Richmond (1956-2022), who did so much to preserve Scotland's industrial heritage and history, through their respective roles at the Archives and Records Association, Business Archives Council, Business Archives Council of Scotland and the University of Glasgow.

Scottish Business and Industrial History is intended to be a journal which serves as a space for archivists and historians to share and develop knowledge in the field in Scotland and globally. This commitment is reflected in the editorial board of archivists (Chris Cassells, Kiara King and Alison Turton) and business and industrial historians (Niall MacKenzie, Christopher Miller, Andrew Perchard and Zoi Pittaki) and number of members involved in various institutions that have been closely associated with the preservation of business and industrial history and industrial records and heritage, namely the Ballast Trust, the Business Archives Council of Scotland (BACS), the Centre for Business History in Scotland (CBHS; University of Glasgow) and the University of Strathclyde (formerly the home of the largest concentration of industrial historians who contributed significantly to the development of industrial history in Scotland). BACS and CBHS continue to support the journal's essay prizes each year (see page 10 for more details).

Whisky Business

The call for contributions to a themed issue of the journal follows from the 200th anniversary of the Excise Act 1823, which profoundly altered the shape and ownership of Scotch whisky. The industry has been transformed since then through waves of agglomerations and mergers and acquisitions.[1] Such was the concentration of ownership, and the particular dominance by one firm, Distillers Company Ltd (DCL), that *The Economist* would refer in 1957 to a 'tartan curtain shrouding the affairs of Distillers', carrying with it the whiff of cartelisation.

In 1981, Michael Moss, along with John Hume, another leading industrial historian of Scotland, published *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, which was to prove highly influential not only as a reference point for researchers and archivists but for the industry as a whole.[2] As Iain Russell notes in this issue's first article, the book would prove important to the development and enhancing of the evolving market for single malts. Up until this point, the bulk of the export market in Scotch whisky, which by 1976 sold to 190 countries and accounted for 34.5 per cent of the global market share in whisky sales, was in blended whisky. Crucially, for a heavily indebted post-war Britain, much of that export market was to the US offering valuable dollar exchange, with Scotch whisky accounting for around 30 per cent of the value of UK exports by 1964. The following year, export sales of Scotch were valued at £513 million (a little over £4 billion at 2023 real prices). However, the industry was facing a crisis with declining sales in North America, and with significant overproduction and with the need for fresh thinking. It would take outsiders coming into the industry to refresh existing capability in the industry to inject some renewal into it, building on the few existing single malts, to produce the Classic Malts range.[3] However, that rebranding drew on longstanding within the industry. A key element of that rebranding and the symbolic revival of the

[1] Michael S. Moss and John R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry* (Edinburgh: James & James, 1981); Ronald B. Weir, 'Managing Decline: Brands and Marketing in Two Mergers, the "Big Amalgamation" 1925 and Guinness-DCL 1986', in Geoffrey G. Jones and Nicholas J. Morgan (eds), *Adding Value: Brands and Marketing in Food and Drink* (London: Routledge, 1994); Ronald B. Weir, *The History of the Distillers Company, 1877-1939: Diversification and Growth in Whisky and Chemicals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
[2] Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*.
[3] Niall G. MacKenzie, Andrew Perchard, David J. Mackay and George Burt, 'Unlocking Dynamic Capabilities in the Scotch Whisky Industry, 1945-present', *Business History* (2024) 66:5, pp.1082-102.

fortunes of Scotch whisky, and of its sustainability, was reliant on industry and firm-level knowledge and appreciating the value of heritage and archives for marketing and other public relations purposes. In 1990, United Distillers Ltd created their archive (now the Diageo Archive) as a repository for the industry.

Scotch whisky has also created a historiographical business, some of it for whisky aficionados and others interested in the lessons that it can offer in the study of business, which has seen a renewed appetite in recent years. The first has seen the publication of longstanding whisky industry historian, and former head of whisky outreach at Diageo, Nicholas Morgan's history of Johnnie Walker, as well as a range of other specialised works.[4] The latter study has attracted studies of the Scotch whisky industry to explore such subjects as accounting, business-government relations and corporate political activity, entrepreneurship, internationalisation, marketing, philanthropy, technology transfer and strategy.[5] This work has all drawn on a wealth of company and government archives, as well as parliamentary records, historical newspaper databases and artefacts, in Scotland and beyond, carefully catalogued and maintained by archivists.

The papers included in this special issue add to that growing wealth of understanding of the development of the Scotch whisky industry through its collections. We have contributions which explore the early history of scotch whisky advertising (McCormack); the debate on the 'oldest' distillery (Russell), and the impact of the Excise Act on distilling in Ireland (Connolly). These sit alongside contributions from

[4] Nicholas Morgan, *A Long Stride: The Story of the World's No.1 Whisky* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2020).
[5] Julie Bower, 'Scotch whisky: History, heritage and the Stock Cycle', *Beverages,* 2:2, pp.1-14; Julie Bower, 'Accounting History of the Scotch Whisky Industry' in Martin Quinn and João Oliviera (eds), *Accounting for Alcohol: An Accounting History of Brewing, Distilling and Viniculture* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp.139-56; Niall G. MacKenzie, Jillian Gordon and Martin Gannon, 'A Spirit of Generosity: Philanthropy in the Scotch Whisky Industry', *Business History Review* (2019) 93:3, pp.529-52; Perchard and MacKenzie, 'Behind the "Tartan Curtain"'; Alison J. Gibb and Niall G. MacKenzie, 'From Scotland with Love: The Creation of the Japanese Whisky Industry, 1918-1979' in Mandy L. Cooper and Andrew Popp (eds), *The Business of Emotions in Modern History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp.143-58; MacKenzie et al., 'Unlocking Dynamic capabilities'; Julie Bower and David M. Higgins (eds), 'Litigation and Lobbying in Support of the Marque: The Scotch Whisky Association, c.1945-c.1990', *Enterprise and Society* (2023) 24:1, pp.286-316; Julie Bower and David M. Higgins, 'Working Behind the Scenes: The Scotch Whisky Association and the US Liquor Market, c1950-c1970', *Business History* (2024), Online First. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2024.2401395.

archivists sharing their perspectives of the vital work of creating, curating and cataloguing collections in different contexts, from the Glen Mhor (Julier) to Macallan (Chorley) and Whyte & Mackay (Roper-Caldbeck & McDonald). Together they show the symbiosis of researching and writing the histories of businesses and industries on the one hand, with the practice of business archival curation on the other. In short, and beyond their individual contributions, they reflect this journal's aims perfectly, and offer a solid foundation for the next phase of *Business and Industrial History*.

Future plans

The editors are excited to develop *Business and Industrial History: A Journal of Archival Research* as a forum for analysis at the intersection of archival practice and academic research in business and industrial history.

It is the intention of the editors to publish *Business and Industrial History* annually, with our next issue planned for publication in Spring 2026. We invite articles from archivists and historians in the UK and internationally and submissions are particularly encouraged from PhD students and early career archivists and researchers. Two essay prizes will be available annually to encourage new writing and the sharing of knowledge on any aspect of business and industrial history that uses archival resources.

A formal call for papers will be circulated in May 2025 with a submission deadline of September 2025.

The Editorial Board (*Chris Cassells, Kiara King, Niall MacKenzie, Christopher Miller, Andrew Perchard, Zoi Pittaki, Alison Turton*)

Essay Prizes in Memory of Michael Moss and Lesley Richmond

Two prizes, each of £300, will be awarded annually in memory of Michael Moss and Lesley Richmond. Both Lesley and Michael were former Convenors of the Business Archives Council of Scotland and great supporters of this journal and business archives and history in Scotland and internationally.

Michael Moss

Professor Michael Stanley Moss (1947–2021), began his archival career in Scotland in 1970 as Registrar of the Western Survey of the National Register of Archives (Scotland) at the University of Glasgow. His job was to locate, list and rescue historical records held by country houses, businesses, institutions, charities and individuals across the West of Scotland and ensure that important collections of archives were preserved.

During the next 30 years during his time as University Archivist from 1974 to 2001 he was to create in Glasgow one of the UK's largest collections of business archives. As an academic Michael wrote extensively on archival science alongside business and industrial history, producing with John R. Hume in 1981 the definitive history of Scotch whisky. Obituaries for Michael were published in *Archives*, *Archives and Records* and the *Mariner's Mirror* as well as our journal *Scottish Business and Industrial History*.

Lesley Richmond

Lesley Marion Richmond (1956-2022) was a remarkable figure in the field of business archives, both in the United Kingdom and internationally. Her career as an Archivist began in business archives with roles as a research assistant in 1978 and as the second Business Archives Surveying Officer for Scotland in 1979.

Lesley's belief in the importance of business archives, their societal significance and research potential was evident throughout her career in subsequent roles with the Business Archives Council, Chubb & Son and for more than thirty years at the

University of Glasgow where she ensured the continued development of the Scottish Business Archive and support for the Surveying Officer role until her retirement in 2017. Obituaries for Lesley were published in *Archives and Records, Scottish Archives* and the *Mariner's Mirror* as well as our journal *Scottish Business and Industrial History*.

Essay Prizes

The Moss and Richmond essay prizes are aimed at archivists, postgraduate students and early career researchers.

Entries may explore any aspect of business and industrial history that uses archival resources or reflects archival practice within the context of corporate archives and those collecting repositories with business collections. We welcome essays developed from postgraduate work (e.g. master's

dissertation or chapter of PhD), professional practice or a piece of original research. Submissions should consist of between 3,500 and 7,000 words. Entries should follow the format specified in our submission requirements on page 160.

The winning entry will be awarded a prize of £300 and, subject to peer review, will be eligible for publication in *Business and Industrial History*. A call for essays will be issued in May annually and the deadline for submissions will be October of that year.

Scotland's Oldest? Some Examples of the Use and Misuse of Archives in the Writing of Scotch Whisky History[1]

Iain Russell, Independent Historian

Introduction

Marketers have appreciated the value of business archives and related historical documents for decades, as sources of inspiration for storytelling and establishing the 'authenticity' of their brands. As with all sources, however, the information contained in corporate and other archive collections is open to misinterpretation and can be misleading when presented out of historical context. The problem is particularly acute when the records are interpreted by copywriters and staff at creative agencies with limited historical knowledge of the subject and periods concerned, and who have the prime objective of promoting a particular brand or company.

Misleading claims can become common currency and impede understanding of historical events. For example Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon is often described in academic as well as popular histories as playing a leading role in the reform of the UK's distillery laws, making a landmark speech in the House of Lords about 1820 which proved highly influential in the shaping of the Illicit Distillation (Scotland) Act in 1822 and the Excise Act in 1823.[2] Yet there is no record of this speech in Hansard nor in the newspapers of the day. The source of the information appears to be The Glenlivet's brand story. It rests entirely on a creative interpretation of remarks made by one of his tenants, George Smith – none of which refer to a speech in the House of Lords. The

[1] An earlier version of this paper was published online by the Edinburgh Whisky Academy, 31 January 2024.

[2] See for example Ross Wilson, *Scotch Made Easy* (London: Hutchinson, London, 1959), p.241; Michael Moss and John Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky* (Edinburgh: James & James, 1981), p.70; Philip Morrice, *The Schweppes Guide to Scotch* (Sherborne: Alphabooks, 1983), p.50; Charles Maclean, *Scotch Whisky: A Liquid History* (London: Cassell, 2003), p.80; F. Paul Pacult, *A Double Scotch: How Chivas Regal and The Glenlivet Became Global Icons* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2005); and Chris Brousseau, *The Story of The Glenlivet* (Dumbarton: privately published for Chivas Brothers, 2003), p.49.

Duke's central role in inspiring legislation which had a dramatic effect on Scotland's economic development appears to be fictitious.[3]

The Duke of Gordon myth is just one of many examples of the ways in which the history of Scotch whisky is sometimes distorted by misinterpretations of historical sources. The origins of some of the various claims to be Scotland's oldest distillery provides other case studies of the ways in which 'facts' are often extracted from archives and interpreted in such ways as to create an unreliable narrative of events or trends in the history of one of Scotland's most important industries.

Why Age Matters to Marketers

The whisky industry's fascination with the 'oldest' claim derives in large part to the business objective to establish a unique selling proposition (USP) for a brand or product in an increasingly mature and crowded market. 'Oldest' status is believed by many marketers to set a business apart from its competitors, offering proof of its rich heritage and its status as a market leader.[4] However, unlike other absolute superlative claims – the smallest (distillery), the tallest (stills), the peatiest (whisky), the most northerly or westerly, etc. – the verification of a distillery's claim to be the 'oldest' can only be achieved through historical research. Fortunately, for nearly 40 years, many companies have invested significant sums in establishing archives and commissioning historians and others to investigate the histories of their brands. So why does so much confusion exist?

[3] *London Scotsman*, 19 September 1868, p.6. However, references to the phantom speech and the Duke's alleged significant influence on the drafting of the legislation had become an integral part of The Glenlivet's brand story by the 1920s – see for example Aeneas Macdonald, *Whisky* (Edinburgh: Berlinn, 2016, originally published by The Porpoise Press, 1930), p.42. The story was consistently presented to the public in brand advertising thereafter – see for example 'The Glen of Whisky' feature in the *Weekly Scotsman*, 23 March 1967, p.19.

[4] T. Baumert and M.D.L.M. de Obesso, 'Brand Antiquity and Value Perception: Are Customers Willing to Pay Higher Prices for Older Brands?' (2021) 123, *Journal of Business Research*, pp.241-54; F. Pecot, A. Merchant and V. de Barnier, 'Why and When is Older Better? The Role of Brand Heritage and of the Product Category in the Evaluation of Brand Longevity' (2022) 140, *Journal of Business Research*, pp.533-45.

The Moss and Hume Effect

The publication of Michael Moss' and John Hume's groundbreaking history *The Making of Scotch Whisky* in 1981 had a profound long-term effect on the marketing of single malt whiskies. The book appeared just as single malt was taking off as a premium sub-category of Scotch whisky, in a market that had been dominated for decades by blended Scotch brands such as Dewar's, Bell's and Johnnie Walker. Marketers had begun exploring ways to emphasise not only the difference and 'superiority' of single malts over other types of whisky, but also to identify a USP which would provide the consumer with a memorable reason to choose a particular brand over those of competitors.

Moss and Hume demonstrated that research in the archives of distilleries themselves, and others kept by landowners and local authorities in the areas in which the distilleries were located and by government agencies which regulated and taxed their owners, could uncover a wide range of compelling, authentic stories about each individual distillery and the people who have lived and worked there. The industry took note.

Since the early 1990s, dedicated company archives employing archivists and brand heritage specialists have been set up by Diageo, Chivas Brothers, John Dewar & Sons, William Grant & Sons, The Macallan Distillers and The Glenmorangie Company. Other companies including Whyte & Mackay, Suntory and Highland Distillers have deposited their historical records with Glasgow University Archives for safekeeping, with arrangements for company marketers and creative agencies to visit and carry out research.[5] These archives have proved indispensable for researchers working on published histories of the whisky industry as well as individual distilleries such as Laphroaig and Ardbeg.[6] They have also provided a goldmine of inspiration for the in-house teams and specialist agencies which have created marketing strategies and

[5] 'Whisky Industry: Sources', University of Glasgow Archive Services, <www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_60319_smxx.pdf> accessed 3 December 2024.
[6] Marcel van Gils and Hans Offringa, *The Legend of Laphroaig* (Odijk: Still Publishing, 2007); Gavin Smith and Graeme Wallace, *Ardbeg: A Peaty Provenance* (Thatcham: G.W. Publishing, 2008).

advertising campaigns for brands such as The Glenlivet, Cardhu, Ardbeg, Highland Park and so many others in the recent past.

However, a growing appreciation of the value of archives as a source and inspiration for authentic brand stories has not always been accompanied by an understanding of the historical context of the evidence uncovered. This has resulted in the perpetuation of many myths which have muddied popular understanding of the history of Scotch whisky. One striking example is in the profusion of distilleries claiming to be in some way the 'oldest' in Scotland.

The Glenlivet and Royal Brackla

Some assertions of 'first-hood' in the industry are iron-clad, based on easily verified evidence. For example, surviving records of the Scottish Excise Board and among the Duke of Gordon's estate papers confirm that in 1824 George Smith was indeed the first to acquire a distillery licence in Glenlivet [but not in Scotland, as was widely reported in the 1990s!].[7] Newspaper reports and advertisements of the day indicate that Captain William Fraser of Brackla was the first distiller to obtain a Royal Warrant for his whisky, in 1833.[8]

Sadly, other claims are not nearly so clear cut.

The Glenturret

The Glenturret is one of the most assertive claimants, declaring unequivocally on the brand website that it is 'Scotland's oldest working distillery'. To the credit of the owners,

[7] National Records of Scotland [NRS], Gordon Castle Muniments, CR6/18 Glenlivet Estate Office letterbooks, 10 November 1824: '[George Smith] told me today that he had the intention of going to Elgin this week to obtain the requisite licence.' NRS, CE 2/43, Scottish Excise Board, minute book, 25 January 1825: John Anderson, Collector of the Elgin Collection, informs the Scottish Excise Board in that the Drumin Distillery is 'about to commence'.
[8] *Inverness Courier*, 4 September 1833, p.3: 'We are glad to understand that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow Captain Fraser of Brackla Hall to use the Royal Arms on every thing connected with his distillery. Owing to the fine quality of the spirit made at that work. This is the only instance in the Kingdom of a distiller being permitted to use this privilege.' The announcement appeared in many other newspapers in Britain and Ireland, and advertisements for 'Royal Brackla' subsequently referred to it as 'The King's Own Whisky'.

they commissioned a research project to establish the evidence for this bold statement and have shared some of its findings on their website. The investigation discovered a document in the Ochtertyre estate papers from 1763 referring to a distillery recorded with the name 'Thurot'. According to the website, 'Thurot is the earliest known name for The Glenturret'.[9] Yet the document records that the no rent was paid for this distillery in 1763 as it had 'been waste for several years.' Not only was it silent by 1763, but no record has been found to indicate it started up again under that name or any other. Is there evidence to suggest that today's The Glenturret was subsequently built on the site, or is in some other way the direct descendant of the Thurot Distillery?

No one has yet been able to establish the precise location of Thurot Distillery on the extensive Ochtertyre estate in Perthshire. Many distilleries had opened there by the 1820s, including Hill of Burn, Hosh, Hosh Mill, the first Glenturret and Turret Bridge. None has any known links with the eighteenth century Thurot Distillery, other than that they were all located in various places on the same estate. In addition, Turrit – presumably another spelling of the placename Thurot – was in the 1790s recorded in the estate records in a different part of Ochtertyre from Hosh.[10] Which begs the question – what are the verifiable origins of today's The Glenturret?

The Glenturret stands on the site of the old Hosh Distillery (its name was changed to Glenturret in or shortly after 1873, after the closure of another distillery of that name, which had been founded in or about 1814). In 1887 the journalist Alfred Barnard gave the foundation date of Glenturret as 1775, presumably based on a conversation when he visited Hosh more than a hundred years later, but if there is evidence to support this legend it has not been published. Hosh Distillery only appears in the Scottish Excise Board records from 1816. It had a chequered history and closed several times over the years, most recently in 1923: the stills and other equipment appear to have been removed in the 1930s and one of the buildings was subsequently repurposed as a

[9] The Glenturret website at <https://theglenturret.com/pages/about-us> accessed 3 December 2024. A copy of the relevant page from a document 'Rentall of the Barony of Ochtertyre … Crop 1763' is displayed on the brand website. The original document is held in the National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS21120/15. In subsequent rental documents, Hosh is recorded with the properties on the Calander Estate and 'Thurot'/'Thurit' (Turret?) on the Ochtertyre and Monnivaid Estate: see MS21120/50-53.

[10] NLS MS21120/15, 23, 50, 52 and 53.

mushroom farm. In the late 1950s, businessman Andrew Fairlie refurbished and re-equipped the old buildings, reopening a distillery on the site and resurrecting the Glenturret name.

Littlemill

The Littlemill Distillery closed in 1994 and was subsequently demolished. Nevertheless, the brand owners have continued to release vintage bottlings to appeal to connoisseurs and collectors. They proclaim that Littlemill is 'Scotland's first and oldest licensed whisky distillery' with a foundation date of 1772.[11] As with Glenturret, some of the documentary evidence gathered to support the claim has been shared on the brand website. And just as in the case of the Perthshire distillery, the published facts do not back up the brand story.

The first of the claims is easily disposed of. Littlemill cannot be Scotland's oldest distillery – it burned down in 2004 and no longer exists. Nor can it ever have been Scotland's oldest, even if it had been founded in 1772 – many of Scotland's 'lost' distilleries were founded before that year, including those at Kilbagie, Gilcomston, and, from at least the 1690s, on the Ferintosh estate in Easter Ross. Meanwhile, the historical documents that have been uncovered by the company's researchers appear, perversely, to contradict the second part of the claim, that Littlemill was Scotland's 'oldest licensed distillery.'

Their key evidence was found in the minutes of the Dumbarton Justice of the Peace Court, referring to licences granted in 1773 to 'Robert Muir of Little Miln' and others. However, distillers' licences were granted by the Scottish Excise Board, under government legislation of 1784 and 1786. Justices of the Peace were responsible, rather, for the licensing of local inns, shops and other outlets to sell beer, spirits and other alcoholic beverages. Like many of the men named on the Justices of the Peace's list of licensees in 1773, Muir's occupation is given in the minutes as 'change keeper', not as a distiller. Change houses were establishments which provided travellers with facilities

[11] <www.littlemilldistillery.com/pages/history> accessed 3 December 2024.

for rest and refreshment, as well as a change of horses to enable them to continue their journeys. It is apparent that Muir was not granted a licence to distil whisky on his premises at Littlemill but (in the words of the document) to 'retail Ale, Beer and other excisable Liquors' as a licensee in what we still call 'licensed premises' today.

While a building at Littlemill is said to have exhibited a datestone for 1772, it is likely to have been one of the old mill buildings which stood on the site. The location of an Excise office nearby would be consistent with the role of the Excise in stationing officers in industrial areas to collect duties on goods manufactured by local businessmen such as cotton printers. Like Glenturret, Littlemill has a proud and eventful history which can be traced back in the Excise records to 1816. However, no historical evidence has been published to indicate it was either Scotland's first or its oldest licensed distillery.

Bowmore

Bowmore, reputedly founded in 1779, has long been described by its owners as the oldest distillery on Islay.[12] It might be touted as the titleholder for all of Scotland if the claims of Glenturret were to be found wanting. Yet no contemporary documentary or any other evidence from the eighteenth century has yet been published to indicate there was a distillery in Bowmore from that date. The man said to have founded the distillery, David Simson, does not appear in the lists of rentals in Bowmore in the 1770s and 1780s, although he appears in the 1798 records as the tenant of 'McCuaig's Acres' in the town. There is another tenant called Simson listed in Bowmore in 1778: but Miss Lily Simson occupied a public house, not a distillery.[13]

[12]The claim has been made for more than a century, although without substantiation: the earliest reference I can find is in the *Oban Times*, 11 December 1909. It has been accepted in various histories of Islay including Margaret Storrie, *Islay: Biography of an Island*, second edition (Islay: The Oa Press, 1997), p.196, and Neil Wilson, *Scotch and Water: An Illustrated Guide to the Hebridean Malt Whisky Distilleries*, second edition (Colonsay: Lochar Publishing, 1985), p.69. The words 'Estd 1779' has appeared on Bowmore bottle labels for many decades. See also the brand website <https://bowmore.com/en/our-history> accessed 3 December 2024.

[13]Freda Ramsay (ed.), *Day Book of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, 1767: With Relevant Papers Concerning the Estate of Islay* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), p.212.

A distillery at Bowmore is listed in the Excise records in 1816 (the owner is not identified) and the Scottish Excise Board minutes in January 1824 recorded that John Johnston's distillery was 'about to commence' in Bowmore. Bowmore's supposed foundation date of 1779 remains apparently undocumented and unproven.

Strathisla

Strathisla's claim to be 'the oldest working distillery in the Highlands' would be contradicted by The Glenturret's story if the latter were accurate, as both distilleries are in the Highland whisky region. But while The Glenturret has not been able to establish its eighteenth-century credentials, Strathisla's claim is a convincing one. A charter from 1785, held in the National Records of Scotland, relates to a tack (lease) of land for a distillery at Milton in Keith, Banffshire, to Alexander Milne of Chapelton and George Taylor, merchant in Keith. Recently, a researcher discovered a set of accounts held in the University of Aberdeen's Special Collections, which contains a detailed record of the building costs incurred by George Taylor 'for the distillery at Milntown' during 1786, and for sending out the first consignments of whisky at the start of the following year.[14] Like most of the old-established Scottish distilleries Milton had a chequered history. It fell silent during hard times on several occasions over the centuries before its acquisition by Chivas Brothers in 1950 and its renaming as Strathisla. The distillery still occupies the site on which it was built in 1786.

As no reliable evidence has been presented to support claims that Glenturret was founded at some time before 1763, Littlemill in 1772 and Bowmore in 1779, should the title of Scotland's oldest distillery belong instead to Strathisla?

Conclusion

Inevitably, there are some jokers in the 'oldest' pack. Today, Glen Garioch's owners claim only that it was founded by John Manson in Oldmeldrum in Aberdeenshire in

[14] NRS, GD1/1001, Tack to Keith Distillery Company, 7 March 1789. Aberdeen University Library, AUL, MS3175, 'Account of Expenses Laid Out for Distillery at Milltown, November 13 1787'.

1797. However, T. Simpson advertised in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* in December 1785 that he would begin selling whisky from his distillery in the town that month; an entry in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* in 1794 mentions a single distillery in the town, and in 1799 two distillers – John Manson and Thomas Simpson – are recorded as working there. The subsequent story of the distillery is tortuous, and the evidence is far from conclusive, but there is a (slim) possibility that Thomas Simpson may have founded what is now Glen Garioch in 1785.

Meanwhile, a still, worm and stand were listed in an inventory of the possessions of the one of the tenants of Lagavulin on Islay in the early 1780s.[15] Is this evidence that today's distillery may have been founded much earlier than 1816, the date celebrated by its owners today? Or simply of 'private distilling', legally or otherwise, which was once common all over Scotland?

As with all claims regarding the story of Scotch whisky and of individual distilleries, historians must rely on the available primary sources. Whisky industry corporate communications and advertising are designed primarily to sell a particular brand or product and should be treated with caution. Today, Strathisla certainly appears to have the strongest case to be identified as Scotland's oldest distillery. However, no one can predict what records and game-changing information might come to light in the future, shedding more light on the early history of the distilling industry in Scotland. The role of archivists in facilitating further research into the authentic history of Scotland's whisky distilleries, companies and brands, is crucial.

[15] Glasgow City Archives, TD1284/5/1/1, Inventory of Duncan Campbell… 1 June 1784.

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The Impact and Consequences of the Excise Act 1823 on Distilling in Ireland[1]

Michael Connolly, Central Statistics Office, Ireland

This paper considers the impact of the Excise Act 1823[2] on the development of the Irish whiskey industry. A feature of early nineteenth century Ireland, and to a lesser extent Scotland, was the high incidence of illicit distilling. The Act aimed at encouraging compliance amongst these 'men of little capital' and instead set up small distilleries. In doing this it incorporated the existing regime for still licensing in Scotland and the recently introduced duty free storage in Crown warehouses already in Ireland. This resulted in the transformation of the industry in both Ireland and Scotland. Ultimately the industry was more successful in Scotland than in Ireland and the divergent paths followed over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are discussed.

Introduction

In 1801 the Act of Union brought Ireland into an economic and political union with the rest of Great Britain, until then it was a separate kingdom in Great Britain ruled by the same monarch. However, for the distilling industry in Ireland it wasn't until the Excise Act 1823 was introduced that steps began to be taken towards a single regulatory regime for distilling activities in Ireland and Scotland. In this paper the long-term impact of the Act is examined in successive decades right up to the early twentieth century. I have looked again at the data related to the whiskey industry in Ireland and the parallel developments in Scotland for explanations. Societal developments, population trends, trade and critically taxation and storage of whiskey are separately analysed for answers as to why the industry in Ireland failed. How the Act informed and influenced successive legislation governing the industry over this period is also outlined.

[1] Author is Michael Connolly, a career economic statistician with CSO Ireland., see <https://www.linkedin.com/in/michael-connolly-15b84535/?originalSubdomain=ie> accessed 14 December 2024. I would like to thank Cormac Ó Gráda, University College Dublin, and Frank Barry, Trinity College Dublin, for their assistance and also the reviewers at the Business Archives Council of Scotland. All errors are of course mine only.

[2] This legislation was called the Excise Act in Scotland and the Distilleries Act in Ireland and England, see Hansard: HC Deb. 8 July 1823 vol.9 cc1458-611458.

Background

In writing about this period, almost one hundred years later, the economist Charles Oldham[3] described the transition from being a separate Irish kingdom to being a part of the economic and political Union after 1801 as follows:

> '…there were three Unions, not one, before Ireland was absorbed into the system of the United Kingdom. In 1800 we had the Legislative Union; in 1816 we had the Union of Treasuries, commonly called the amalgamation of the Exchequers; in 1823 we had the Customs Union—the cross-Channel trade was then reduced by statute to the status of a coasting trade, and was made free of all countervailing duties…'

The distilling industry was important in nineteenth-century Ireland where the overall level of industrialisation was initially limited by factors such as the absence of significant deposits of coal and iron[4]. The raw materials on the other hand for distilling; barley, malted and unmalted, together with other cereals and water were plentiful in Ireland. Although the industry was not a very significant employer it worked downstream from agriculture and used primarily domestic inputs. In addition, there were considerable duties levied on the industry by government and it constituted a very significant contributor to the state coffers. My approach in this paper is to review the existing literature, in particular McGuire's encyclopaedic *Irish Whiskey*[5] and the works of Bielenberg and Weir[6], together with the available data obtained from various archives such as National Library of Ireland, National Archives of Ireland, the UK

[3] Professor C.H. Oldham 'Industrial Ireland Under Free Trade' (1917) X111, *Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland,* p.392.

[4] Although during the nineteenth century Ireland became the leading centre of the linen industry globally and by the end of the century the largest shipyard and brewery in the world were in Ireland – see Andy Bielenberg, *Ireland and the Industrial Revolution: The Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Irish Industry, 1801-1922* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p.1.

[5] E.B. Maguire, *Irish Whiskey: A History of Distilling, the Spirit Trade, and Excise Controls in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 1973).

[6] See references list at the end of the paper for details of books and journal articles by Andy Bielenberg and R.B. Weir.

National Archives[7] and, where possible, company archives.[8] The data used is largely as compiled by the statisticians of the time on the distilling industry. I have used this evidence to sketch out and validate a narrative in each of the sections of the paper. The analysis presented will also contrast the experiences of the distilling industry in Ireland with that of Scotland over this period.

In Part I of the paper the period 1800-23 is discussed with a focus on the performance of the industry prior to the 1823 Act. Part II analyses the impact of the introduction of the Act and covers the period until the calamitous Irish Potato Famine. The impact on the distilling industry not only of the famine but also the highly successful temperance movement[9] which preceded the famine is presented. Part II also covers the impact of the introduction of the Coffey still and related innovations in the industry in Ireland. Taken together this will take the reader from 1823 until 1858. The year 1858 is significant and marks the full liberalisation of the market for whiskey and other spirits, surprisingly, it took until then to completely open the spirits market in every aspect. Uniform rates of duty were introduced across the UK at this point. Part III addresses the period from 1859 until 1900 and Part IV continues with an analysis of the early decades of the twentieth century, including the wartime period in Ireland that extended until 1923 as it includes the Irish War of Independence 1919-21 followed by the Irish Civil War leading to the formation of the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland as a separate entity within the UK. Finally, the 1926 Immature Spirits Act (which amended the Immature Spirits Act 1915) and the almost complete collapse of the industry in Ireland is referenced briefly. The paper concludes with a short summary.

Part I – Act of Union and Irish Whiskey

The Excise Act 1823 established uniformity of practice in the distilling industry and collection of duty[10] in Ireland and Scotland. The legislation introduced a new method

[7] See listing of Reports of Commissioners of Inland Revenue and Commissioners of Customs and Excise consulted in the references list.

[8] I was unable to gain access to the archive of Irish Distillers-Pernod Ricard.

[9] The temperance movement urged total abstinence from alcohol and was led by a Capuchin monk Father Theobald Mathew.

[10] Hansard, HC Deb 8 July 1823 vol.9 cc1458-611458.

of charging excise duty which brought with it considerable changes in distillery practice. It was followed by the Distillery Act 1825 which extended most of the provisions of the 1823 Act to England.

The distilling industry in Ireland had always been more concentrated than in Scotland with a smaller number of larger distilleries operating in Ireland. For example, towards the end of the nineteenth century in Alfred Barnard's[11] tour he visited 29 distilleries in Ireland compared to 129 in Scotland. At that time the annual production of whiskey[12] in Scotland was 18 million gallons while Irish production amounted to 11 million gallons. The differing levels of concentration are immediately apparent. However, when we consider illegal distilling in addition to the legal activities, detections and seizures in Ireland of illegal stills hugely outnumber those in Scotland; in 1884 there were 829[13] incidences in Ireland compared to 22 in Scotland.

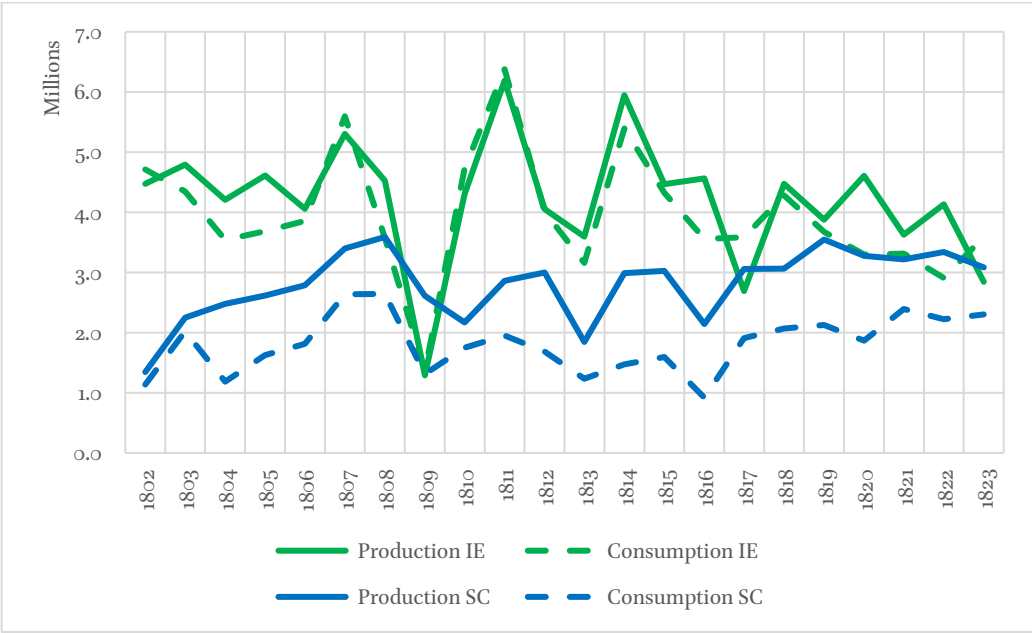

Chart 1: Home Production of Spirits Versus Consumption 1802-23 in Ireland (IE) and Scotland (SC) (in gallons).[14]

[11] Alfred Barnard, *The Whisky Distilleries of the United Kingdom* (London: Harper's Weekly Gazette, 1887).
[12] For simplicity, I have used the term 'whiskey' to cover all whisky produced either in Scotland or Ireland.
[13] This is well down on the incidences of detections in 1824 of 8192 for Ireland and 692 for Scotland.
[14] Data source: Commissioners of Inland Revenue, First Report, 1856, updated with Thirteenth Report, 1870.

It is interesting at the outset to get a sense of the size of the spirits market in Ireland and Scotland over the period between the Act of Union in 1801 and the Excise Act in 1823 (see Chart 1, above).

The key features presented in Chart 1 are that production was significantly higher in Ireland compared to Scotland at the turn of the eighteenth century and this was the case as far back as 1757[15] at the latest. However, over this period the gap between Scottish output and Irish output narrows and by 1823 a similar quantity is being produced in both jurisdictions. Secondly there is a close correlation between Irish production and Irish consumption suggesting that the industry in Ireland at this stage was mainly engaged in meeting domestic demand. On the other hand, production in Scotland is well in excess of consumption after 1803, implying that other markets, probably the English market, was already being supplied by the Scottish producers.

Production of whiskey during this period, prior to the introduction of the 1823 Act, was characterised by a focus on quantity rather than quality. Duties were applied on the potential output for a given distiller based on the still size used in whiskey production. There were frequent amendments to the measurement or assessment of potential output and also to the required inputs to produce a given output. For example, the number of charges[16] for a 500 gallon still that could be processed in accordance with the still licence system in operation was 23 in 1800, 56 in 1806 and 189 in 1817.[17] There were also frequent changes to the ancillary methods such as fuel used or time expended supporting this system. It was generally a period of volatility and transition for the Irish distillers. There was also a gradual wind-down of the Irish Revenue Board until 1822 following the Act of Union. In London the Irish revenue laws were enacted by 'the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer'.[18]

[15] Commissioners of Internal Revenue, *First Report*, 1860 (Parliamentary Papers) Appendix 19 pp.xli-xlii, this data later updated in Commissioners of Internal Revenue, *Thirteenth Report*, 1870.
[16] A charge is the term for filling a still with the liquid that results from the earlier steps in the production process of creating the wash with malt, cereal and water and ultimately brewer's yeast.
[17] See Maguire, *Irish Whiskey*, p.167.
[18] Irish Revenue Inquiry, *Seventh Report* 1824 (100) (Parliamentary Papers), xi, p.3.

To further illustrate the changing nature of the old regulatory regime; in 1805 the spirit equivalent to low wines[19] was changed to one in three (replacing two in five) which altered all the still licence duties in 1806. It was changed again reverting to five gallons of low wines to two gallons of spirit and *liberty for work* altered for one in ten of the still content. The latter figure was changed in 1807 to one in eight. This remained static until 1823, the calculation of duty being seven in 20 of the content multiplied by the number of charges and the current rate of duty. In 1809 the assessment on wash[20] was repealed and the duty was charged on the low wines actually produced instead of the quantities used. In 1812 a special Act authorising small stills to be licensed provided for assessments in their case to be based on one gallon of spirit to ten gallons of wash or two gallons of low wines.

In practice distillers were putting through charges in a single still three or four times a day from wash to spirit and revenue officers couldn't keep track and consequently the still charge continued to be the actual charge for duty. By providing for an allowance from any surplus above the still licence the revenue authorities tried to keep track of the actual quantities for the application of duty. There were suggestions of collaboration between excise officers and distillers so that assessments didn't exceed the licensed quantities for a given still. A parliamentary inquiry in 1823 reported '…it was soon found out that distillers could produce more than what was thought'.[21] Nevertheless, despite a tight regulatory approach in the old regime, distillers were seemingly always able to put more charges through their stills than the numbers fixed by their licenses. The official method was assessment by survey.[22]

In conclusion, the distillers used the most advantageous still size and design to suit rapid working[23] and it emerged that the 500 gallon still was the most favoured one. By

[19] Low wines are the output of the first distillation.
[20] Wash was the mixture of cereals and water fermented using yeast.
[21] 'Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Collection and Management of the Revenue Arising in Ireland – Distilleries' (1823) (Parliamentary Papers), p.6.
[22] A still was assessed as effectively 11 in 12 of its capacity and the spirit produced assessed as 11 in 30 of the content. This figure was then multiplied by the number of charges giving a result of the number of gallons chargeable for the still licence duty. See 'Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Collection and Management of the Revenue Arising in Ireland – Distilleries' (1823), p.5, regarding the survey approach.
[23] McGuire, *Irish Whiskey*, p.167.

1817 in line with the existing legislation, stills between 100-200 gallons bore 304 charges – this meant that a single still had to put through enough wash to low wines and then distil it to spirits almost 11 times a day over a 28-day period. This assumes that the still was full with low wines for each charge, but distillers worked rapidly and may not have worked with a full still – thus, the still might have been charged with low wines 20 times a day.

From a geographical standpoint, over this period Dublin was by far the principal distilling centre in Ireland with Cork next in importance. Of the 38 large stills in 1802; 27 were in Dublin and five in Cork. The changing regulations together with falling spirit prices[24] resulted in significant variation in the size and number of licensed stills. For these larger stills reports for 1807 show only three large stills remained in Dublin and five in Cork. This reduction in the largest stills was a consequence of the increased popularity of the 500-gallon still but also the increase in illicit distilling activities as a consequence of falling prices and rising duty on whiskey. This period with ever-changing regulations was a very challenging one for distillers. By 1818 Dublin had four large stills and Cork one and there were none in any other towns. In 1822 the five largest stills, all in Dublin, were 750 gallons.

Looking at actual output at this time, spirits for the Irish market where duty was charged amounted to 4.7 million gallons in 1802 and 3.6 million gallons in 1823. Over this period the licensed output varied between 3 and 6.4 million gallons[25] apart from the period 1807-11 when distilling was temporarily prohibited on account of the Napoleonic Wars. In relation to illegal production of spirits, illicit distillers used stills of 50 to 60 gallons and sometimes smaller but rarely as large as 100. In general, the regulations were difficult to police and were subject to ongoing amendment. The government was faced with a dilemma – they wanted to encourage large distillery units and at the same time the main hope of combatting illicit distilling was to encourage small stills.

[24] Whiskey fell from 13 shillings a gallon in 1800 to 9-10 shillings in 1815.
[25] Proof gallons.

To address these policy objectives the Distillery Act was introduced in 1823 in Ireland and Scotland and represented a step change for the industry. Firstly, it set a uniform rate of duty on spirits produced in both Ireland and Scotland. Secondly, it allowed for the bonded storage of the distilled product without the requirement to pay duty until the product was sold out of bond[26] or exported. Thirdly it encouraged the entry into the industry of smaller distillers with changes in the taxation of stills.[27]

Part II – Temperance, Famine, Depression and Innovation

The Distillery Act 1823 ended the charge-based taxation system on whiskey production with the objective of ensuring that all distillers in Ireland and Scotland competed on a level playing field. Another objective was to encourage small-scale distillers into the licensed market rather than continuing as illicit distillers. It was difficult to achieve the two objectives with one piece of legislation. A key change was that duty would be charged on the basis of the actual amount of spirit produced in a distillery rather than the potential output that might be produced. It was also levied on the basis of the alcohol content or the level above proof that the spirit was produced. This allowed distillers to concentrate on producing a quality product rather than engage in a race to the bottom where previously duties were levied on potential output and the more output the distiller produced, regardless of quality, the better would be his bottom line in terms of the profitability of the business. Critically, the spirit duty was halved to two shillings per proof gallon and an annual distilling licence fee of ten pounds was introduced. All of these measures combined to give a fresh impetus to the distilling industry in both Ireland and Scotland. The number of distilleries rose quite dramatically in Ireland from 40 in 1823 to 79 in 1830 and in Scotland similar increases in activity were observed.

[26] In Ireland distilled spirits could be stored in government warehouses from 1804 onwards – see McGuire, *Irish Whiskey*, pp.196-7.
[27] In this the Act was following existing practice in Scotland.

Year	Distilleries	Proof Gallons Distilled (million gallons)
1823	40	3
1830	79	8.7
1840	86	7.3
1850	51	8.3
1860	35	7.4
1870	22	6.6
1880	28	11.1
1890	29	11.8
1900	30	14.5

Table 1: Distilleries Operating in Ireland 1823-1900[28]

The Act may also have encouraged the industry to be more innovative and adopt new technology. In 1830 new technology came in the form of Aeneas Coffey's[29] patent still. Until then the distillation of whiskey entailed a series of discrete processes to produce a pot-still triple distilled whiskey product favoured by Irish distillers. The Coffey still automated and transformed the distillation process[30] to a continuous one. In Table 2 below it can be seen that Irish Distillers were the early adopters of this new technology.

The analysis of the output of these patent stills to some extent validates this view[31] although in Scotland the patent-still output exceeded that of the pot still by 1857 whereas it wasn't until late in the century that Irish patent-still distillers[32] were dominant in the industry. The new stills were not necessarily introduced as a replacement to the pot-still based distillation process which entailed a discrete series of separate cycles of distillation to produce the final product and required considerably

[28] Data sources: Commissioners of Internal Revenue, *First Report*, 1860 (Parliamentary Papers), Appendix 3a, p.vii; *Twenty-fourth Report*, p.5; Report of Commissioners of Customs and Excise, *Second Report*, p.27; Royal Commission on Whiskey and Potable Spirit, p.378.

[29] Aeneas Coffey was Inspector General of Excise in Ireland.

[30] 'Return of Licensed Distillers in England Scotland and Ireland 1851' (Parliamentary Papers), no.386 LIII.265.

[31] Royal Commission on Whiskey and Other Potable Spirits 1909 (Parliamentary Papers), vol.xiii 383, p.392.

[32] During the 1850s the patent and pot-still distillers were close to parity in terms of output in Ireland but didn't maintain this position over the following years.

more fuel. The output of these patent stills was also used to produce blended whiskey when combined with the pot-still product.

Year	Ireland	Scotland	England	Total
1830	2	1	-	3
1840	13	2	4	19
1850	16	13	10	39
1860	8	12	8	28

Table 2: Number of Patent Stills Operating 1830-60[33]

The adoption of new technology is generally understood to be a critical feature of a successful industry. In the case of the whiskey industry in Ireland an innovative approach is demonstrated in the observed data with a willingness to invest the capital necessary to install the patent stills together with all the associated equipment required such as boilers, condensers and so on that were required to automate the production process. Over the following decades the Scottish distillers who were slow to innovate at the time of the introduction of the Coffey still, overtook the Irish in the production of patent-still whiskey and whiskey in general, as can be seen in the production data in Chart 2 below.

[33] Data source: 'Return of Licensed Distillers in England, Scotland and Ireland 1851' (Parliamentary Papers).

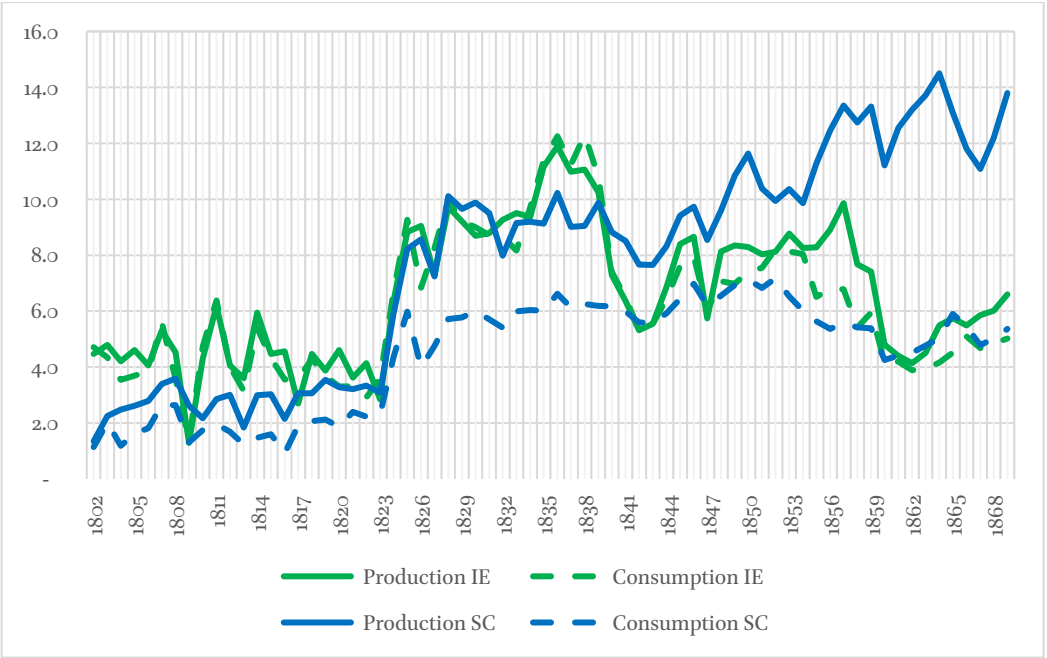

Chart 2: Production Versus Consumption 1802-69 in Ireland (IE) and Scotland (SC) in millions of proof gallons[34].

It is also informative to look at these trends in production and consumption when the impact of a changing population is factored into the data presentation. In Chart 3 an additional analysis shows the per capita consumption of domestic spirits allowing the reader to better interpret the trends highlighted in Chart 2.

[34] Data sources: Commissioners of Inland Revenue, Firstt Report, 1856 and updated with Thirteenth Report, 1870

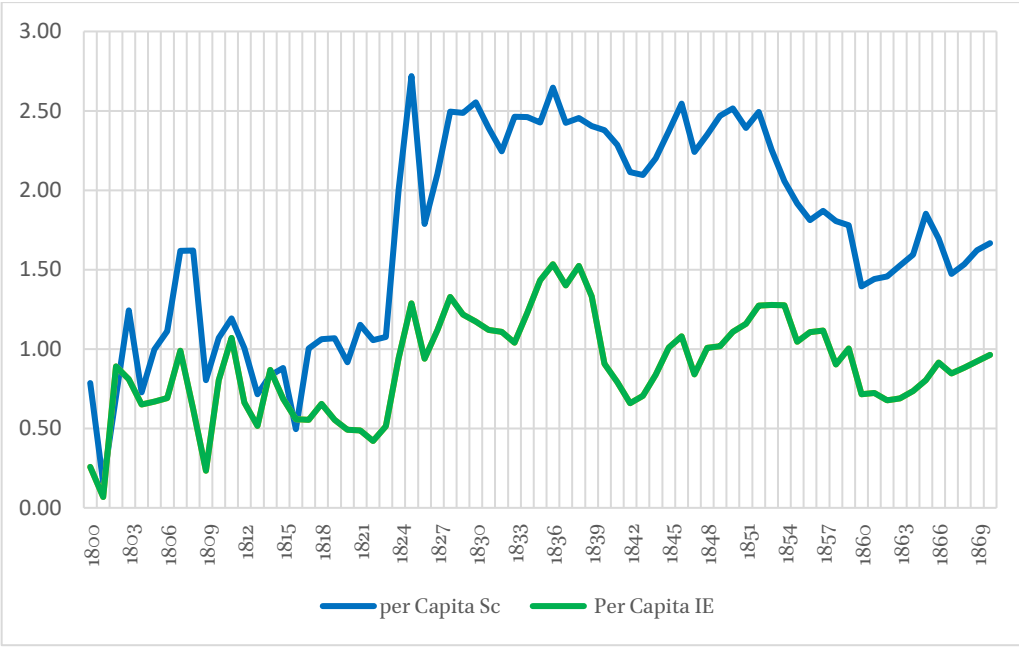

Chart 3: Per capita Consumption of Home-produced Spirits in Ireland (IE) and Scotland (SC).[35]

From both charts the impact of the 1823 Act on consumption of home-produced spirits can be seen. A number of factors are at play; the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars and the associated agricultural slump were described in Bielenberg:

> '...the falling price of corn after 1815, reductions in duty in 1823 and the new laws with regard to bonding spirits further reduced costs. This price fall coinciding with a period of sharp population growth drove up Irish production and consumption between 1800 and the mid-1830s.'[36]

Additionally, this period coincided with significant improvements in transport with the newly-opened canals providing inland water transport. This facilitated distillers in getting their product to the major population centres and to obtain the coal needed to power their steam-powered distilleries. Railway systems were also beginning to be introduced and roads were being improved. Critically the introduction of the Act

[35] Data sources: Commissioners of Inland Revenue, First Report, 1856 and updated with Thirteenth Report, 1870.
[36] Andy Bielenberg, *Ireland and the Industrial Revolution: The Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Irish Industry 1801-1922* (London: Routledge, 2009), p.88.

coincided with a dramatic reduction in the rate of duty on spirits from 5s. 7d. per gallon in 1822 to 2 shillings and 4s. ¾d. in 1823. In 1823 the price of a gallon of whiskey duty paid in Ireland was 9 shillings[37] before the reduction so there was a very significant reduction in price. This sharp reduction in duty also encouraged many illicit distillers into the legal market with a consequent increase in reported production and by extension reported consumption. These factors also go some way towards explaining the increase in per capita consumption (see Chart 3). On the demand side there was an increase in population from six million in 1815 to seven million in 1825 and eight million by 1835, explaining to a certain degree the increases in production and consumption. The tax reduction in Scotland was even more pronounced with duty per gallon falling from 6s 2d. to the uniform rate with Ireland of 2s. ¾d. On account of the rise in consumption and production these dramatic reductions in duty had a limited impact on government revenue from distilling activities in Ireland; the amount of duty collected fell from £815,897 in 1822 to £624,819 in 1823,[38] a fall of 23 per cent, the actual rate of duty fell by almost 50 per cent.

Ireland was the largest market for whiskey with the highest consumption in the 1830s. However, after 1838 we can see a sharp reduction in per capita consumption in Ireland, falling from 1.5 gallons to a low of 0.66 gallons per capita in 1842. This change is also mirrored in actual production and aggregate consumption. While more negative economic developments were impacting the Irish economy there was also the pronounced effect of the temperance movement; one of the most successful mass movements of men and women in modern European history[39] led by a Capuchin Friar from Cork, Father Theobald Mathew. Beginning in 1830s his Total Abstinence Society founded in Cork enrolled somewhere between three and five million men, women and children[40] each of whom renounced the consumption of alcohol for life. The total population of Ireland during the 1830s and early 1840s was between 7.5 and 8 million people. There were other temperance movements originating in Presbyterian and other Protestant communities in Ireland but the Cork Total Abstinence Society was the

[37] McGuire, *Irish Whiskey*, p.185.
[38] Total government revenue at this time was in the region of £5.3 million, so this was a significant consideration – see Congress of the Royal Economic Society, *Fiscal Relations of Great Britain and Ireland* (1912).
[39] Paul A. Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002), pp.261-2.
[40] Ibid, pp.72-3 – there is considerable debate about the accuracy of these numbers.

most significant and had the greatest impact on the demand for spirits during this period.

The impact of the temperance movement on whiskey consumption was compounded by the greatest social tragedy ever to befall the Irish, namely *An Gorta Mór* / The Great Famine 1845-52. There had already been famines in the earlier years of the nineteenth century in 1815, 1822 and 1831 and Ó Gráda's assessment was that 'the role of emigration in demographic adjustment in the pre-famine period was much more important than the trends in birth or death rates',[41] although in either case consumption of spirits would decline.

The combined impact of these events on the distilling industry in Ireland was that the number of distilleries fell from 86 in 1840 to 51 by 1847 (see Table 1 above). Nevertheless, apart from 1847 at the height of the famine, the demand for spirits was somewhat stable between 1845 and 1855. Irish consumption fell to 6,275,782 gallons annually between 1841 and 1845 and rose to 7,088,762 between 1846 and 1850 on average. Looking again at Chart 3, the average per capita consumption was 0.9 gallons during the decade of the 1840s which does represent a lower level than the previous or the following decades. Therefore, legal or parliament whiskey (as the licensed product was sometimes called) consumption did not fall greatly during the famine. This suggests that the consumers of the product were not the poorest sections of society where the famine had its greatest impact, but instead those in better economic and social positions. In all probability, the poor were more likely to be consumers of poitín – the product of illicit distillation.

[41] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.74.

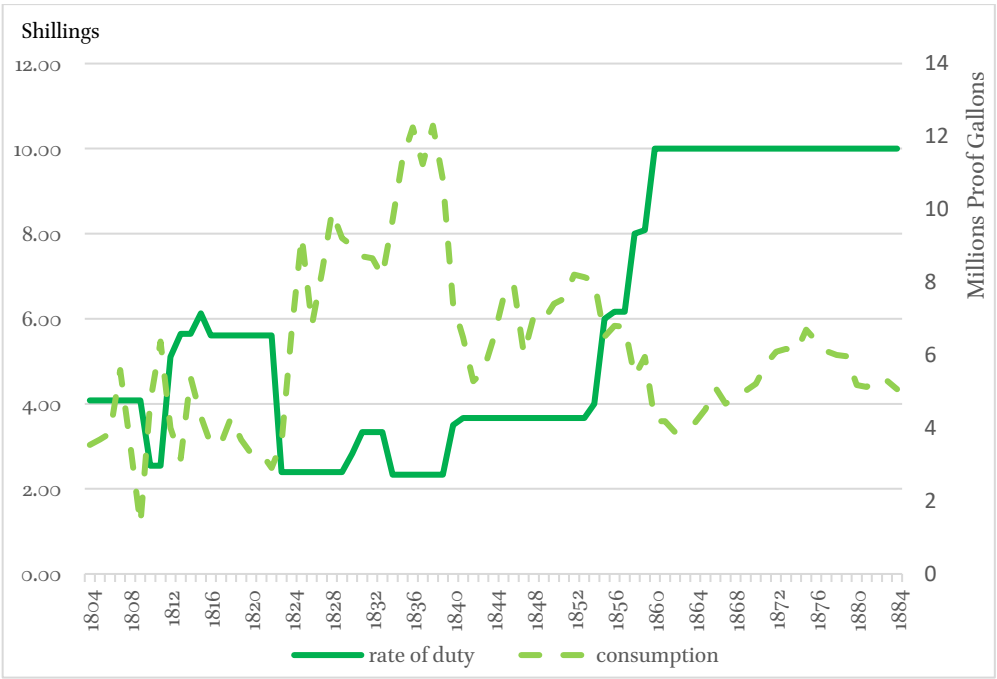

Chart 4: Excise Duty and Consumption of Whiskey in Ireland, 1804-84[42]

In the longer term the decline in population was compounded by an increase in duty in 1858 from 6s. 2d. to 8 shillings[43] (see Chart 4), both resulting in a fall in consumption and demand for whiskey when rates were harmonised across all the countries of the UK to the rate prevailing in England of 8 shillings. As a result, the number of distilleries in production in Ireland fell from 35 in 1860 to 22 in 1870 – the trend towards greater concentration in the industry intensified on account of the fall in demand after 1858. Production fell dramatically from almost ten million gallons in 1857 to four million gallons in 1862. Agricultural recession accentuated this downturn notably from mid-1859 through to 1864.[44] After weathering the combined impact of the Great Famine and the temperance movement on the industry this was a low point for Irish distillers.

[42] Data source: Commissioners of Internal Revenue, First Report 1860, (Parliamentary Papers) Appendix 19 pp.xli-xlii, updated in the Thirteenth Report, Fourteenth Report and Twenty-fourth Report.
[43] Commissioners of Internal Revenue, *First Report* 1860, (Parliamentary Papers) Appendix 19 pp xli-xlii, this data later updated in the *Thirteenth Report*.
[44] Ó Gráda, *Ireland*, p.250.

The Scottish distilling industry did not experience the post 1858 downturn – pulling further ahead of Irish distillers (see Chart 2), probably owing to a more buoyant demand in Scotland for spirits increasing from 13 million gallons in 1862 to 14.5 million gallons in 1870. At any rate the late 1870s also witnessed the beginning of a long-term decline in the demand for spirits on the Irish market. Per capita consumption of spirits in Ireland fell from 0.88 gallons in 1851 to 0.71 gallons in 1869. The competition from other products such as beer and stout are also factors explaining this decline.[45]

Part III – Competition, Collaboration and Consolidation: Scottish and Irish Distilling 1859-1900

The period, from 1859 until the end of the nineteenth century was characterised by the rapid expansion of an urban working class in the north east of Ireland[46] explaining to some extent the later development of a substantial distilling centre in Belfast and Londonderry after the established centres of Dublin and Cork.

In general Irish distillers had to respond to a change in demand conditions from the 1860s onwards, this change in market dynamics can be clearly seen in Chart 5 where the domestic market in Scotland became a more important market for spirits than Ireland and at the same time England was becoming a far greater market with a level of demand as much as five times greater than Ireland by 1900.[47]

[45] See P. Lynch and J. Vaizey. *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1759-1876* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), Appendix p.260.
[46]Census of Population Ireland 1841, 1891, 1901, and so on, Central Statistics Office and National Archives of Ireland.
[47] See Chart 7 relating to England consumption trends 1800-1920.

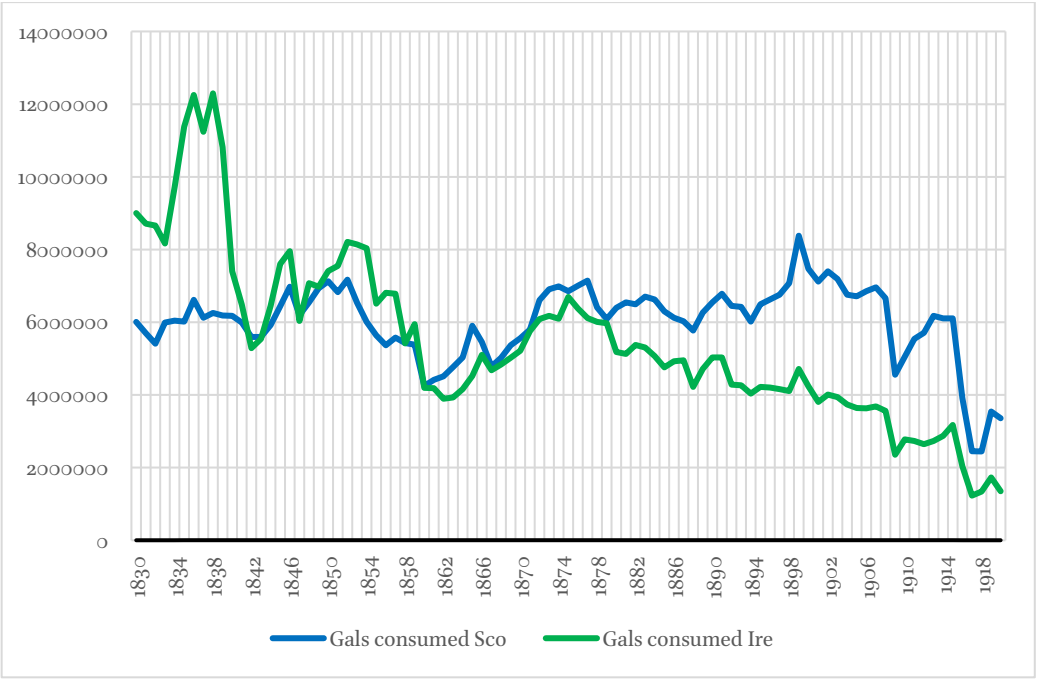

Chart 5: Domestic Demand for Whiskey by Gallons Consumed in Scotland (SCO) and Ireland (IRE).[48]

A clear disparity also emerged between whiskey consumption figures (population growth etc.) for Ireland and whiskey production, see Chart 6, which is explained by growth in Irish whiskey exports primarily to Britain. Remarkably by 1900 Irish output of spirits had risen to a peak of 14.5million gallons – over 71 per cent being produced using patent (Coffey) stills. Already a decline in demand for the quality pot-still product being distilled primarily by the Dublin producers was observed on the domestic market. This was also the case abroad where there was a long-term change in the preferences of the new working-class consumers in the major urban centres of England, for a cheaper and lighter blended whiskey.

[48] Data source: Commissioners of Internal Revenue, First Report 1860 (Parliamentary Papers) Appendix 19 pp xli-xlii, this data later updated in the Thirteenth Report, Twenty-fourth Report c.2979 xxix.331 vol.29, Forty-second Report 1899 c.9461 xix 345, pp.27-30, Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Second Report 1911 and Fifteenth Report 1920 (Parliamentary Papers).

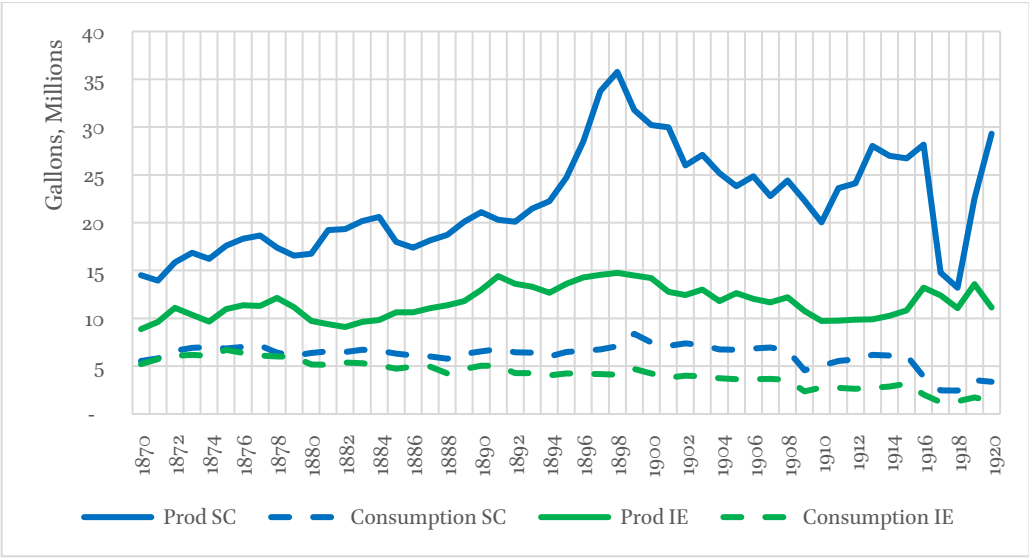

Chart 6: Production of Spirits Versus Consumption in Ireland (IE) and Scotland (SC) by Millions of Gallons, 1870-1920.[49]

In the early nineteenth century the dominant theme was that the output of Irish distilleries was largely meeting domestic demand, by now this was no longer the case and this changed trend became more pronounced in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Ireland. The change in domestic demand for Irish spirits relative to production was driven by the changing demographic situation throughout the UK. In particular, the population of England had quadrupled from over 8 million at the turn of the nineteenth century to 32 million by the end of the century resulting in the largest markets for spirits in the British Isles. The trend in Ireland was the opposite, with the population falling to below the level at start of the nineteenth century of 5 million from a peak of 8 million just before the famine falling to 4.5 million by 1870.

To fund the expansion in production oriented towards the growing export market in the second half of the nineteenth century there were greater calls for capital by the large distilleries in Ireland. This was particularly so in the north of Ireland where new patent-still distilleries were more capital intensive and required considerable amounts of capital to fund the investment needed for the continuous production process that

[49] Data sources: Select Committee on British and Foreign Spirits 1890 (Parliamentary Papers) 316 x.489. vol.10, Appendix 5 p.80, Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Second Report 1911 and Fifteenth Report 1920 (Parliamentary Papers).

the Coffey stills entailed. From the 1860s limited liability companies were a convenient way to secure capital for both new ventures and expansions of existing companies. For example, the funding of Cork Distilleries Company (CDC) in 1867 which was created to include the existing Middleton distillery and four distilleries in Cork city.[50] W.A. Thomas reports that:

> 'breweries and distilleries came to the fore with 9 registrations[51] for an average nominal capital of £76,000 and the establishment of seven joint stock distilling companies in the period 1867-74 with average capital of £125,000. The largest was Dunvilles[52] also known as The Royal Irish in Belfast, raising £500,000.'[53]

The increase in patent-still distilling mainly in Belfast and Londonderry where a small number of large distillers would eventually produce over six million[54] gallons of spirit annually was the explanation for the larger capacity and increased capital investment required in distilling across this region compared to elsewhere in Ireland. The activity of these firms also goes a long way towards explaining the sustained and increased output that we see in Chart 5. As already discussed, this phase of concentration and expansion of production was driven largely by export growth.

Later in the century other older companies also adopted limited liability status and increased their capital resources. John Jameson of Bow Street Dublin expanded vigorously in 1890s, establishing a limited company in 1891 with capital of £450,000. Their Irish sales increased from 289,956 gallons in 1891 to 587,400 in 1899. By the turn of the century John Jameson's profits stood at £119,705.[55] Similarly, H.S. Persse[56] of

[50] The existing four distilleries in Cork were North Mall, The Green, Watercourse and Daly's. See Brian Townsend. *The Lost Distilleries of Ireland* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, 1999), p.61.
[51] W.A. Thomas. *The Stock Exchanges of Ireland* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns (Publications) Ltd 1986), p.149; Dublin distillery 1872 – £100,000, Irish Whiskey Distillery Co. Ltd (1872), The Athlone Distillery Co. Ltd. (1873), Dublin and Chapelizod Distillery Co. Ltd (1873).
[52] Established in 1869 – see Townsend, *Lost* Distilleries, pp.48-52, and Dublin Stock Exchange Listing (National Archives of Ireland), various, BR/DUB/ 77/3/72.
[53] Thomas, *The Stock Exchanges*, p.149, and Dublin Stock Exchange listings National Archives of Ireland
[54] Barnard, *The Whisky Distilleries,* pp 426-43.
[55] Irish Distillers papers – Jamesons box 3 and 5 (National Archives Ireland Business Records), McGuire, *Irish Whiskey*, pp.48-9.
[56] W. Henry. *Persse's Galway Whiskey* (Galway: William Henry, 2021), pp.109-10.

Galway also formed a limited company with share capital of £150,000 in 1896. By 1897 John Power & Son had overdraft facilities up to £65,000 and Jameson £80,000, a dramatic increase on their limited overdraft facilities of between £5,000 and £7,000 respectively in 1854. Banks also helped in the financial management of distilleries by advancing credits on a seasonal basis to enable the purchase of corn in the autumn – principal working cost within the industry. For example, at Locke's Distillery in County Westmeath malt and grain accounted for about 74 per cent of total production costs. The bank overdraft that distillers built up in the autumn was repaid using the revenue from sales of raw spirit and mature spirit in the following season.[57]

In summary, when trying to understand the later demise of the Irish whiskey distilling industry there doesn't appear to have been a shortage of capital and Irish banks can't be blamed for failing to respond to the capital requirements of the distilling business. The problem for the industry which emerged in the early twentieth century was the contracting demand on the home market (see Chart 5), although it has already been established here that it was the export market which was the main engine of growth during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this scenario a simple substitution of foreign consumption of the Irish product for domestic consumption was not possible. The domestic demand was primarily for the pot-still product, while the greater part of exports was explained by patent-still grain whiskey.

Specifically, although Dublin exports of pot still increased during this period the main growth came from the patent-still distillers and blenders in Belfast and Derry which benefited from the growth in demand in England either directly or through supplying grain whiskey to the Scottish blenders. Chart 7 demonstrates the increase in demand in the English market where consumption increased from five million gallons at the start of the nineteenth century to 25 million gallons by the end of the century. In addition, see Table 3 which presents the growth in Irish exports of whiskey in this period; a gradual increase in whiskey exports from Dublin in 1876 of 1.2 million gallons rising to 1.65 million in 1900 compared to an increase in Belfast exports from 2 million

[57] A. Bielenberg. *Locke's Distillery: A History.* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), p.56.

to 6.6 million gallons over the same period. Demand was also helped from 1855[58] onwards until the early 1860s by the attacks on French vineyards by the phylloxera insect which resulted in a scarcity of brandy and armagnac and created a sizeable market opportunity in France for whiskey from both Ireland and Scotland.

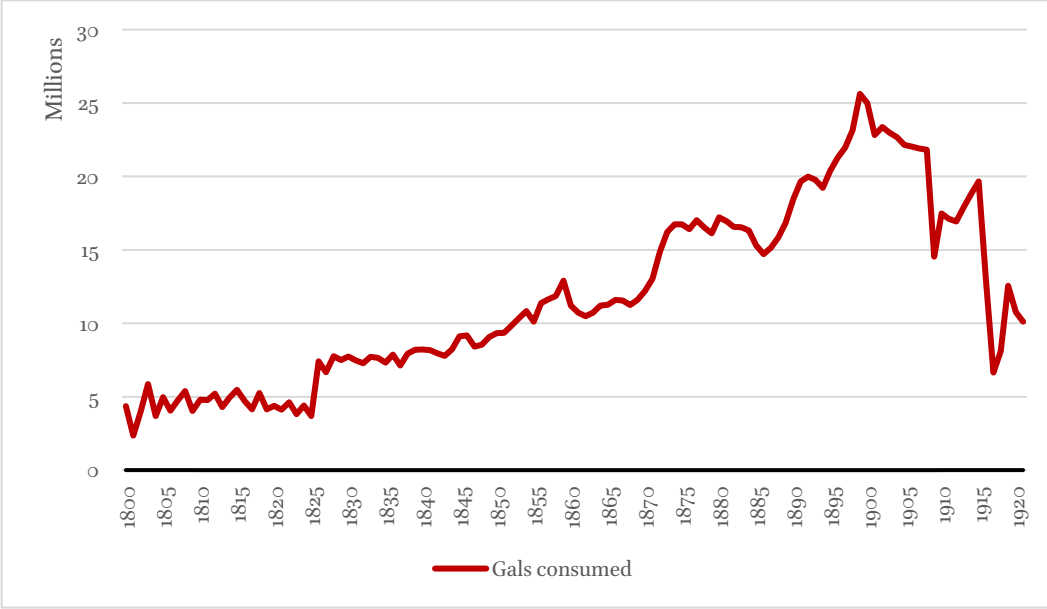

Chart 7: Demand for Whiskey by Gallons Consumed (millions) in England 1800-1920.[59]

For example, Watts in Derry although established in 1825 became leading distillers in north-west Ulster developing a significant export trade to Britain by the end of the nineteenth century. More spectacular developments were in Belfast where large export-oriented distillers were established. Dunvilles Royal Irish Distillery in 1869, Higgins Avoniel Distillers in 1882 and Irish Distillery Ltd of Connswater in 1886. Dunvilles Royal Irish Distillery was the exception as it was using both pot stills and patent stills to produce high-quality blended whiskey under its own brand unlike the other two patent-still distillers which were exporting a wholesale product to Scottish

[58] Whiskey exports from UK to France in 1855 were over 3 million gallons compared to 42,000 gallons in 1854 – Commissioners of Inland Revenue, *First Report*, 1860.

[59] Data sources: Commissioners of Internal Revenue, First Report 1860, (Parliamentary Papers) Appendix 19 pp.xli-xlii, this data later updated in the Thirteenth Report, Twenty-fourth Report c.2979 xxix.331 vol.29, Forty-second Report 1899 c.9461 xix 345, pp.27-30, Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Second Report 1911 and Fifteenth Report 1920 (Parliamentary Papers).

and English merchants and blenders.[60] Smaller pot-still distilleries were also operating in Comber, Limavady, Coleraine and Bushmills.

Year	Belfast	Dublin	Cork	Total
1871	754,427	727,642	611,720	2,093,789
1876	2,006,383	1,281,708	613,654	3,901,655
1884	3,837,024	1,158,526	630,460	5,626,010
1892	4,885,056	1,701,258	598,152	7,184,466
1900	6,648,912	1,650,473	494,424	8,793,809
1905	5,262,057	2,003,316	212,625	7,477,998

Table 3: Exports of Irish Whiskey by Port (volume: gallons proof) 1871-1905.[61]

During this period, the urban centres in the north of Londonderry and Belfast experienced similar large increases in population to the English industrial centres with a fourfold increase in Belfast from 91,000 in 1831 to 387,000 in 1901 and similar increases in Londonderry.[62] These population increases mirrored growth in industrialisation that occurred in shipbuilding, engineering and textiles, the expanding textile industry resulted in Belfast becoming known as 'Linenopolis' as one of the world's largest linen producers. This rapid industrialisation also produced an urban working class that acquired a taste for the milder blended and less expensive whiskey similar to the working classes in England at that time.

The emerging picture of the Irish distilling industry, particularly from 1870 onwards, was one in which expansion was mainly occurring in the north-east of Ireland, resulting in Derry and Belfast becoming centres of the industry in Ireland. Previously, Dublin had always been the centre of the whiskey industry with the largest distillers operating in the city, this included the so-called big four of John Jameson, George Roe, John Power and William Jameson. At this stage Irish distilleries, the number of which had shrunk to 28 (see Table 1), had broader competition on the English market and in

[60] McGuire, *Irish Whiskey,* pp.350-1.
[61] Bielenberg, *Locke's Distillery*, p.53.
[62] Census of Population Ireland 1841, 1891, 1901 and so on, Central Statistics Office and National Archives of Ireland.

addition to the Scottish product it was also competing with gin, rum and brandy. In the decade 1866-75, Irish pot-still whiskey attained considerable popularity in England; but during the 1870s, that popularity was being seriously challenged by Scotch, which was then becoming a fashionable and popular drink. Forceful advertising and hard selling helped Scotch to increase its hold on public taste in England, especially in the London market.

Nevertheless, by this time, Irish distillers were exporting to every land to which Irish emigrants had found their way. After England, the United States and Australia were expanding markets, but they did not overlook possibilities for new markets throughout the Empire, especially in India.[63] The fall in population due to famine and the increased importance of temperance meant that any growth in the industry had to occur in the markets of the rest of the UK, meaning primarily England and indeed beyond the UK to the colonies. There had also been many changes in the working of the distilleries, that had by then grown into a well-regulated and at the same time a vast revenue-generating industry for the state, and illegal distillation had been virtually stamped out. Under an able staff of revenue officers, the 'evil' had been almost entirely overcome, and the following decennial statement shows the number of detections made over a 50-year period:

Year	Ireland	Scotland	England	Total
1834	8192	692	314	9198
1844	2574	177	213	2964
1854	1853	73	301	2227
1864	2757	19	84	2860
1874	796	6	12	814
1884	829	22	5	856

Table 4: Detections of Illegal Distilling Activities 1834-84[64]

[63] See Mc Guire, *Irish Whiskey*, p.274.

[64] 'Royal Commission on Whisky and Other Potable Spirits 1908' (Parliamentary Papers) cd.4181 lvii.421.

The production data for Ireland in Chart 6 shows continued growth in production from 1870 onwards, but this was centred in Ulster with distilleries in both Belfast and Derry driving production as previously discussed.

This period also witnessed a number of key strategic decisions by main players in the distilling industry, both in Scotland and Ireland. In 1878 one of the first acts of the newly-formed Distillers Company Ltd (DCL)[65] in Scotland was a brave and shrewd decision to acquire a distillery in Dublin at Phoenix Park, Chapelizod, from its bankrupt owners.[66] Dublin whiskey at that time, sold at a premium of 20 to 25 per cent over comparable whiskey from Scotland. For DCL the distillery would, in addition to getting the means of producing 'Dublin Whiskey', also secure a source of Irish whiskey that could be blended with patent-still grain whiskey distilled in Scotland by the group. Barnard[67] describes the distillery as modern and well equipped although being the smallest of any distilleries owned by DCL, it produced a product 'Dublin Whiskey'. Interestingly, the distillery had no steam power with all motive power being supplied by the river Liffey which was unusual in Ireland as most distilleries were using powerful steam engines.

This act by DCL already gives some insight into the difference between the Scottish distillers and the Irish ones when it came to risk taking and business acumen.[68] These qualities would be in demand later when the need arose for amalgamation and consolidation in the industry to manage oversupply in the English market in particular.

For the industry in Ireland by end of nineteenth century much of the growth was in cheap immature grain whiskey sold on to the Scottish blenders and English dealers[69] rather than higher value matured, blended and bottled brands. Much of this Irish

[65] Distillers Company Ltd (DCL) founded in 1877, an amalgamation of six Scottish lowland grain whiskey distilleries with the aim of allocating production in fixed proportions and setting prices for grain spirits.
[66] R.B. Weir, 'In and Out of Ireland: The Distillers Company Ltd and the Irish Whiskey Trade 1900-39' (1980) 7 *Irish Economic and Social History*, p.60.
[67] See Barnard, *The Whisky Distilleries,* pp.380-1.
[68] This was a brave move but wasn't really successful – it was out of production during the period 1893 until 1899 when it reopened as a patent-still distillery until 1922. See R.Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974), p.347.
[69] See Mc Guire, *Irish Whiskey*, pp.350-1.

output of neutral grain spirit had no market profile so when oversupply occurred in the British market, Irish distillers were very vulnerable with a product that had no brand recognition on the market.

Over supply was in relation to patent-still whiskey sales on the British market. To address this, a cartel was formed in the 1860s by a number of UK firms also including Walker of Limerick, Cork Distilleries Company, Watt of Derry and Brown of Dundalk. This group all cooperated to reduce output using a quota system initially through the Scotch Distillers Association (1865-76) and later UK Distillers Association (UKDA) (1878-88). Higgins of Avoniel in Belfast, who had just built his distillery in 1882 and refused to allow Barnard access on his trip in 1887,[70] also ultimately joined this group in 1883. Two large Belfast blenders and a distiller responded to these attempts to control the market by setting up Irish Distillery Ltd at Connswater in 1885, thus creating further supply in the market. UKDA broke up in 1888.[71]

Blenders had become an increasingly important part of the market in the latter part of the century. Mitchell, one of two blenders that set up Connswater distillery, had a trade of 500,000 gallons in 1909, yet blenders were drawing increasing criticism within the Irish industry because Irish whiskey had fallen behind Scotch over the previous 20 years.[72] The Scots had hired travelling salesmen and were more aware of public tastes and critically the Scots used blending to convert inferior spirits to something quite drinkable.[73]

One of the main stipulations of the 1823 Act was that distillers were allowed to store their whiskey at warehouses before export. As a consequence they weren't required to pay duties until the product was either exported or sold for domestic consumption. Although data on warehousing was not available until 1870 it is informative to look at

[70] Barnard, *The Whisky Distilleries*, p.430.
[71] Kirker, Greer & Co. Ltd, Mitchell & Co. Ltd and the distiller James Wilson & Son – Townsend, *Lost Distilleries*, p.46.
[72] H.E. Hudson in Dublin's *Whiskey Trade Review* (1893) and Ó Gráda, *Ireland*, p.301.
[73] J. Jameson, W. Jameson, J. Power, G. Roe. *Truths about Whisky* (London: Sutton, Sharpe & Co., 1878), pp.36-8. Also see Townsend, *Lost Distilleries*, p.91.

the gap between consumption and production to gauge whether stocks were being accumulated over time when we allow for exports. This exercise does not reveal a substantial stock build until after 1870 and in Chart 8 the extraordinary levels of stocks particularly in Scotland from 1900 onwards is striking.

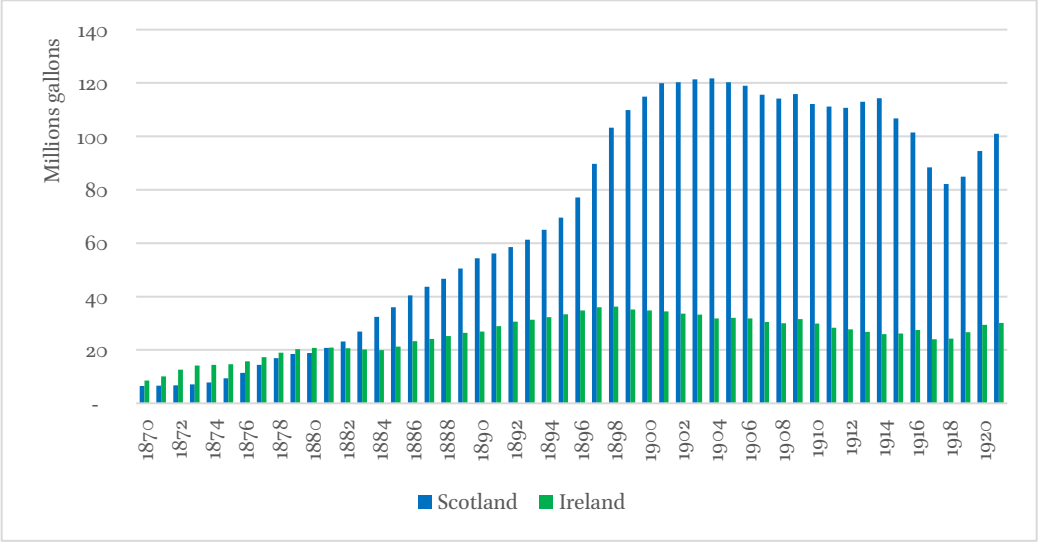

Chart 8: Levels of Whiskey Stocks at Warehouses in Ireland and Scotland 1870-1921.[74]

This level of stock build is to some extent explained by the introduction of another change in regulation which permitted general bonded warehouses to be established through the Warehousing Act 1848 and the Distillery Act 1860, which in addition to allowing blenders to store their stocks it also allowed them to blend and bottle their output.[75] This was particularly important for the Scottish industry. The role of the blender was critical in getting the distilled product to market. According to Weir:

> 'the blender in Scotland provided working capital to finance stocks and they became major holders of mature whiskey and so too did a purely financial

[74] Data source: Commissioners of Internal Revenue Annual Reports, various 1872-1906; H.M. Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Second Report 1911 cd.5827 xv.187 vol.15 pp.27-8; H.M. Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Fifteenth Report 1920 cmd.1082 xiii.399 vol.13, pp.38-41.

[75] By 1890 across the UK and Ireland there were only a few Crown warehouses but in addition there were 442 general excise warehouses mostly owned by distillers, large dealers or railway companies. The customs had 728 warehouses and there were 837 belonging to individual distillers – 'Select Committee on British and Foreign Spirits 1890'.

> intermediary, the spirit broker. The growing volume of stocks effectively divorced production from consumption...with the addition of grain spirit the blender also produced a cheaper whiskey and it was he who moulded Scotch whiskey to suit all tastes and pockets. He also assumed responsibility for bottling which became particularly important in the 1890s. The growth of bottled as opposed to bulk sales of whiskey owed much to the blender's desire to safeguard the distinctive trade name he had created...the expensive advertising which sent consumers looking for 'Black and White', 'Vat 69', 'Johnnie Walker' or 'Dewars White label'. [76]

These blenders, more than any other individual agent in the industry, created the success story of Scotch whiskey. At this time there is no real evidence of concerted efforts being made to promote Irish whiskey in this way. This type of blender / spirit dealer intermediary playing such a key role didn't really happen in the Irish whiskey production and distribution network.

Nevertheless, as has already been discussed, some Irish blenders had combined to develop the Connswater Distillery in Belfast, but as a group, blenders were considerably more important in Scotland. It seems that the Irish distillers' sales network wasn't as developed and many predominantly sold the proprietorial brands of the whiskey distiller, such as Jameson 12-year-old or Powers Special Irish. There were of course Mitchell's brands, Findlaters and W. & A. Gilbey's *Redbreast*[77], these merchants/blenders used to primarily sell the product of the Irish distillers but there was no comparison between the dominance of the Scottish blenders and their Irish equivalents.

Looking at the stock levels in Chart 9 it is interesting to see how stock levels compare to production on an annual basis. It is immediately apparent that the levels of stocks in Scotland reached a height of six times production, while in Ireland they never really went above a factor of three. The greater number of intermediaries in the Scottish whiskey industry who held stocks in their own right in addition to the distillers go some

[76] R. Weir. *The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974), pp.402-4.
[77] These brands were niche products with limited supply.

way towards explaining the higher levels of stock for a given level of production in Scotland compared to Ireland. However, there must also have been elements of speculation on the whiskey price and more ambitious plans regarding future demand chiefly for the Scottish blended product.

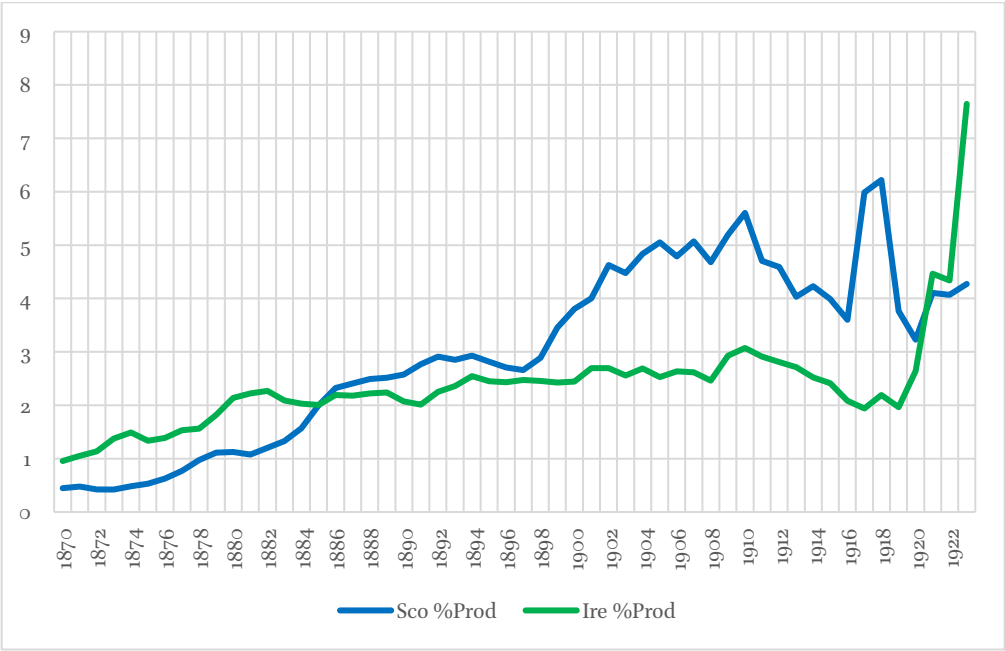

Chart 9: Stocks in Bonded Warehouses in Ireland and Scotland as a Ratio of Annual Production by Year 1870-1922.[78]

Higher levels of stocks are also part of the narrative of this period in Scotland termed the 'golden age of whiskey'. Another important factor was that the rate of duty didn't change over the 30-year period from 1860-90. Of course, finally, demand for the product was an important determinant.

Part IV – Decline and Demise (Almost) 1900-25

Right across the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland demand for whiskey fell at the turn of the twentieth century and resulted in a period of oversupply and low

[78] Data source: Commissioners of Internal Revenue Annual Reports, various 1872-1906; H.M. Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Second Report 1911 cd.5827 xv.187 vol.15, pp.27-8; H.M. Commissioners of Customs and Excise, Fifteenth Report 1920 cmd.1082 xiii.399 vol.13, pp.38-41.

sales due primarily to depressed demand in the English market. In Ireland these developments prompted a strategic merger between three of the major Ulster patent-still distillers in 1902; Watt (Derry), Irish Distillery Ltd (Connswater, Belfast) and Avoniel (Belfast) and together they formed United Distilleries Co. Ltd (UDL).[79] Similar efforts at consolidation in Scotland by DCL were also in train in order to reduce the scale of production there and to put a floor under the price of grain whiskey. In Ireland UDL dominated the market for patent-still spirit and became one of the key players in UK second only to DCL. UDL had several Coffey stills having an overall potential output of 6 million gallons[80] of grain whiskey and became a major supplier to the grain whiskey blenders in both Scotland and England.

DCL in Scotland was concerned at these developments in Ireland as they coincided with DCL's own attempts to consolidate the Scottish industry through the purchase of a number of grain distilleries there. Their objective through these acquisitions was to reduce excess grain spirit capacity in Scotland by closing the acquired establishments. Inevitably a conflict between the two entities emerged which was only resolved in 1905. At this time UDL planned to purchase a disused brewery in Edinburgh with a view to setting up a grain whiskey distillery there. The objective of UDL was to avail of the higher prices prevailing in Scotland that were well in excess of Irish prices for the equivalent product at the time. Weir[81] describes this potential expansion into Scotland and the Scottish grain whiskey market by UDL[82]. However, this initiative by UDL mobilised DCL into action to protect their own market and also to control the price of grain whiskey prevailing in Scotland. Ultimately an agreement was reached between these two key players in 1905 when both accepted an exchange of shares and directors; DCL of Scotland acquired 50 per cent of the shares in the Irish entity while UDL acquired a 9.8 per cent stake in DCL.[83] This arrangement worked reasonably well initially enabling the price of Irish grain spirit to be raised in cooperation with other Irish patent-still producers. This was enabled through the Irish Distillers Association,

[79] Weir, *In and Out of Ireland*, p.54.
[80] See Townsend, *Lost Distilleries*, p.111.
[81] Weir, *In and Out of Ireland*, p.54.
[82] This initiative was not unlike the motivation behind the acquisition of the Phoenix Distillery in Dublin by DCL back in 1878 i.e. to gain access to the competitor's market to avail of the higher market price prevailing there.
[83] For the background to this see Weir, *In and Out of Ireland*, pp.54-7.

which was formed in 1905 consisting of UDL and the other patent-still distillers in Ireland.[84] However exports to Britain were what mattered to UDL rather than the Irish market.

In 1904 over 12.5 million gallons were distilled in Ireland and over 8.6 million were exported, consisting mainly of grain whiskey. Probably the greater share of these exports entered Scotch blends rather than being marketed under Irish brand names in Britain. UDL put little effort into marketing, as informed by Royal Commission in 1908.[85] At this time Irish Distillers such as Roe, Jameson & Power continued to dominate the smaller and contracting Irish domestic market for potable spirit.

Market decline continued right through the first decade of the new century, particularly in the large industrial cities of England. The working-class consumers there were targeted by Ulster and Scotch blenders but they were particularly price sensitive, at the same time the Irish market contracted even more in response to huge rises in duty, from under 15 shillings per proof gallon in 1909 it rose to over 72 shillings in 1920.

Nevertheless, the war years 1914-18 offered some opportunities to the Irish distillers as there were less restrictions relative to the Scottish ones. Additionally, in 1915 legislation was introduced in Great Britain and Ireland requiring whiskey to be matured for a minimum period of three years.[86] The Dublin distillers had long championed the benefits of maturing the pot-still product that they produced, but this particular legislation was proposed as an emergency measure during the First World War period. It emerged as a compromise to counter the original proposal of Lloyd George the British chancellor, who wanted to cease production of whiskey altogether as drunkenness was a problem in some munitions factories at the time.[87] However, the Irish Parliamentary Party (in support of Irish distillers) opposed this measure and

[84] Cork Distilleries Co., Middleton, Malcolm Brown & Co., Dundalk.
[85] 'Royal Commission on Whisky and Other Potable Spirits 1908' (Parliamentary Papers).
[86] Ireland, Scotland and England (Wales).
[87] Lloyd George was chancellor while the issue was being debated. Ultimately Reginald MacNeill was chancellor as the actual legislation was going through parliament.

fearing defeat by the combined Tory and Irish Party votes, Lloyd George introduced the Immature Spirits Act as a compromise. The Act required distillers to retain the spirits they produced in bond for a three-year maturity period.[88] The objective now being to at least reduce the quantities of whiskey going to market as opposed to an outright ban on production.

The legislation was really motivated by temperance considerations rather than any view on what exactly constituted whiskey, although a debate on this question had been in progress since as far back as the introduction of the Coffey still in the 1830s. The Dublin distillers who produced a quality pot-still-based product considered the output of the Coffey or patent still to be 'silent spirit' or 'sham whiskey'.[89] A Royal Commission was established in 1908 and in 1890 the Select Committee on British and Foreign Spirits had already investigated what exactly constituted whiskey. Prior to these official investigations the Dublin distillers of George Roe, William Jameson, John Power and John Jameson produced their own report titled 'Truths about Whiskey' in 1878. The consistent argument from the Dublin distillers was that the patent-still product was not whiskey, but whatever the merits of their arguments in reality they were fighting a losing battle. No report fully accepted their point of view but despite these official findings the business strategy of the Dublin distillers was unchanged believing that only their product was truly whiskey and sooner or later all whiskey consumers would awaken to this reality. Ultimately given the proliferation of blenders and patent-still distillers, particularly by 1908, and their substantial consumer base, these pot-still distillers were fighting an uphill battle.

But, to some extent the pot-still distillers got lucky (in the end) as the 1915 law favoured their product which improved with aging over the patent-still distillers whose product showed no discernible improvement with age. Perhaps, but at this stage the taste for the lighter, blended product was well established and it was also less expensive than the pot-still product.

[88] The initial impact on distillers was lessened as a two-year period was agreed on an interim basis – Hansard Immature Spirits (Restriction) Bill vol.71: debated on Tuesday 11 May 1915.
[89] Jameson et al, *Truths about Whisky*, p.33.

The Immature Spirits Act 1915 set a minimum aging of three years for spirits entering the market and had the effect of increasing production costs and warehousing costs. In addition, disruption caused by the First World War led to a large reduction in spirits consumed across England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland from 29 million gallons in 1915 to 10.3 million gallons in 1917 – see Chart 10. Prohibition in the US in 1919 further reduced demand in a key market for UK exports.

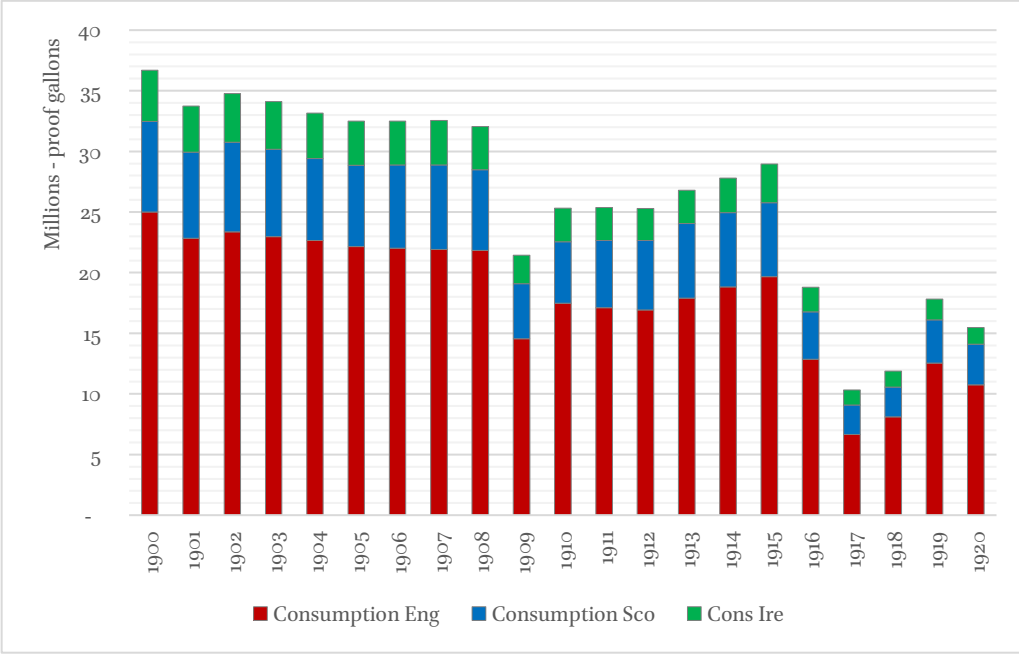

Chart 10: Total Consumption of Whiskey in Ireland, Scotland and England 1900-20 (in proof gallons).[90]

In the north the Irish distillers in UDL were particularly hard hit by the Immature Spirits Act 1915 as they already held considerable stocks of immature spirit. In general, production in Ireland generally held up during and immediately after the war (see Chart 6). However, the very large trade in Irish grain whiskey sold to Scotch blenders and English traders was coming to an end. UDL's position in 1921 worsened as they were 'at present deprived of the large filling orders they usually got from Dublin and the

[90] Data source: cited above.

south of Ireland owing to a political boycott'[91] and an anxiousness regarding a loss of trade due to destruction of distilleries.[92]

In attempting to diversify their activities the Irish distillers in UDL formed Distillers Finance Corporation (DFC) in 1913. The objective was to develop the yeast and industrial alcohol derivative businesses which were becoming increasingly important for the industry. By 1915 five Irish patent-still distillers were making yeast. In 1920 DFC formed the International Yeast Company in partnership with the Fleischmann company of New York which had acquired a new process of yeast manufacture.[93] They did this without informing or involving DCL, which had UDL board members at the time.

Seeing these developments, DCL which had 70 per cent of the UK yeast market, was concerned UDL was still DCL's largest surviving competitor. Fortunately for DCL, in Bielenberg's estimation, UDL didn't have the stomach for the threats posed to their interests by Irish political instability.[94] For example, between 1920 and 1922 severe sectarian attacks in Belfast and Derry resulted in 500 Catholic-owned businesses closing and a quarter of the Catholic population in Belfast being expelled from their homes. Faced with declining sales UDL agreed to a defensive takeover in 1922 by DCL, the sale price[95] was £2,996,000 including cash assets of £1,200,000. Weir described it as a bargain for DCL and of major strategic significance and at the same time as a major loss to Irish industry.[96]

Dramatic contraction in demand continued after 1919 with war rates of duties of 72s. 6d. retained in both north and south of Ireland. This resulted in a decline in production, consumption and ultimately profits in the industry. The Irish Free State

[91] D.S. Johnson, 'The Belfast boycott, 1920-1922' in J.M Goldstrom and L.A Clarkson, *Irish Population, Economy and Society – Essays in Honour of the Late K.H. Connell* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp.287-307.
[92] Weir, *In and Out of Ireland*, p.59.
[93] McGuire, *Irish Whiskey*, pp.352-3.
[94] A. Bielenberg, 'The Irish Distilling Industry under the Union' in D. Dickson and C. Ó Gráda (eds), *Refiguring Ireland: Essays in Honour of L.M. Cullen* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003), p.305.
[95] Ibid, p.303.
[96] Weir is referenced in Bielenberg, *Irish Distilling Industry under the Union*, p.303.

which was established in 1922 was particularly short sighted in its dealings with the industry and saw the sector primarily as a 'cash cow' i.e. a source of scarce tax revenue. Prohibitive excise demands, general recession and the reemergence of illicit distilling industry were a feature of the first years of the Irish Free State, together with a loss of export orders and confidence. In the north patent-still distilling was now in the hands of DCL which took all its Irish distilleries out of production by the end of the 1920s. By 1925 the Londonderry distilleries had ceased production and by the end of the decade the Belfast ones had stopped production as well. Dunvilles, the remaining independent distiller in Northern Ireland, went out of production through a voluntary liquidation in 1936 selling up at a profit rather than risking its assets in what looked like an unpromising future for the Irish industry. The Scottish industry also had to cope with falling demand, but its contraction was considerably less marked than in Ireland where the industry almost completely collapsed.

The near collapse in distilling activities in the Irish Free State wasn't helped by the extension of the three-year aging period required in the 1915 Act by a further two years' maturation for the spirit to qualify to be designated as whiskey by Saorstát Eireann legislation. This legislation in 1926 does seem to be an 'own goal' by Irish policymakers. The debate in Dáil Eireann[97] in 1926 was a somewhat informed one, it was understood by the participants that the Irish whiskey designation applied to a product from both Ireland (Saorstát) and Northern Ireland. It was clear to the participants that different maturation periods would co-exist following the passing of the 1926 Act in the Free State only. The parliamentarians understood that whiskey produced in Northern Ireland was mainly but not exclusively[98] patent-still grain whiskey and wouldn't benefit or improve on account of the extended maturity period. Pot-still whiskey on the other hand, which was mainly produced in the south, would improve with the additional two years' aging. Rather than this measure being a further temperance-based change, the objective of the 1926 Act was to create a higher-quality product by extending the maturity period by a further two years.[99] But this also meant that poorer quality patent-

[97] The Irish Free State parliament.

[98] For example, Comber distillery, County Down, and Bushmills, County Antrim, were pot-still distilleries.

[99] Comment during the 1926 Dáil debate by Ernest Blythe, Minister for Finance: 'The position certainly is that we must, so far as we can, by legislation, see that the reputation of Irish whiskey and its character are maintained.

still whiskey from Northern Ireland and blends from Scotland would be more expensive to bring to the Irish market without any appreciable improvement in quality after having been aged for a further two years. The legislation was therefore largely protectionist in nature as it favoured the domestic product over whiskey imports from Northern Ireland and Scotland. Critically, there was no discussion in the Dáil of the adverse impact of the legislation on the export market for Free State distillers, and the question is whether this was given sufficient or even any consideration by the lawmakers.

During this period the Scottish distillers despite the contraction in demand comprehensively out competed and out flanked their Irish rivals. Production statistics for Ireland show a decline after 1919 in relative and absolute terms with output falling drastically in both the North and the Irish Free State. Irish output fell from over 11 million gallons in 1920 to under one million gallons in 1926 with total Northern Irish and British production in the same years falling far more gently from 47 million gallons to 28 million gallons. The Irish distilling industry over a period of seven years almost completely collapsed.

Conclusions

This paper opened by highlighting the dominance of Irish distillers over their Scottish competitors in the early nineteenth century, although, as has been discussed throughout the paper, this dominance was relatively short lived. Nevertheless, until early in the twentieth century Irish distillers remained an important element of the industry in the UK and internationally.

The impact of the Distillery Act 1823 on the industry in both Ireland and Scotland was immediate and led to increased production in both countries. The success derived

Competing whiskey is made in the main by a cheaper process. It is a whiskey consisting mostly of spirit which can be obtained at a cheaper rate and the Irish whiskey cannot compete with it on the mere basis of price. If it can compete and hold its own, it must do it on the basis of quality and just as we have certain provisions on the Statute Book for the purpose of seeing that Irish butter and eggs are up to a certain quality, it seems to be proper and desirable, that corresponding steps should be insisted upon with regard to Irish whiskey.'

from setting a uniform and significantly lower rate of duty on spirits produced in both Ireland and Scotland. This removed the possibility of local arrangements creating a competitive advantage for either set of distillers and also ensured a more competitive price for the product. The changed arrangements for bonded storage of the distilled product where duty was only paid at the point of sale rather than following production also encouraged increased levels of activity. Additionally, the introduction of the Spirits Act in 1860 and the changed warehousing regulations in 1848 facilitated access for intermediaries as well as distillers to the warehouses. Extensive blending and bottling activities took place in these bonded warehouses after 1860. The Act also encouraged the entry into the industry of smaller distillers with changes in the taxation of stills.

Throughout most of the period discussed the English market for whiskey was rapidly expanding and this created a context for growth in the industry. The 1823 Act introduced significant improvements in the regulatory framework and facilitated these positive developments in distilling in both Ireland and Scotland.

It is debatable whether the Great Famine in Ireland really disadvantaged the Irish distillers. However, the cross-society nature of the temperance movement meant it probably had a greater impact on demand as more consumers of 'legal' or 'parliament' whiskey renounced the use of alcohol for life.

More generally the 1823 Act introduced a more practical approach to regulation and taxation of the whiskey trade which gave the industry a new lease of life. These stipulations helped support the industry across the entire period under consideration here. For example, with more stability with rules and regulations regarding still size and so on being replaced by a still licence fee it dramatically improved the working capital arrangements of distillers in both countries.

Then looking at the two major players in the industry, Scotland and Ireland, why did the industry ultimately prosper in Scotland and largely fail in Ireland? It seems to me that the answer revolves around meeting the demand for whiskey in the English

market and the strategies pursued by distillers in both countries. The earlier amalgamations and consolidation of the industry in Scotland by DCL and their every action following incorporation worked towards a more successful outcome for the Scottish distillers. A few acts stand out not necessarily because they were commercially successful, but rather because they indicate an approach to risk taking and innovation such as the establishment of the Phoenix Distillery in Dublin. The blunting of the ambitions of UDL by DCL was also a major success in seeing off the attempted establishment of a distillery in Edinburgh by UDL. Ultimately the takeover of UDL and the closing down of the Irish distilleries ensured the continued success of the Scottish distillers.

The critical role of blenders in the Scottish industry undoubtedly worked to their advantage over the Irish industry. The emergence of blender led brands, created by the combination of the patent-still and pot-still output of various distilleries across Scotland, resulted in international brands that have remained instantly recognisable and is probably the single largest explanatory factor for the ultimate success of Scotch compared to Irish whiskey during this period.

From an Irish perspective the promise and opportunity presented by the 1823 Act was not realised by the Irish distillers. They initially introduced patent stills faster than their Scottish competitors, but this initial enthusiasm was not sustained and they were relatively quickly overtaken by Scottish distillers by the mid-nineteenth century. Then, when the capacity existed for producing considerable amounts of patent-still whiskey later in the century, they didn't pursue a coherent or even any type of marketing strategy in terms of brand identity. They also held stubbornly to the quality of their pot-still triple distilled product and didn't engage seriously in creating blended whiskey products and probably created an opening for less legitimate blending of the Irish whiskey by others.

Ultimately Irish whiskey fell from the status of being a premium drink earlier in the eighteenth century. Was there was a lack of ambition and a lack of confidence on the part of the Irish distillers who focussed more on the domestic market? At the same

time the Scottish merchants and blenders were busy marketing their product with considerable success internationally.

In the end the Irish distillers were not helped by the actions of the fledgling cash strapped Irish Free State government. Their short-term perspective on the industry was driven by tax revenue considerations rather than looking to its future potential. Ireland certainly had a comparative advantage in whiskey production with a plentiful supply of water, barley and other cereals (most of the time) and a climate that was ideal for the distillation of whiskey. It is only now in the early twenty-first century with the multinational Pernod Ricard acquisition of Irish Distillers Ltd and also the takeover of Cooley Distillery by Jim Beam (Suntory Global Spirits) and the emergence of Teeling and other smaller distillers that the potential for this industry in Ireland is being exploited.

Contribution to the Literature

This paper has highlighted the importance of the 1823 Act in explaining the forward trajectory of the whiskey industry in Ireland right through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The parallel developments in Scottish industry have been continuously referenced. The main focus of the narrative in the existing literature is related to the implementation of the Coffey still. I have developed this theme and demonstrated that Irish distillers who were the early adopters of this new technology were overtaken by the Scottish distillers by mid-century. Additionally, the paper explains that in the latter part of the nineteenth century the majority of whiskey exports from Ireland emanated from Coffey stills. This is a well-established theme in the literature. Along with presenting a comprehensive picture of the development of the whiskey industry in Ireland this paper has shown a number of key linkages. A line is drawn from the introduction of the Excise Act in 1823 through the Warehousing Act 1848 and the Distillery Act 1860. The latter acts could be seen as elaborations on the 1823 Act when it comes to the storage of whiskey. These developments in the governance framework presented opportunities around the storage and critically the blending and bottling of whiskey by blenders and merchants by 1860. It was, however, the Scottish industry that saw the possibilities offered which goes a long way towards

explaining the greater success of the Scottish industry. This same topic is also associated with the amendment to the Immature Spirits Act 1915 in the Irish parliament that extended the required maturity period from three to five years in 1926. Again, the focus is on the stocks in bonded warehouses but the consequences for the export of Irish whiskey by the policymakers in Ireland were ill considered and almost finished the industry off entirely. As a career economic statistician, I have kept my focus on the key indicators such as production, consumption, investment including inventories (stocks) and exports of the whiskey industry. In preparing the paper I have tried to demonstrate the value of this data-focussed approach. Ultimately the picture drawn is of an Irish industry that was conservative and cautious or as Madeleine Humphreys[100] says, lacked confidence.

[100] Madeleine Humphreys, 'An Issue of Confidence: The Decline of the Irish Whiskey Industry in Independent Ireland, 1922-1952', *Journal of European Economic History* (1994) 23:1, p.93.

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[101] Almost every annual *Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue* and the *Reports of the Commissioners for H M Customs and Excise* 1857-1922 have been consulted and data has been appended to my database. Only the key reports in terms of data presented are listed here.

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200 Years Young: A Spotlight on Heritage at The Macallan

Katherine Chorley, The Macallan at Edrington

The Macallan Speyside single malt Scotch whisky celebrated '200 Years Young' in 2024. Founded by teacher, farmer and distiller Alexander Reid in 1824, there are many moments to celebrate and stories to tell. A programme of celebrations and product releases throughout the year honoured The Macallan's legacy, all underpinned by a rich and diverse business archive collection which documents the company's heritage, creativity and craftsmanship. Having been formally established in 2018, The Macallan Heritage is far more than a source of inspiration for the brand. The collection encompasses the stories of the people and places that have built and shaped The Macallan; evidences the evolution of the brand's DNA; and documents the journey of The Macallan products. Written from an archivist's perspective, this article provides an overview of the formation and growth of a unique business archive and presents a reflective insight into the development process of an anniversary publication. To set the scene for the significance of The Macallan's 200th anniversary, it is first necessary to give an overview of the company's heritage and provide some context for its place in the wider Scotch whisky industry. From this, it is possible to see how the development of The Macallan culminated in the wide-ranging celebrations which took place in 2024, each element of which is inspired by characters, traditions and milestones from its past, with an eye firmly on its future legacy.

Introduction

Nestled in the countryside of north-eastern Scotland, today The Macallan Distillery sits at the heart of a 485-acre estate. The origins of The Macallan estate can be traced back to the 1500s, when Duncan Grant was granted a charter for the lands of Easter Elchies by the Bishop of Moray in 1543. Generations of the Grant family presided over the land, and in 1700 Captain John Grant commissioned the extension and development of an existing L-shaped tower. The building became known as Easter Elchies House and is now a brand icon and 'spiritual home' of The Macallan. In 1819, an advertisement in the *Inverness Courier* proposed an opportunity to take on a 19-year lease for the Mains of Easter Elchies, a farm on the Earl of Seafield's estate near Craigellachie in Moray, on the opposite bank of the River Spey. The farm included 94 acres of arable land and 59 acres of pasture. Described as 'delightfully situated for the residence of a Gentleman'

and with 'sharp soil'[1], this offered a perfect opportunity to a local entrepreneurial mind, Alexander Reid. Having been raised on a farm, Reid pursued a career as a teacher at Elgin Academy and taking up a post in 1803, he was responsible for teaching 'English Language and Grammar with Writing and Arithmetic'. He earned much respect in this role, with the Academy's examiners reporting in 1811 that 'the English department under Mr Reid appeared to have been conducted with the greatest ability and success.'[2] From 1819, on his new path, Reid worked and nurtured the land at Easter Elchies, bringing previously unused areas of the farm into cultivation. He was an active member of the Morayshire Farmers Club, often winning prizes for his produce, including seed oats. Reid's dedication to quality stood him in good stead for his next business venture. Expanding and developing his farm holdings and expertise, Reid was likely preparing for the launch of legal distilling operations; not an unusual move given that landowners had begun to lobby the government to legalise distilling from the late 1700s. As German and Adamson maintain, 'entrepreneurial tenant farmers and landowners' were primed to 'seize the market' when laws were amended in the early 1820s.[3]

The Excise Act of 1823 aimed to regulate the Scotch whisky industry and clamp down on illicit distilling. In leading distilling away from serving small local markets, towards larger, economically integrated businesses, Hume and Moss conclude simply that 'the new legislation had the planned effect'.[4] A flurry of new distilleries opened across Scotland. In The Macallan's corner of the country, 25 licensed ventures were operating in Aberdeenshire by 1825, and a further 41 in the Elgin district, having risen from one

[1] 'Beautiful Farm to be Let', *Inverness Courier* (Inverness, 11 February 1819) p.1, <www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> accessed 11 November 2023.
[2] 'Elgin Academy', *Aberdeen Press and Journal* (Aberdeen, 17 July 1811) p.1 <www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> accessed 11 November 2023.
[3] Kieran German and Gregor Adamson, 'Distilling in the Cabrach, c.1800-1850: The Illicit Origins of the Scotch Whisky Industry' (2019) 39.2, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, p.265.
[4] M.S. Moss and J.R. Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry* (Edinburgh: James & James, 1981), p.73.

and none respectively.[5] At Easter Elchies, Alexander Reid established a distillery in 1824, and The Macallan was born.

Practices instilled by Reid in the early years became hallmarks of The Macallan. While much of the industry moved to larger stills in the late 1820s to increase production output, Reid held firm that smaller stills produced a higher quality, more characterful spirit. Reid's emphasis on quality over quantity undoubtedly helped to define the path of The Macallan that would be trodden by his successors. This steadfast approach is evidenced again over a century later, when in the 1950s and 1960s there was a trend of distilleries increasing the production capacity of stills. A small number of distilleries, including The Macallan, maintained that still size is critical, opting instead to multiply stills to increase output.[6] Hence The Macallan's unique 'curiously small stills' are integral parts of both spirit production and brand communication. These deep-rooted practices and values demonstrate the breadth of the legacy celebrated by the brand in 2024.

The Archive as a Physical Manifestation of Legacy

The narrative recounted above is encapsulated in The Macallan Archive – a physical manifestation of the brand's legacy. The archive is relatively new, having been formalised in 2018 with the appointment of the first archive manager. Following consultations and survey work carried out by Scotland's business archive surveying officer from 2015 onwards, historic records were collated from around the business, including many that had been stored at The Macallan Distillery. Today, the rich collection of almost 80,000 items and growing, dates from the nineteenth century and tells the story of the brand's journey of creativity and craftsmanship, documenting all aspects of The Macallan and its people. The collection is diverse, containing business records and correspondence; photography; artwork and illustrations; maps and plans; objects; garments; bottle labels; and of course, bottles and packaging. Strengths of the collection include correspondence covering the 1890s-1930s which provides insight

[5] Kieran German and Gregor Adamson, 'Distilling in the Cabrach, c.1800-1850: The Illicit Origins of the Scotch Whisky Industry' (2019) 39:2, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, pp.151-2.
[6] Moss and Hume, *The Making of Scotch Whisky*, p.208.

into all aspects of distillery operations and production during these years, as well as personal relationships and personalities of owners and management; and a large collection of artworks and illustrations dating from 1980s-90s, which gives a comprehensive overview of advertisements that appeared in newspapers and magazines during these years.

Once surveyed and collated, storage space for the records was secured, and work began to catalogue the archive. In parallel, a series of digitisation projects focusing on key record sets has further aided access and discovery of the collection and ensured that high resolution images, now preserved in an Arkivum digital repository, are available to be used as required by the brand. A growing digital archive, containing this digitised content ensures the archive can capitalise on ad hoc requests, as well as having a consistent visual presence in meetings, campaigns and initiatives. A recent project to digitise the bottle archive was the foundation for the development of the heritage-led anniversary publication that will be discussed in detail later. Two existing unpublished manuscripts of The Macallan history, one written by a former employee in the 2010s, have served as a valuable starting point for the discovery of deeper, richer stories. As well as encouraging the ongoing verification and research of the existing narrative using the archive collection, the manuscripts have also been useful for mapping areas to be researched further. As with most archive collections, there are gaps in the records; consequently, targeted research and oral history programmes have been developed to ensure that these gaps are filled. In many cases, secondary sources such as contemporary newspapers are a useful tool to corporate archivists, alongside other archive collections. The exercise of identifying and exploring gaps in corporate collections using external sources also allows room for reflection and the consideration of an organisation's narrative from a different perspective.

Beyond fundamental archival activities such as cataloguing, digitisation and research, outreach and advocacy work is part of the archive's core function. Arguably, embedding these activities into the archive's scope from its inception, and subsequently formalising them in a heritage strategy, has accelerated its development and maturity, enabling it to be used as a key asset in celebrating The Macallan's bicentenary. By the continuous development of internal resources and research guides,

a growing knowledge bank continues to inspire and inform authentic and emotive heritage storytelling. Through seeking knowledge-sharing opportunities at meetings and with key stakeholders, The Macallan Archive has positioned itself as an important strategic pillar of the brand; 'heritage' has become embedded in the brand's vocabulary. Far more than the collection being used literally in advertising and marketing, The Macallan's history is intertwined with the brand's DNA, meaning that it is authentically referenced at every touchpoint as a true pillar of The Macallan's identity. Ongoing research into the collection and beyond continues to ensure that it remains the single source of truth for the brand, and that the heritage team are the authority on The Macallan's history.

In the Right Place

The Macallan Archive, preserved by the heritage team, is part of the marketing function of the business which ensures a captive internal audience of creative minds. As a business asset, the archive is used for a wide range of initiatives both internal and outward facing, from inspiring new product development, advising on storytelling for global campaigns, assisting with brand protection queries, and as the voice of authority of brand heritage, ensuring that an accurate narrative is portrayed both through consumer engagement and internal advocacy. A key part of developing the archive, and therefore elevating its status since formation, is its position as part of the creative team within the wider marketing function. This structure ensures good internal visibility and facilitates a high level of engagement with the brand's history.

For the creative team who view the archive as a mine of inspiration, historical narratives do more than 'reproduce the events they describe; rather they guide our thoughts about the events in a certain direction'.[7] Often inspired by a character, anecdote or milestone documented in the archive, The Macallan's heritage is regularly used to inform storytelling in both product and advertising campaigns. Examples include prestige releases such as the *Tales of The Macallan* series and *The Red*

[7] Rania Labkani et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives in the Family Business' in E. Memili and C. Dibrell (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Heterogenity Among Family Firms* (New York: Springer, 2019), p.532.

Collection, which illuminate the brand's pioneering characters, and the historic significance of the colour red to The Macallan, respectively. Since 2018, the archive's direct involvement in such heritage marketing has solidified its strong position in advance of the anniversary year. Alongside organisational structure, 'the way managers see the past impacts their use of history as a valuable strategic resource'.[8] For The Macallan Heritage team, opportunities and invitations to share knowledge at the beginning of projects are both encouraged and assisted by the genuine interest and appreciation of authentic history by the creative director, and other senior stakeholders who are involved in the archive's management.

An appreciation and respect for the 'value' of corporate collections is shared across the archive sector[9] and is so often well communicated to parent bodies, both by archivists themselves, and by sector-specific groups, such as the Business Archives Council of Scotland, Business Archives Council and the International Council on Archives Section on Business Archives. This sentiment is largely shared across the whisky industry, with distilleries being identified as a group of organisations that commonly use their heritage to enhance 'an organisation's authenticity' and differentiate from 'other companies in the same industry'.[10] It is here that the heritage team can play an invaluable and irreplaceable role, as experts in the historical narrative, and skilled professionals in interpreting and analysing the archive collection in their care.

The Road to '200 Years Young'

Preparations for the bicentenary began years in advance. From the point the archive was formally established, the eyes of the heritage team and wider business were increasingly focused on 2024. From 2018, groundwork continued to be laid through the ongoing development of the collection itself, and the growing use of The Macallan's heritage by the marketing function, in line with the heritage strategy developed and

[8] William M. Foster et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives: A Theoretical Framework' (2016) 59:8, *Business History*, p.1180.
[9] Andrew Hull and Peter Scott, 'The 'Value' of Business Archives: Assessing the Academic Importance of Corporate Archival Collections' (2020) 15:1 *Management and Organizational History*, pp.1-21.
[10] Foster et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives', p.1186.

implemented by the archive manager. Progress against the strategy was central in laying the groundwork for the heritage team's place and active involvement in discussions and planning for the celebratory year, which began in 2021. In parallel, the 2022 advertising campaign *The Spirit of 1926* developed foundations for communicating The Macallan's heritage beyond, and independently of, products; the eight-minute film tells the story of Nettie Harbinson, the first female managing partner of the distillery, who ran operations between 1918 and 1938, and is inspired by research uncovered in the archive. This evolution and growth of the heritage strategy was assisted, of course, by the organisational structure and stakeholder interest in the archive, which was an integral part in ensuring involvement in conversations from the start.

As initiatives were confirmed and projects were defined for the bicentenary, the role of the team in supporting the '200 Years Young' celebrations evolved, from sharing inspiring research, to advising on how to articulate chosen moments from The Macallan's history in an authentic and compelling way across multiple campaigns. The overarching theme of the year was 'time-travel', providing a rich opportunity to embed elements of the authentic heritage narrative throughout brand messaging. As a business, The Macallan has taken a unique and very creative approach to the bicentenary, stretching beyond what might be considered a traditional celebration of a corporate anniversary. A reflection of the core creative values that guide the brand and the desire of The Macallan to follow its own path, the approach also demonstrates a broader evolution in marketing and approaches to anniversaries, particularly in the Scotch whisky industry.[11] For the heritage team, this presented the opportunity to showcase both tangible elements of the historic narrative, such as products and buildings, as well as intangibles, including 'rituals' and 'shared stories of past events'.[12]

The bicentenary year began with the release of *The Tales of The Macallan Volume II,* a decanter of vintage single malt whisky distilled in 1949 which pays homage to Alexander Reid. Following this, a year-long programme continued to honour the

[11] S.R.H. Jones, 'Brand Building and Structural Change in the Scotch Whisky Industry Since 1975' (2010) 45:3, *Business History,* p.87.
[12] Rania Labkani et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives', p.542.

brand's heritage whilst also looking ahead to its future legacy in equal measure: in May 2024 a collaboration with Cirque du Soleil launched at The Macallan Estate, an immersive sensory experience which married the artistry of whisky making and performing arts; a soundtrack composed by British singer-songwriter, Emeli Sandé titled 'Roots', was an artistic celebration of The Macallan's ongoing creative legacy, and the brand's roots in nature, history, craftsmanship and community; and in a tribute to The Macallan's past and future, the *Time:Space* product contains both the oldest and youngest whiskies released by the brand in a ground-breaking dual chambered vessel.

Additionally, a collection of 200 illustrated poems capturing 200 key moments from The Macallan's history were brought together in *The Heart of The Spirit* campaign. The origins and inspiration for the stories told through these activations were selected by the heritage team and are captured in, and woven together by, The Macallan Archive collection. Beyond product releases, celebratory events and global campaigns, the spirit of '200 Years Young' encapsulates the sentiment of the archive. A treasure trove of moments and custodians past, the archive collection also continues to grow every day, as tomorrow's history is captured and preserved for the future.

A Unique Opportunity

Significantly, 2024 presented a unique opportunity for the heritage team to lead and directly manage an external facing project. The years of research, digitisation and advocacy from 2018 onwards, which had all shone a spotlight on the rich content of The Macallan Archive, peaked interest and gathered momentum across the business, and the decision was made that 2024 was the perfect opportunity to release a published history. Receiving a brief to create and deliver a 'product history book' the heritage team were tasked with telling The Macallan's story through the lens of its product portfolio. Drawing inspiration from the hardback book *Patek Philippe: An Authorised Biography*,[13] an engaging look into the history of the world-renowned watchmakers, The Macallan book was to venture beyond a traditional corporate written history. By offering a unique insight into the brand's heritage and the

[13] Nicholas Foulkes, *Patek Philippe: The Authorized Biography* (London, Preface Publishing, 2016).

continuing legacy of its products, the book takes the reader on a journey through the past 200 years. The narrative explores The Macallan's pioneers, key milestones and innovations, giving exposure to the brand's heritage in a way never seen before. Taking the form of a visually led coffee table style publication, it is designed to be enjoyed over a dram. The first print run of the book was a limited release, to be gifted to friends and selected consumers of The Macallan.

Taking around 18 months from receiving the brief to the launch date, the development process of the book directly involved over 40 collaborators, from copywriters, editors, photographers and graphic designers to packaging technology specialists and internal legal team colleagues. In addition to this, a network of external stakeholders, including researchers, and a host of external archive and museum collections were consulted. Supported by creative team colleagues, a creative agency and copywriters, the heritage team oversaw and project managed the entire process, from the beginning through to production. In the context of The Macallan Heritage this presented an important opportunity, given that the team are regularly involved in projects in the ideation and development phase, but often less so in delivery and execution. This ensured that the team was able to truly guide, influence and inspire the project, based on their professional and expert knowledge of the collection, heritage and wider brand memory. Regular project meetings ensured a forum for sharing ideas, suggestions and feedback. Coller et al.[14] reflect on 'the passive role that archivists are generally thought to have in the creation and development of corporate archives' which serves to show that there is perhaps work still to be done on education around the role of an archivist, so as not to do any injustice to the breadth and variety of work that is entrusted to individuals whose profession it is to be an expert in an organisation's history.

To start the project, an external design team was selected to develop the look and feel of the book. It was also agreed that a portfolio of new photography would be commissioned to highlight a selection of significant bottlings from The Macallan bottle archive, and to take a celebratory look at the natural beauty of The Macallan estate – a photographer was chosen. The design team and the photographer travelled to The

[14] Kristene E. Coller et al., 'The British Airways Heritage Collection: An Ethnographic 'History'' (2015) 58:4, *Business History*, p.556.

Macallan estate for an immersive visit, gaining an insight into the DNA of the brand and familiarising themselves with elements that are unique to The Macallan, including the production site and the natural location of the distillery. The project team spent time exploring The Macallan's bottle archive, to gain an appreciation of the scale and variety of products that were to lead the content and visual flow of the book. A visit to the archive to see first-hand the records that tell the story of The Macallan was also organised, which was integral to the project team gaining an insight into the rich and diverse material that was available to support the narrative and bottle photography. With the aim of setting the heritage team's suggested direction for the narrative, the project team viewed curated highlights from the collection, including early cask books and correspondence, as well as photographs and artwork. This introduced both the range of material and formats in the archive, as well as a visual representation of the records that tell key heritage brand messages, and celebrate milestones, innovations and pioneers. Following this initial visit, digitisation work carried out as part of the heritage strategy in the preceding years proved to be vital to the project in ensuring a suite of high-quality assets was available for immediate use. Access to this resource was facilitated by The Macallan's digital archive, containing thousands of digitised files, which enabled ongoing access to the collection to the entire team, which was spread across Europe. The value of this digitisation, however, was far greater than reference, with hundreds of these photographs later being used in the publication itself.

These visits were shortly followed by a presentation of initial concept ideas for the design of the book, and a suggested approach for the portfolio of new photography was agreed. The new stylised photographs of key historic bottlings would feature throughout the book, punctuating the chapters and allowing accompanying copy to draw on key themes and brand messages represented by each. The photographer's 'still life' style complemented this approach, with the proposed 'staging' of photographs making it possible to incorporate relevant objects and imagery into the shot alongside the bottle, to enhance the storytelling. The importance of the heritage team's direct management of the project was demonstrated even at this early stage, as an in-depth knowledge of the historic product portfolio was vital to the selection of the 12 bottles chosen for the still life photography portfolio. While a creative-led approach would have seen the selection made by the photographer or design team based on individual

design preferences, a heritage-led approach ensured that the selection could be used as a vehicle to tell an authentic story, rooted in key milestones across the last 200 years. As the recognised experts on brand history, the heritage team were entrusted to make this selection of key bottles. This was enabled by the existing close working relationship and regular communication between the heritage and wider creative teams, from which a common language and shared understanding of key historic milestones has developed. Overseeing the photoshoot, the heritage team ensured the safe handling of the bottles and 'props' from the archive collection that were used in the still life photographs.

Building on the resource bank of existing research and digitised material, the heritage team mapped out which other products to include in the book (over 340 bottles were selected to feature in total). In parallel, the narrative structure of the publication was developed, together with a checklist of key people, milestones and brand messaging that was to be woven throughout each of the eight chapters. The selected copywriters began to immerse themselves in the world of The Macallan and using the existing unpublished histories and resource packs prepared by the heritage team, work began drafting the chapters. Working with a copywriter rather than a historian is perhaps a marked change from other published brand histories; this decision allowed the heritage team to guide the translation of the historical narrative, into the brand's tone of voice, elevating it beyond a written history into a valuable tool for consumer and brand engagement. As the narrative began to take shape, the process of selecting images to accompany the copy and contextualise the bottles started. Many of the images used in the book are from The Macallan archive, with the majority having never been published before. Several images were sourced and licensed by the heritage team from other collections to add valuable contextual and supporting information. Highlights include records kindly reproduced from the Seafield Papers held by the National Records of Scotland, which document Alexander Reid leasing land at Easter Elchies from 1819, and an article in a 1924 issue of *Wine and Spirits Trade Record* containing images of the distillery production areas in The Macallan's centenary year.

As draft chapters were received and shared with internal stakeholders, the editorial approach was refined and confirmed. Several rounds of updated graphic designs were

reviewed with the selected images aligned alongside the copy. Extended captions were developed to support collections of bottles within each chapter, ensuring the focus on 'product history' remains in view. Detailing the history of branding, labelling and bottle closures, as well as the whisky itself, a potted history of The Macallan product portfolio sits neatly alongside that of the business more generally. Shorter captions contextualising other imagery were drafted by the heritage team, before being stylised by the editorial team. As the subject-matter experts, the heritage team were responsible for ensuring all the necessary contextual information was included in the book. Direct involvement in the project allowed these requirements to be balanced alongside design-led preferences. After several rounds of proofreading and a period of internal review, the design and content were approved, and at the time of writing, production of the book is complete. At each stage, the direct involvement of the heritage team proved to be imperative. From fact-checking and guiding the tone of voice of the narrative, to advising on image placement, the collaboration between the copywriters, design team and the archivists ultimately ensured the development of an authentic history of The Macallan.

Looking Ahead

Anniversaries are very often key drivers of engagement with corporate heritage and business archive collections. The Macallan's bicentenary is no different, with 2024 casting a spotlight on the archive. While preparations for the planned global activations and product launches started years in advance, 2024 itself saw a renewed appreciation and enthusiasm for the brand's legacy. Alongside increased consumer awareness of The Macallan's history, internal audiences have also been engaged. Requests for further information and visits to the archive gained momentum, and The Macallan Heritage now has wider visibility across the business, stretching beyond the marketing department, to senior executives. As a heritage function, 2024 was the ideal time to capitalise on this interest, for the team to continue advocating the importance of preserving business archive collections, to continue inspiring storytelling and new product development, and to continue developing the archive. As thoughts increasingly turned to plans beyond 2024, '200 Years Young' perfectly summarises the direction of the archive as much as that of The Macallan as a company. It is a fitting

time to reflect on the strategic use of the archive, and a compelling demonstration of the ability of historical narratives to 'connect the past, present and future of an organisation'.[15] The Macallan archive manager, Cheryl Traversa comments on the powerful development of The Macallan Heritage 'towards being drivers of strategic heritage-led projects, not just contributors to existing plans.' As a living business archive collection, The Macallan Heritage will continue to inspire the brand's future legacy, with plans included as part of the strategy for further heritage-led activations and targeted consumer engagement. Through ongoing work with colleagues and brand collaborators, The Macallan Heritage will also ensure the creation of a lasting legacy beyond the celebratory year; outputs of the anniversary campaigns and beyond are being captured for the archive, as part of a regular targeted collecting and acquisition plan.

As Labkani maintains, 'history is not a mere assemblage of facts from the past but bears the capacity to be managed.'[16] An observation, therefore, that specialist professionals are required to exploit an organisation's history to the full. Reflecting further on the role of business archivists specifically, the project to manage creation of a publication demonstrates the varied responsibilities of heritage professionals. Beyond advising and contributing to the content of the book by providing relevant information and assets, The Macallan Heritage team were involved in the entire process, from the photoshoot and creative concept to production of the book. As heritage professionals in a corporate environment, job roles can vary widely, often stretching beyond the 'traditional roles of record-keeper and collection manager'.[17] Aspects of business archivists' work, perhaps once traditionally defined as 'outreach'[18], often now form an integral part of day-to-day tasks. Nevertheless, such opportunities would not have been possible without the foundations being laid by theoretical archive practice, followed by the cataloguing, research, digitisation and advocacy that enables the discovery and

[15] William M. Foster et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives: A Theoretical Framework' (2016) 59:8, *Business History*, p.1180.
[16] Rania Labkani et al., 'The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives in the Family Business' in E. Memili and C. Dibrell (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Heterogenity among Family Firms,* (New York: Springer: 2019), p.542.
[17] Evgenia Vassilakaki, Valentini Moniarou-Papaconstantinou, 'Beyond Preservation: Investigating the Roles of Archivist' (2017) 66:3 *Library Review*, p.110.
[18] Christopher Weir, 'The Marketing Context. Outreach: Luxury or Necessity?' (2004) 25:1, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, p.71-7.

use of the collection. Embracing these circumstances as they arise, business archivists are empowered to use their skills and perspectives to add increased value to heritage within a corporate environment. At each stage in this anniversary publication project, the specialist knowledge and expertise of The Macallan Heritage team provided a unique perspective, ultimately contributing to a truly authentic representation of 200 years of history.

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The Universal Whisky: Advertising Scotch Whisky to the Empire in The Illustrated London News, 1890-19141

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On Tuesday 12 May 1908, John Dewar & Sons, Limited, of Perth and London, officially opened their new bespoke headquarters at Dewar House, Haymarket.[2] The occasion was marked by a full-page article commemorating this achievement in the 23 May 1908 *Illustrated London News* [*ILN*]. The article celebrated the expansion and success of the business in the new premises due to Dewar's entrepreneurial spirit since they entered the London and export markets in 1886. By 1908, Dewar's recognition and popularity as a brand of Scotch whisky had grown to such a degree that the *ILN* author refers to Dewar's as 'a household name wherever people are sufficiently civilised to be able to appreciate whisky…' with distribution branches across the world from New York to Sydney, to Calcutta (Kolkata) and Barbados.[3] These branches represented an international network of distribution on a scale that hints at the demand for Scotch whisky outside of Scotland with Anglo or Imperial links but does not explain how the industry achieved this growth beyond the brand name.

In the 22 years since Dewar's arrived in London, drinking culture changed. Scotch whisky became synonymous with whisky, overtaking Irish whiskey consumption and replacing brandy's popularity in the city. Figures for the importation of spirits from Scotland and Ireland into the English market demonstrate that between 1870 and 1890, the two whiskies were relatively close in importation volume at approximately two million proof gallons [mpg] per year. In 1890, the figure for Scotch whisky importation started to climb reaching seven mpg in 1900, while Irish whiskey grew more modestly to 4 mpg.[4] While there are several factors that can explain the difference in importation for these whiskies that extend beyond the preference of the consumer, the purpose

[1] The research for this article was supported by funding from the William Lind Foundation and the Centre for Business History Scotland.

[2] H.C. Craig, *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record* (Glasgow: Index Publishing, 1994), p.192.

[3] 'The House of Dewar', *Illustrated London News*, 23 May 1908, p.761, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003, <https://www.gale.com/intl/c/illustrated-london-news-historical-archive> accessed 3 December 2024.

[4] R.B. Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974), p.159.

here is to represent the scale of Scotch whisky imports to England. Further to this, consumption of imported spirits outwith the production of the UK, which included spirits such as rum and brandy had reached a peak in 1875 of nearly 12 mpg in total, but by 1890 this saw a drop in volume to approximately 4.5 mpg for rum and 2.5 mpg for brandy.[5] With a world of choice, why did importation of the spirit from Scotland dominate the market share in England at the end of the century and how did this impact consumption within the Empire?

To answer this question, this article addresses two concurrent changes in the Scotch whisky industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the rise and recognition of brand names for Scotch whisky, and the adoption of Scotch whisky as a popular beverage. A means of mass promotion developed concurrent to the rise in exports of Scotch whisky, which made it possible to communicate brand names but also represent the changing cultural perception and preference for Scotch whisky. The *ILN* has been studied and recognised as a vehicle for the dispersion of British culture and mass advertising literacy within the British Empire, and for that reason is utilised here to examine the changes the industry underwent. Advertisements began in the classified format but transformed with technological innovation, allowing the inclusion of product images and further evolved to create semiotic aesthetics around brands and consumer goods. The period 1890-1914 also represented the establishment of visual and textual advertising tropes for the industry and the development of brand identities, which continue to be utilised by the contemporary Scotch whisky industry. Examining advertisements demonstrates the change that Scotch whisky underwent from a Victorian-coded Scottish spirit to a drink that had mass appeal, popular beyond the Scottish diaspora, for a wider Imperial community.

Advertisements as Textual Evidence

Dewar's was not alone in expanding the distribution of Scotch whisky in markets beyond Scotland's border. Their success elevated them among the pantheon of whisky merchants to be immortalised as Whisky Barons, also referred to as the Big Five, by twentieth-century whisky writers such as Andrews, Daiches and Lockhart, who

[5] Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland,* p.165.

included firms John Walker and Sons, James Buchanan and Co., John Haig and Co. and Mackie & Co. later White Horse Distillers.[6] The authors venerated these whisky magnates by emphasising the enterprising qualities of the firm founders and successive entrepreneurial generations. Entrepreneurial credit is consistent with the literature in business history, as discussed by Hébert and Link regarding the treatment of entrepreneurs by historians and in the study of global alcohol drinks brands' origins by da Silva Lopes and Casson.[7] Clever business sense alone does not explain the entrepreneur's activity or reveal why some firms succeeded and others failed.

With the expansion of the Scotch whisky industry internationally, questions arise about how different levels of industry stakeholders achieved this growth. Writers and historians of Scotch whisky have broadened the entrepreneurial genius explanation, but they focus on entrepreneurs' decisions regarding distilling capacity and competition and cooperation among firms. Moss and Hume examined distilling capacity and changes in production in the 1981 *The Making of Scotch Whisky*.[8] Organisational studies by Weir and later Bower, then Perchard and MacKenzie, have examined the rise in power of the Distiller's Company Limited [DCL] through consolidation, amalgamation and cartel behaviour among a consortium of grain distillers who became a significant competitor and later collaborator with the Big Five.[9] The preference for Scotch whisky over brandy has also been attributed to the 1880s phylloxera blight that decimated grape vines in Europe causing significant supply problems for brandy drinkers, with whisky entrepreneurs taking advantage of a perceived gap in the market as a result.[10] It was not enough to control production

[6] A. Andrews, *The Whisky Barons*. (Glasgow: The Angels' Share, 2002); D. Daiches, *Scotch Whisky: Its Past and Present*, first published 1969, 1st American edition (New York: Macmillan, 1970); R.B. Lockhart, *Scotch: The Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story*, first published 1951, fifth edition (London: Putnam & Co., 1974).

[7] R.F. Hébert and A.N. Link, 'Historical Perspectives on the Entrepreneur' 2006 2(4), *Foundations and Trends in Entrepreneurship,* pp.261-408; T. da Silva Lopes and M. Casson, 'Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands' 2007 81(4), *Business History Review,* pp.651-80.

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[10] Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland,* p.174.

capacity and whisky inventory; these entrepreneurs had to get their whisky to consumers via marketing strategies to increase consumer demand.

In the nineteenth century, the Scotch whisky industry experienced a significant transformation in its marketing strategies by integrating periodical advertisements. Increased promotion marked a pivotal departure in marketing by the industry to a targeted approach, which led to the formation of brand identities and brand equity for Scotch whisky firms. The increased investment in periodical advertisements was crucial in shaping consumer perception of Scotch whisky. Historic advertising for Scotch whisky has garnered some attention for enduring brands such as Dewar's, Buchanan's and Johnnie Walker, yet the identification of first entrants and the formation of tropes across the industry have been neglected.

Marketing activity includes distribution, pricing and promotion; opening branch offices abroad has explained the former, and accounts on pricing are limited to a reflection on market segmentation by Morgan and Moss.[11] The literature is divided regarding promotion and how much advertising contributed to the success of the Scotch whisky industry. Weir demonstrated in his thesis that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, advertising was considered by some to be a distasteful activity, continuing the emphasis on quality of the spirit and trust through brand names with brands such as Bell's and Walker's hesitating to use the medium to promote their blends directly to consumers.[12] Through the example of Dewar's, Weir demonstrated a shift that emerged to embrace direct-to-consumer advertising alongside international expansion, with the cost of this investment in annual advertising expenditure by the brand increasing from £688 to £22,244 between 1891 and 1900.[13] Despite this increase in advertising expense and frequency, Weir concluded that it is not worthwhile to judge the industry's growth by pitting the advertising activity of different firms against each other because advertisements were homogenous in themes and imagery.[14] Establishing an empirical figure for financial benefits from advertising by judging the reception of

[11] N. Morgan and M. Moss, 'The Marketing of Scotch Whisky: An Historical Perspective' in R.S. Tedlow and G. Jones (eds), *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp.126-7.
[12] Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland*, pp.440-1, 506-7.
[13] Ibid., pp 535-47.
[14] Ibid., pp.562-3.

specific campaigns may be insurmountable. However, firms like Dewar's considered it a worthwhile expense, or it would not have made financial sense to continue investment in advertisements.

Morgan and Moss also highlight the 'generic and well-defined themes' frequently used in the marketing of Scotch whisky but focus primarily on these themes in brands of whiskies that contributed to market segmentation and not on how these brands developed or communicated these themes in advertisements.[15] In sum, they explained the industry's success in expanding to an international market through the quality and consistency of Scotch whisky sold under brand names, especially those created by the Whisky Barons in the nineteenth century.[16] Hands demonstrated how these brands, with the example of Buchanan and Walker, changed the perception of Scotch whisky by marketing their whisky as respectable.[17] These accounts move towards explaining the Scotch whisky industry's marketing activity away from the entrepreneur narrative but ultimately focus marketing on the brands these entrepreneurs created.

The emergence of brands is a feature across alcoholic beverages in the nineteenth century, with brand names offering assurances to customers for quality, consistency and origin. As demonstrated for champagne in works by Guy and later Harding, wine and spirit merchant W. A. Gilbey by Hands, and industry-wide alcohol brand development by Duguid.[18] Duguid made a case for the development of alcohol brands beyond the role of the entrepreneur to explain the emergence of brands as a response to external forces. He advocated for the role of the consumer; they contributed to the environment where brands were needed, such as requiring assurance of quality. Thereby, they dictated how brands developed through the consumer's interpretation

[15] Morgan and Moss, 'The Marketing of Scotch Whisky an Historical Perspective', pp.127-8.
[16] Ibid., pp.116-31.
[17] T. Hands, 'Making Scotch Respectable: Buchanan and Walker' in Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard.* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), pp.69-83.
[18] K. Guy, *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity.* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003); G. Harding, *Champagne in Britain, 1800-1914: How the British Transformed a French Luxury* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021); T. Hands, 'The 'Illusion' of the Brand: W & A Gilbey' in Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), pp.850-91; P. Duguid, 'Developing the Brand: The Case of Alcohol' 2003 4(3), *Enterprise and Society*, pp.405-41.

of trademarks and advertisements.[19] With this in mind, Scotch whisky brands developed within the context of similar forces among alcoholic beverages, with the formation of brands, their identities, and their advertisements representing what the firms believed appealed to or assured their customers. The literature on advertisements for Scotch whisky has had limited analysis; pictorial advertising is addressed by two trade books, one commemorating Victorian poster art and the other in service of brand identity.[20] This has been followed by a PhD thesis analysing the development and change in imagery used to advertise Scotch whisky from 1890 to 1970.[21] Analysing the advertisements across the industry, despite perceptions of homogeneity, reveals patterns in what competing firms wanted to convey about their brands to consumers and can infer what associations and motivations consumers had to drink Scotch whisky. The ability to examine the *ILN* holistically through a digital archive has made it possible to interpret thousands of instances where 'whisky' or 'Scotch whisky' was mentioned in articles and advertisements to identify patterns of change and activity by competing actors. This is a significant resource to interpret the industry's activity during a periodisation when physical records for companies may not have been kept, have since been lost, or face access challenges by deposition in private corporate archives.

In contrast to the limited advertising accounts for Scotch whisky, advertisements in the periodical press have received attention for their contribution to the popularity of commodities and the emphasis on brand-name products. Advertisements as textual evidence in historical studies have demonstrated the persuasive power of advertisements and their role in social communication, shaping consumer purchasing with wider cultural influence.[22] In particular, works relevant to this study of Scotch whisky advertisements are the research on *fin de siècle* advertisements that shaped

[19] Duguid, 'Developing the Brand,' p.433.
[20] J. Murray, *The Art of Whisky: A Deluxe Blend of Historic Posters from the Public Record Office* (Kew: PRO Publications, 1998); J. Hughes, *Still Going Strong: A History of Whisky Advertising* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2005).
[21] M. McCormack, *Making Whisky Scotch: Advertising a National Drink and a Global Spirit, 1890-1970* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2024).
[22] W. Leiss, S. Kline, S. Jhally, J. Botterill and K. Asquith, *Social Communication in Advertising* (London: Routledge, 2018); D. Pope, 'Making Sense of Advertisements', *History Matters: The US Survey Course on the Web*, June 2003; R. Beasley and M. Danesi, *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising* (New York: De Gruyter, 2002).

British popular culture in the work of Hedley and advertisements that manipulated the perception of tea as an Imperial beverage in work by Chatterjee as well as Higgins and Velkar.[23] Smits illustrates how the *ILN* contributed to cultivating a shared Imperial identity and union between communities separated by a great distance.[24] The *ILN* features prominently in these accounts for its significant international circulation and adoption of illustration in advertisements, coinciding with the growth of Scotch whisky exports. The literature has recognised the *ILN* as a multi-disciplinary resource for cultural and literary studies and for its ability to study the development of brand identities and product design in advertisements.[25] In the study of commodities and brands, King noted that within the *ILN,* the advertisements typically represented luxury goods.[26] This is significant for insight into how *ILN* readers could have perceived Scotch whisky advertisements.

It is easier to quantify and analyse data from the periodical by the digitisation of the entire *ILN* publication from 1842-2003 in Gale Cengage's database (*Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003*), the database uses Optical Character Recognition (OCR) which created a searchable transcript with metadata that facilitates browsing.[27] Access to the database makes quantitative and qualitative research possible, which can answer questions about brand formation and competition, first entrants, points of change and documentation of patterns. The search feature was used for this database to identify instances where the words 'whisky' and 'scotch whisky' appeared in the metadata. The results from this search identified the types of advertisements that

[23] A. Hedley, 'Advertisements, Hyper-reading, and Fin de Siècle Consumer Culture in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic'* 2018 51(1), *Victorian Periodicals Review*, pp.138-167; A. K. Chatterjee, 'Mythologizing Late Victorian Tea Advertising: The Case of *The Illustrated London News* (1890-1900)' (2024) 10:1, *History of Retailing and Consumption*, pp.43-82; D. M. Higgins and A. Velkar, 'Storm in a Teacup: Empire Products, Blended Teas, and Origin Marking Debates in 1920s Britain' (2024), *Business History*, p.1-24.

[24] T. Smits, 'Looking for *The Illustrated London News* in Australian Digital Newspapers' (2017) 23:1, *Media History*, pp.80-99.

[25] Leary, P. 'A Brief History of the *Illustrated London News'*, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive 1842-2003 (Cengage Learning, 2011), <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/patrick-leary-brief-history-illustrated-london-news> accessed 3 December 2024.

[26] A. King, 'Advertising in the *Illustrated London News'*, Illustrated London News Historical Archive 1842-2003 (Cengage Learning, 2011), <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/andrew-king-advertising-illustrated-london-news> accessed 3 December 2024.

[27] J. Mussell, 'Digitisation' in A. King, A. Easley and J. Morton (eds), *Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.20-3.

appeared with a marked change in frequency, as well as the first instance of the inclusion of pictorial elements from the 1890s. The nature of the results based on searching metadata transcripts required further sorting to identify relevant advertisements.

During the periodisation of this research, a legal or industry-wide standardisation term for what would today be considered single-malt Scotch whisky or blended Scotch whisky was contentious, leading to government intervention both in the UK home market and in the US to define Scotch whisky in an attempt to define and protect consumers and the whisky firms.[28] The usage of 'Scotch' to denote whisky with an origin in Scotland emerged in the mid-century to distinguish between whisky with an origin in Ireland. This preceded the adoption of advertising in the *ILN* by firms selling whisky from Scotland.[29] Different firms initially included the word 'Scotch' with an inconsistent frequency and sometimes emphasised their brand name, followed by whisky. For instance, searching for 'Scotch whisky' between 1890 and 1914 yielded 499 results, but by searching 'whisky', there were 1,747 results. The contrast in the number of results did not mean that 'Scotch' did not appear in the advertisement but was missed by a search of the text in the metadata. The limitations of the metadata search required the sifting through the results to ensure the accurate accounting for advertisements for whisky marketed with an origin in Scotland.

In addition to these search modifications, the search used exclusion words to limit results and make the volume of results more straightforward. Repeated words excluded were for known brands of Irish whiskey, such as Kinahan and Bushmills, or for products that frequently mentioned whisky, such as Eno's fruit salt.[30] The exclusion

[28] *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Whiskey and other Potable Spirits*. Parliamentary Papers, XLIX.451, 1909; *An Act of June 30, 1906, Public Law 59-384, 34 STAT 768, for Preventing the Manufacture, Sale, or Transportation of Adulterated or Misbranded or Poisonous or Deleterious Foods, Drugs, Medicines, and Liquors, and for Regulating Traffic Therein, and for Other Purposes,* Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, NAID: 5716297, 1906.

[29] Advertisements for Kinahan's LL whisky alongside their branded stout beer from Dublin sold by Kinahan's LL whisky, wine and Foreign Spirit Stores, 25 King William Street, Strand appears in the 22 April 1843 issue of the *ILN*. This brand of whisky continues to be advertised but it is 1850 before the distinction appears for 'Scotch' whiskies by wine and spirit merchants.

[30] Terms utilised to restrict results in the *Illustrated London News Historical Archive* (*1842-2003*) search: 'Dunville', 'Canadian Club', 'Gerolstein', 'Solar', 'Kinahan', 'Jameson', 'Bushmills', 'Diabetes', 'Eno's fruit salt'.

feature for the *Illustrated London News Historical Archive* (*1842-2003*) is limited to the usage of nine words in the 'terms' box after the initial search term, in this case, 'whisky'; the utilisation of this feature significantly decreased the manual workload. The 'document type' was also selected based on the database's established organisation. The narrow document type helped to limit instances where 'whisky' was utilised in articles and fiction pieces in the magazine. The listed alterations made to the search were precautions to ensure accuracy in documenting the advertisements for Scotch whisky during this periodisation; the author acknowledges that it is not an absolute with the possibility of a small number of advertisements missed. However, the volume of recorded advertisements has made it possible to speak on the adoption of advertising by the Scotch whisky industry in the *ILN* and how this coincided with the efforts to increase consumption and exports.

Scotch Whisky Advertisements in *ILN* from 1890 to 1899

Before the 1890s, the promotion of Scotch whisky appeared in the *ILN,* typically within advertisements for Christmas hampers or an announcement of the firm's available alcoholic beverages by wine and spirit merchants in London. The firms that advertised these repeatedly were Findlater, Mackie & Co., W. & A. Gilbey and Hedges & Butler. Advertisements appeared from the 1870s for individual whisky brands with trademark names associated with Scotland, such as Glenrosa, Clachan, Glenalbyn, 'Wallace' Monument whisky, Macrae's 'F.B.O.' Scotch whisky and Lorne Highland whisky.[31] These advertisements were in the classified format, with a block of text describing some of the whisky's merits and where it could be acquired. These advertisements for Scotch whisky appeared on pages with other commodities that later became notable brands, such as Greenlees Brother's Lorne Highland whisky, alongside Lea & Perrins' sauce (Worcestershire sauce) and cocoa products by Fry's.[32] The development of Scotch whisky advertisements and the power of the brand name was happening concurrently

[31] The 'F.B.O.' stood for finest barley only as listed in the advertisement text for Macrae's F.B.O. sold in London by Abbey Willis & Co., wine merchants. The last advertisement for this whisky appeared in the *ILN* on 4 May 1889 in vol. 94, issue 2611, p.578.

[32] 'Lorne Highland Whisky' (1 February 1873) 62:1744, *Illustrated London News*, p.107.

across commodities that appeared on the pages of the *ILN*, making the placement and frequency significant for consumer choice.

Advertisements in the pages of the *ILN* underwent a period of expanded frequency between 1860 and 1885; when they incorporated images, they were typically small, reused stock images. Between 1885 and 1900, advertisements became increasingly sophisticated, with strategic design utilising aesthetic systems for visual communication and text designed to be eye-catching and memorable.[33] The first movement towards incorporating visual elements for Scotch whisky is the advertisement for the Clachan and Glenalbyn Blends in the 13 December 1884 issue, which included an image of the Clachan trademark, which contained a shield, thistles and a lion with a crown.[34] Advertisements remained in the established format described above as a text-based classified format for the rest of the decade. From the 1890s, a discernible change emerged in the advertising of Scotch whisky, characterised by incorporating images, not just trademarks, alongside textual content. This departure from previous practices signified a notable shift in promotional strategies for Scotch whisky, marking a significant moment in advertising and brand identity development.

Wine and spirits merchants continued to advertise Scotch whisky among their offerings. An example from Hedges & Butler for a full-page advertisement of their diverse wine and spirits includes several types of Scotch whisky. In 1891, Hedges & Butler sold their whisky as Old Scotch whisky, a blend of Glenlivat (spelt as printed) and Highland whiskies, as well as Old Scotch whisky and Irish whisky blended and sold in 13-gallon or 27-gallon casks.[35] In this way, Hedges & Butler were selling their procured Scotch whisky under their brand as wine and spirit merchants. In contrast, advertisements emerged from firms using the advertisement space solely for their Scotch whisky offering. Throughout 1891, Greer's ran advertisements in the *ILN* for Greer's O.V.H. Old Vatted Highland whisky; this included a call to action, 'Ask for and drink only Greer's O.V.H.' and directed consumers where to obtain a bottle at Harrod's

[33] Hedley, 'Advertisements, Hyper-reading', pp.140-3.
[34] 'Clachan and Glenalbyn blends advertisement' (13 December 1884) 85:2382, *Illustrated London News*, p.592.
[35] 'Hedges & Butler' (5 December 1891) 99:2746, *Illustrated London News*, p.743.

and all leading stores in London.[36] The emergence of marketing strategies that included a targeted call to action emphasised the move towards branding strategy and directed consumer appeal.

In a similar format to Greer's Innes & Grieve, Edinburgh, advertised its whisky as Old Uam-Var Scotch. It used the call to action 'The Best. Buy no Other'. It also introduced the tagline 'Used in the palace and the shieling'.[37] The tagline directs the reader to associate two things with the brand: its consumption in the palace, placing Scotch whisky in the royal sphere for taste-making, and in the shieling, which ushers in images of a nostalgic scene of pastoral sheep and cattle grazing in the Highlands of Scotland. This dual aspect of Uam-Var's marketing reflects a tension for brands of Scotch whisky during this periodisation, the need to distinguish the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky and appeal to consumers beyond Scotland's borders. The conflict Uam-Var's tagline represents between appealing to different motivations to drink Scotch whisky continues to play out in the advertisements that follow with the introduction of pictorial advertisements.

A special issue of the *ILN* ran on 10 July 1893, celebrating the royal wedding of Prince George, Duke of York (later King George V) and Princess Victoria Mary of Teck (later Queen Mary).[38] This event was celebrated across the Empire with publicity and souvenirs to commemorate the union of the future king, including celebration biscuit tins from the brand McVitie's.[39] This was a momentous occasion to turn a widely celebrated social event into a marketing opportunity. In this special issue, the first pictorial advertisement in the *ILN* for Scotch whisky was for the firm John Robertson & Sons Dundee [JRD], represented in Image 1.[40] This is significant for representing a

[36] 'Greer's O.V.H.' (4 April 1891) 98:2711, *Illustrated London News*, p.454.
[37] 'Old Uam-Var' (16 April 1892) 100:2765, *Illustrated London News*, p.501.
[38] *Illustrated London News Royal Wedding Number*, 10 July 1893.
[39] E. Read, 'By Royal Appointment: HAT Helps Pladis Celebrate the Coronation', History of Advertising Trust, <https://www.hatads.org.uk/news/227/By-Royal-Appointment-HAT-helps-pladis-celebrate-the-Coronation> accessed 3 December 2024.
[40] 'Drinking the Bride's Health', *Illustrated London News Royal Wedding Number*, 10 July 1893, p.36.

dynamic image explicitly designed for this event and directing the reader and potential customer to associate the image with the brand.

The advertisement depicts a scene at a dining table with a gathering of men making a toast and wearing uniforms that resemble officers of the Black Watch Highland Regiment. The caption underneath the image links the toast with the royal occasion by saying, 'Drinking the bride's health'. The officers hold thistle-shaped glasses with John Robertson & Sons Dundee whisky bottles on the table. The shape of the glass reminds the consumer of the flower of Scotland, and the use of their brand specifically places their whisky among the wedding celebrations. Using officers of the Black Watch is significant for their connection to Dundee, which JRD was motivated to reinforce with their brand, and for recognising the regiment within a broader Imperial history. Royale suggests that the kilted soldiers of Scottish regiments, like the Black Watch, were fundamental in preserving the link of tartan with Scotland and traditional dress.[41] By constructing this image, JRD deliberately promoted multiple associations for the reader to make with their brand, the apparent reinforcement of the 'Scotch' and their export activity. The scene could be happening at any dining room, club, or mess hall, placing JRD's

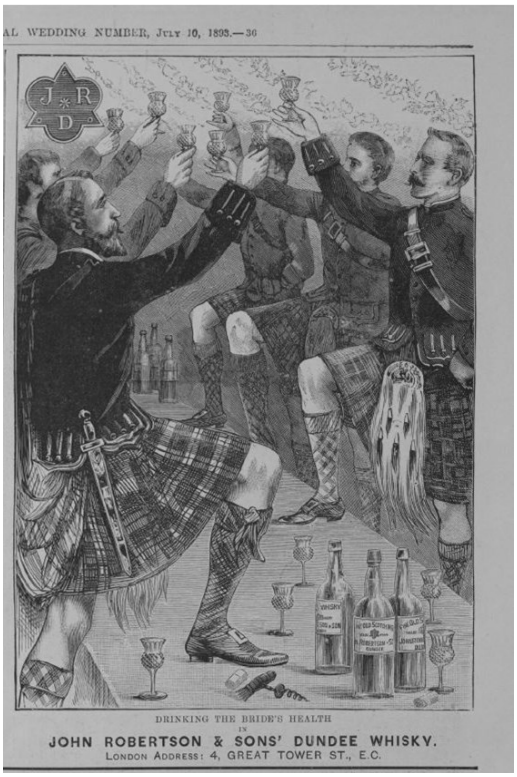

Image 1: The Illustrated London News, Royal Wedding Number, John Robertson & Sons' Dundee Whisky, 10 July 1893, p.36.

[41] T. Royle. 'From David Stewart to Andy Stewart: The Invention and Re-invention of the Scottish Soldier' in I. Brown (ed.), *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp.58-61.

Scotch whisky at the centre of this as an imperial beverage suited for celebrations of this magnitude.

Pictorial advertisements continued to signal to readers and customers the places to associate with drinking Scotch whisky. Innes & Grieve repeated the classified format advertisement for Uam-Var whisky, but in 1895, a quarter-page advertisement with vignettes signalled to consumers the places commonly associated with their whisky.[42] This advertisement seen in Image 2, featured a bottle of whisky with the label; the hierarchy of its size and placement in the centre demonstrated its importance, directing the eyes of the reader to the bottle and the brand name. Behind the bottle are four vignettes, small scenes that depict people and activities associated with drinking Scotch whisky, from top left to right: deer stalking, grouse shooting, a camp of a Highland regiment and fishing.

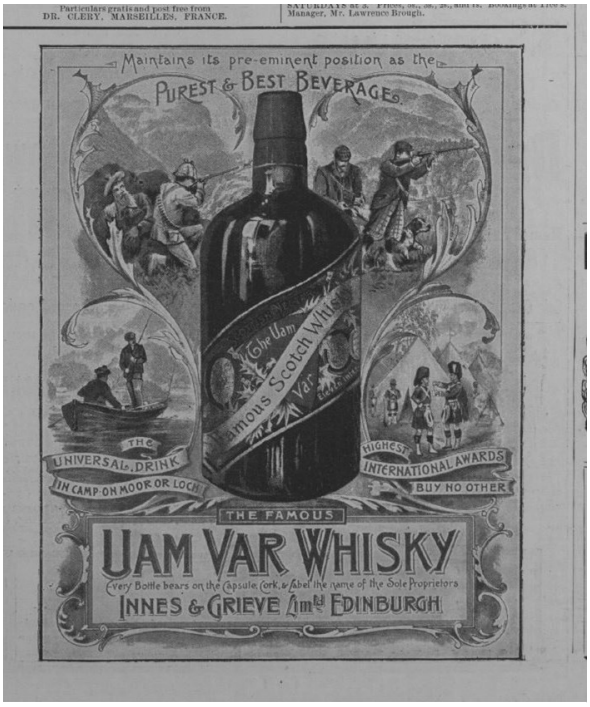

Image 2: The Illustrated London News, Innes & Grieve Ltd, Edinburgh, 2 November 1893, p.565.

[42] 'The Universal Drink' (2 November 1895) 107:2950, *Illustrated London News*, p.565.

Beneath these images is the tagline 'The universal drink in camp, moor, or loch', which confirms the places depicted in the illustrations and speaks to its widespread utility as a drink accompanying leisure sport practised by the upper levels of society, which included the army officers. Another tagline on the advertisement proclaims, 'Highest International awards. Buy no other'. Innes & Grieve utilised the vignettes to demonstrate their whisky's appeal to strenuous activity associated with Scotland, effectively putting the 'Scotch' in their Scotch whisky. However, by bringing attention to their international awards, they are directing the universal aspect of their whisky out of Scotland and a strictly Scottish context. In effect, the advertisements claimed that the traditional associations of Scotch as a stimulant could also apply to universal use in the Empire.

The advertisements by JRD and Innes & Grieve utilised the iconography of the Scottish soldier because they were celebrated and mythologised in abundance in art, books and illustrated pictorials, using an icon already embedded with meaning. MacKenzie argues that advertisements were part of cultural and imperial strategies that projected the Scottish soldier's iconographic status within the Empire.[43] In its frequency as a cultural device, the reader of the advertisement and the *ILN* would associate the whisky brand with the prestige broadcast by the Scottish soldier. Advertisers employed this strategy beyond Scotch whisky across commodities and extended it to regiments across the British military. Hedley refers to this deeper reading of visual and textual devices as a producer of knowledge and explains that it was a broader strategy within the pages of the *ILN* to lead readers to make links between the products advertised and the current events described in the editorial content.[44]

Pictorial advertisements for Scotch whisky continued to pursue themes that portrayed Scotch whisky as a commodity of the Empire. Examples are the influx of advertisements for Pattisons' whisky from 1896 to 1898. In one advertisement, a caricature of two army officers standing in front of the Union Jack flag and a canon with the tagline 'in general use', and another the illustration of a large naval ship at sea

[43] J. M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland' (1998) 8, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, pp.225-6.
[44] A. Hedley, 'Advertisements, Hyper-reading', pp.155-8.

with the text, 'Pattisons' whisky, like a British ironclad, at home in all waters', Image 3, makes direct links to associations of the British Empire, its military and naval capacity.[45] MacKenzie demonstrated that this association was a broader phenomenon within advertisements, a kind of Empire propaganda that produced sentimental and patriotic images, using imperial, royal and military associations to promote tea, biscuits, tobacco and soap.[46] McClintock refers to these advertisers as 'Empire builders', their use of national symbols, from the Union Jack to Britannia, was part of a fetishisation of national symbols reworked to celebrate imperial spectacle.[47]

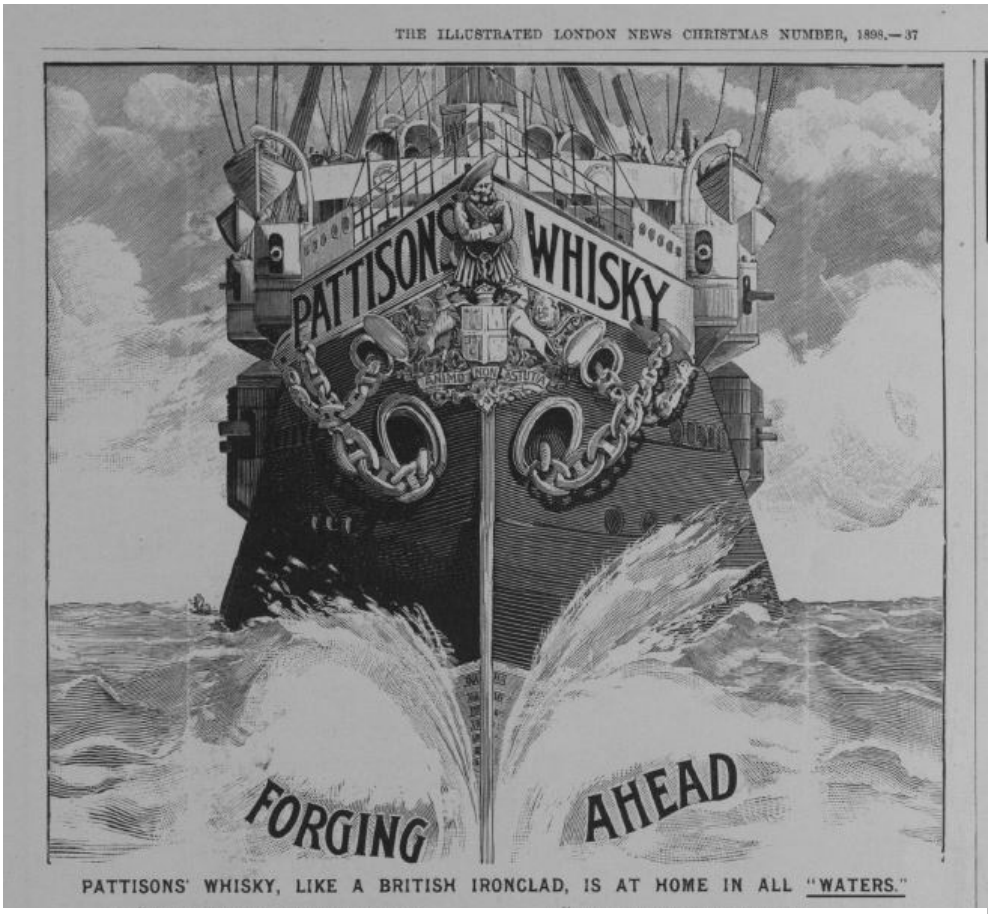

Image 3: The Illustrated London News, Pattisons Ltd, 19 November 1898, p.37.

[45] 'In General Use' (10 July 1897) 111:3038, *Illustrated London News*, p. 59; 'Forging Ahead' (21 November 1898), *Illustrated London News Christmas Number*, p.37.

[46] J. M. MacKenzie. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.25-30.

[47] A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.211-22.

In this way, consumers participated in the celebration of the Empire through their choice of commodities. In this case, the Scotch whisky brand reinforced their affiliation.

The introduction of pictorial advertisements for Scotch whisky allowed brands to develop complex meanings for readers of the *ILN*, associating their whisky with recognisable, meaningful symbols that would influence how the consumer felt about that brand. Incorporating these visual elements with taglines and targeted calls to action signifies the changing landscape of marketing for Scotch whisky during this period, highlighting the pursuit of consumer appeal and brand distinction beyond Scotland's borders. John Robertson & Sons, Dundee and Innes & Grieve, Edinburgh, were the most frequent advertisers in the *ILN* during this period, with other firms utilising the medium infrequently or for short runs over a few weeks. In this way, the images employed by JRD and Innes & Grieve represent the overall representation of the industry and Scotch whisky to readers of the *ILN*.

Critics of Scotch whisky advertising, like Weir, spoke of the homogeneity of Scottish iconography, especially tartan, while the examples of advertisements from JRD and Innes & Grieve included figures wearing tartan kilts; their use provided deeper meaning than just a tartan costume. By using Scottish soldiers and activities associated with drinking Scotch whisky, firms targeted consumers connected to Scotland, whether through the military, the diaspora or popular culture. As the decade progressed, they directed an appeal to a broader Imperial identity with an embedded Scottish identity. By the turn of the century, Scotch whisky had become readily accessible throughout the Empire, with advertising focused on its availability to Imperial consumers. As the advertisements moved Scotch further away as a beverage enjoyed in Scotland, the firms with the most significant distribution of Scotch whisky in international markets, that had not promoted at length in the *ILN*, turned to the publication to cement their brands in the minds of readers of the periodical. This change in advertising strategy emphasised the prominence of whisky in the market but created a problem for firms in creating distinct brand identities in a crowded marketplace. The following section examines how advertising changed to solve this problem.

Scotch Whisky Advertisements in *ILN* from 1900 to 1914

Despite their success, in the first decade of increased Scotch whisky advertisements in the *ILN* the Whisky Barons are noticeably absent. Dewar's appeared once with the 1897 full-page advertisement for *Whisky of his Forefathers*.[48] This was a highly successful campaign, turning the image of an upper-class Scotsman with Dewar's whisky and his ancestors emerging from their portraits in pursuit of a dram, into the first commercial for Scotch whisky.[49] Despite their absence from the *ILN*, Dewar's had been covering significant ground establishing agencies around the world for their whisky and building their brand reputation. Bower notes that through colonial links, Dewar's, along with Buchanan's, Walker's and DCL, were able to establish a secure export future supported by the management of whisky stock levels and investment in efficiencies for bottling.[50] Despite their absence from the *ILN*, Dewar's invested in promotion with an expense in 1895 on showcards of £2,189 and on advertisements £6,258 the total expenditure increased by 1900 exceeded £20,000.[51] While advertisements in *ILN* were not the strategy for expansion utilised by the Whisky Barons and DCL, they became the overwhelming feature of advertisements for Scotch whisky.

From 1900 to 1902, Scotch whisky brands unanimously simplified their advertisements in the *ILN*. These advertisements continued to have an image, in this case, the whisky brand's bottle with a label, but not with sophisticated or aesthetic productions. This new Scotch whisky advertisement design trend blended the traditional classified format with the most protected parts of the brand's identity: the trademarked label and the bottle of whisky. This emphasis on the brand's bottle could be due to concerns over competition and consumer choice. By visualising the bottle alongside the reader's perceptions of the brand emphasised by taglines and calls to action, they could effectively train the consumer on what bottles to select when they saw them. Consumer anxieties around consumable quality contributed to branded commodities' growth. The bottle labels acted as the warrant for the brand's quality and, especially

[48] 'Whisky of his Forefathers' (30 January 1897) 110:3015, *Illustrated London News*, p.163.
[49] J. Seargeant, 'Dewar's: The Whisky of his Forefathers' (2000) 20, *Scottish Industrial History*, pp.37-46.
[50] J. Bower, 'Scotch Whisky: History, Heritage, and the Stock Cycle', p.5.
[51] Weir, *The Distilling Industry in Scotland,* p.535.

important, around ideas of geographical origin.[52] This format change represented a broader trend among Scotch whisky firms, which most advertising firms from JRD, Innes & Grieve, Dewar's and Buchanan's, printed advertisements in this new format.

The move to focus advertisements for Scotch whisky that emphasised the bottle and label as the integral aspect of promotion continued in the years leading up to the First World War. 1902, however, marked the return of pictorial advertisements designed with aesthetic and imbued with cultural meanings. These were typically quarter-page and sometimes half-page advertisements with eye-catching images. Dewar's and Buchanan's became the most frequent practitioners of this strategy during this period. Examples of these advertisements utilised images that signalled to the reader what the firms wanted them to associate with the brand. In the case of Dewar's, this meant utilising familiar images that appeared within the *ILN* related to the history of art, such as the *Laughing Cavalier,* the seventeenth-century portrait by Frans Hals, the Sphinx and Pyramids in Egypt and Assyrian relief sculptures, Dewar's wanted their whisky to be associated with age and therefore quality.[53] Buchanan's used graphic images to reinforce their brand label Black and White, with images of black and white animals, moving towards the development of an easily identifiable brand identity.[54]

While Dewar's and Buchanan's favoured images that did not require in-depth knowledge to interpret the meaning of their brands from the advertisements, other firms turned to humorous caricatures to represent their whisky. Greer's and JRD, both released comic images of golfers.[55] Golf connected to Scotland with the sport originating there but represented a modern and more universal sport that, like Scotch whisky, extended well beyond Scotland's borders. Additionally, by appealing to

[52] S. Schwarzkopf, 'Turning Trade Marks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Created Brands in the Global Market Place, 1900-1930', Queen Mary, University of London, School of Business and Management, Centre for Globalisation Research working paper, 2018; D. M. Higgins, *Brands, Geographical Origin, and the Global Economy: A History from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.29-56.
[53] 'Laughing Cavalier' (31 May 1902) 120:3293, *Illustrated London News*, p.809; 'Whisky of Great Age' (1 March 1903) 122:3335, *Illustrated London News*, p.447; 'Pyramid of Giza' (5 March 1904) 124:3385, *Illustrated London News*, p.361.
[54] 'Polo player' (22 November 1902) 121:3318, *Illustrated London News*, p.793; 'Black and white dogs' (15 May 1909) 134: 3656, *Illustrated London News*, p.712.
[55] 'Greer's golfer' (20 August 1904) 125:3409, *Illustrated London News*, p.273; 'The Golfer's favourite' (21 October 1905) 127:3470, *Illustrated London News*, p.589.

comedy, the advertisers were tapping into broader popular culture with the international success of Vaudeville and music hall performers playing Scottish caricatures.[56] These links to the Scotch comic embodied a kitsch aesthetic. They fed into criticisms of Scotch whisky advertising for promoting kailyard and tartanry. Yet these images did not exist to represent Scotland accurately but to use simple associations with mass appeal. These examples represented a shift in focus on advertisements across the Scotch whisky industry that appeared in the *ILN* to simplify their message and associations supporting the brand name. If the previous decade was about convincing the Empire that Scotch whisky was an Imperial commodity; in the new century it was a contest for supremacy of the brand name.

Image 4: The Illustrated London News, The Distillers Company Ltd, 15 July 1905, p.108.

The advertisements discussed so far have reflected an industry in expansion, developing images to appeal to readers and providing positive and familiar connotations that encouraged the acceptance of Scotch whisky outside of Scotland. The appearance of the blend of Scotch whisky King George IV marketed by DCL in Image 4, hints at the industry's activity and motivations.[57] By promoting their blend to the export market in the *ILN*, DCL acknowledged the readership of the periodical that extended beyond the home market. Perchard and MacKenzie illustrate that in

[56] P. Maloney, '"Wha's like us?": Ethnic Representation in Music Hall and Popular Theatre and the Remaking of Urban Scottish Society' in I. Brown (ed.) *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.129-50.

[57] 'George IV' (15 July 1905) 127:3456, *Illustrated London News*, p.108.

response to competition in the home market, DCL increasingly sold blends of whisky under the brand of the distilleries and firms they acquired, which proved especially important as domestic consumption declined.[58] Daiches refers to the marketing of King George IV as an operation on a small scale that accelerated during the First World War as DCL continued their consolidation of the industry.[59] The choice by DCL to call the blend name is related to the visit of the real King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, where he famously got a taste for Scotch whisky.[60] This strategy gave DCL's blend a direct link to the past and an almost instant cache of brand equity. Advertisements for the blend appeared in the *ILN* in 1905, and its frequency was increasingly in competition with the Whisky Barons.

Where DCL targeted their advertisement for the export market, James Watson & Co. Dundee promoted Watson's No.10 with illustrations of the modern Scotch whisky drinker with a discerning palette. Watson's is an illuminating example of advertisements during this period because more is written about the brand in the literature after the firm was wound up and relaunched, with their inventory bought in 1923 by Dewar's, Walker and Lowrie, and then reformed in 1928 by DCL.[61] In this advertisement Image 5 for Watson's No.10, public opinion is used to imply the popularity of the brand in London through the usage of text that says, 'Tens of thousands drink Watson's No.10', combined with an illustration of the London skyline under which a procession of men assemble in the graphic zero of the No.10.[62] In addition to this, the copy text underneath proclaims that Watson's No.10 is for 'experienced whisky drinkers' and 'men of refined taste and good judgement'. This is a foil to the advertisements that centred comedic Scotch characters with popular light-hearted appeal; from this advertisement, Watson's No.10 is a serious whisky for the sophisticated Londoner or anyone else who framed London as the centre of good taste.

[58] A. Perchard and N. MacKenzie, 'Behind the 'Tartan Curtain', pp.233-5.
[59] Daiches, *Scotch Whisky: Its Past and Present,* p.122.
[60] Craig, *The Scotch Whisky Industry Record*, p.75.
[61] Craig, p.221 and p.230.
[62] 'London Skyline' (11 May 1907) 130:3551, *Illustrated London News*, p.741.

Image 5 The Illustrated London News, Watson's No.10 Whisky, 11 May 1907, p.741.

From 1909 to 1914, the Whisky Baron brands in the *ILN* showed a noticeable dominance through the frequency of their advertisements. Just as the *ILN* proclaimed the ascendancy of the House of Dewar in their London Haymarket headquarters, the advertisements reflected the dominance of these blended houses in the industry to the point that other competitors withdrew from advertising in the periodical. Walker's was also included in this move to dynamic advertisement campaigns after reluctance to adopt the method of promotion, with the Striding Man figure becoming emblematic for the brand, appearing frequently in the *ILN* during this period.[63] In addition to the Whisky Barons, DCL frequently and prominently promoted their Cambus patent still Scotch whisky, in addition to King George IV.[64] While the Whisky Barons seemingly overtook their competitors from the pages of the *ILN*, the firm of Andrew Usher & Co, Distillers, Edinburgh, began an advertising campaign in 1909.[65]

[63] N. Morgan, *A Long Stride: The Story of the World's No.1 Scotch Whisky* (London: Canongate Books, 2020), p.82.
[64] 'Cambus Patent Still Scotch Whisky' (21 September 1907) 131:3570, *Illustrated London News*, p.431.
[65] 'Usher's Whisky' (18 September 1909) 135:3674, *Illustrated London News*, p.405.

Though Ushers had been absent from advertising in the *ILN,* they were early pioneers of blended whisky and early entrants to international exports.[66] Usher's utilise this history of the firm to promote their whisky in a special New Year's advertisement published on 1 January 1910.[67] The advertisement in Image 6, uses the tradition of singing 'Auld Lang Syne', popularised by the Scottish poet Robert Burns, demonstrating how embedded Scottish cultural traditions were in the Empire. The illustration has men joined with their hands as part of the ritual of singing the song at the New Year. Each figure is dressed in traditional clothing associated with their location in the Empire and is reminiscent of the earlier advertisements for Imperial propaganda. In this case, Usher's is utilising the longevity of their firm as justification for drinking their whisky. With over 50 years of exports to the Empire, the advertisement claims, just as JRD did for their whisky in 1893, that Scotch whisky is the appropriate spirit for celebrations across the Empire.

Image 6: The Illustrated London News, Andrew Usher & Co., 1 January 1910, p.29

The choice by Usher's to utilise the design of this image can be interpreted simply as fulfilling a brief to represent the longevity of their firm with their spirits enjoyed by

[66] Daiches, *Scotch Whisky: Its Past and Present,* p.72 and p.97.

[67] 'Auld Acquaintance' (1 January 1910) 136:3689, *Illustrated London News*, p.29.

whisky drinkers across the Empire, printed to celebrate the New Year and their continued success. Yet, this image of personified imperial identities, hand in hand, culturally distinct but unified, represents the development of the industry to this point. The evolution of Scotch whisky advertising in the early twentieth century reflected a shift in marketing strategies and brand promotion. At the beginning of the decade, the emphasis on bottle and label imagery, followed by the resurgence of pictorial advertisements with cultural and aesthetic significance, demonstrated the industry's adaptability to change consumer perceptions and market demands. Whereas early pictorial advertisements for Scotch whisky strove to communicate that Scotch whisky was a spirit for consumption beyond Scotland, in the twentieth century consumers accepted this, so the work of advertisements was to ensure their brand was the one they reached for.

Conclusion

Utilising pictorial advertisements as a source to examine the Scotch whisky industry reveals the efforts different stakeholders took to represent their product and develop positive associations for their brands. The advertisements reveal ideas about the industry's history that are difficult to quantify by focusing on individual brands and entrepreneurs. Whether designed to imitate competitors or fulfil larger ideas of patriotism, tropes emerged among advertisements that collectively contributed to perceptions of the spirit integrated as a universal and imperial product. The first decade of advertisements for Scotch whisky in the pages of the *ILN* demonstrates a focus on expanding the Scotch whisky industry through acceptance of the spirit as a part of the Empire. Promoting Scotch whisky in this way mirrored contemporary efforts to influence the British public to utilise Empire goods, such as tea, cocoa and soap, within their homes, appealing to sentimental and patriotic desires to be a cohesive British society.

The *ILN* was integral to providing the vehicle for these associations, with advertisements for Scotch whisky integrated into this process. The industry's growth outside of Scotland depended on transforming perceptions of the spirit from a stimulant for the Victorian leisure class to enjoy on sporting holidays to one recognised

and reached for by the middle-class readers of the *ILN* whether in London, or Australia. Yet, as marketing has developed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the memory of advertisements has focused on the overtly Scottish associations. This reveals a tension to represent Scotch whisky as a unique product from Scotland, to justify its market position and to protect it from imitators. Yet the effort of marketers to integrate Scotch whisky consumption into broader cultural use continues, with the challenge to promote Scotch whisky as inherently Scottish and appeal to consumers without affiliation to Scotland and wider Anglo-British culture.

This article examines advertisements for Scotch whisky that signal consumers' ideas of individual brand identities and concurrently ideas that the beverage appealed to an Anglo-centric international market. The literature has demonstrated that the brand's name and the quality and consistency of Scotch whisky propelled the Big Five and DCL to success. This article includes how they communicated these qualities to their consumers. Further, it illustrates the activity of other actors that did not fall into these two camps, revealing competition strategies and the broader changing perceptions of the industry. This article has utilised examples to argue that studying advertisements for this period is worthwhile in contributing to studies of brand development and the rise in Scotch whisky popularity beyond the entrepreneur genius or kailyard images appealing to a nostalgic diaspora. The *ILN* was a significant platform in the decade leading up to the First World War and demonstrates how the brand name and brand identity overtook the 'Scotch' in Scotch whisky, paving the way for the supremacy of the blended brand.

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'Cambus Patent Still Scotch Whisky' (21 September 1907) 131:3570, *Illustrated London News*, p.431.

'Clachan and Glenalbyn Blends Advertisement' (13 December 1884) 85:2382, *Illustrated London News*, p.592.

'Drinking the Bride's Health' (10 July 1893) Royal Wedding Number, *Illustrated London News*, p.36.

'George IV' (15 July 1905) 127:3456, *Illustrated London News,* p.108.

'Greer's golfer' (20 August 1904) 125:3409, *Illustrated London News*, p.273.

'Hedges & Butler' (5 December 1891) 99:2746, *Illustrated London News,* p.743.

'Laughing Cavalier' (31 May 1902) 120:3293, *Illustrated London News*, p.809.

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'Polo player' (22 November 1902) 121:3318, *Illustrated London News*, p.793.

'Pyramid of Giza" (5 March 1904) 124:3385, *Illustrated London News*, p.361.

'The Golfer's Favourite' (21 October 1905) 127:3470, *Illustrated London News,* p.589.

'The House of Dewar' (23 May 1908) 132:3605, *Illustrated London News*, p.761.

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Distilling the Past: Cataloguing the Records of Whyte & Mackay

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The Whyte & Mackay collection was accessioned in 2016 and is held as part of the University of Glasgow's Archives and Special Collections' Scottish Business Archive, which already managed a smaller number of Whyte & Mackay records deposited in the 1990s and has an ongoing agreement with Whyte & Mackay for the management of its corporate archive. The collection captures almost 200 years of distilling history in Scotland, and at the time of deposit ran to over 60 linear metres of material with records covering corporate governance; finance; sales; correspondence; staff; production; plant and property; promotion and public relations. This article will outline the ways in which we utilised the functionality of our collection management system, EMu, to catalogue an extensive set of business records, covering multiple companies with complex interlinked relationships.

The Scottish Business Archive

The Scottish Business Archive was established in the 1950s. In this period, economic decline and international competition saw not only individual businesses struggle to remain solvent, but indeed entire industries, such as shipbuilding and textiles, suffer from significant closures. This period of deindustrialisation was in stark contrast to the economic situation of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Scotland had been at the forefront of such industries, and was widely regarded as supplier of quality products and technological innovation.[1] Professor Sydney Checkland, the University of Glasgow's first professor of Economic History, recognised there was an urgent need to protect business archives to prevent them from being permanently lost during the rapid industry closures, and made arrangements for the Department of Economic History to take the records of such companies and make them available for academic research. In 1975, the management of these records was transferred to the

[1] Rachel Hosker and Liza Giffen, 'Scottish Business Archives: Experience, Influence and Practice' (2005) 89, *Business Archives: Principles and Practice*, pp.31-53.

University Archive.[2] Under the management of the Archive, the focus of the Scottish Business Archive grew to not only include the collections of businesses that had closed, but also to manage the records of companies still operating and contributing to the Scottish economy. The Scottish Business Archive offers an alternative to businesses managing their archives in house; while this can be undertaken successfully, for many businesses, the pressures associated with maintaining their core business can leave little capacity or financial support for the strategic management of their records. The Scottish Business Archive offers businesses a comprehensive archive management service, from appraisal and cataloguing to preservation and outreach. With the University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections as host, external researchers are also granted meaningful access to the collections (with restrictions on any business sensitive information where relevant), in comparison to the closed nature of many business collections held privately.

The Whyte & Mackay Collection

The first set of Whyte & Mackay records taken into the Scottish Business Archive in the 1990s were primarily related to Dalmore Distillery. Whyte & Mackay had merged with Dalmore in 1960, having purchased Dalmore whisky for their blends since the end of the previous century. The much larger accrual included Whyte & Mackay's own records, as well as substantial additional material for Dalmore, and as it transpired many other related businesses as well. The cataloguing of the accrual followed the project funding model for Scottish Business Archive collections.[3] Due to the nature of the additional Dalmore material filling gaps in some record series from the original deposit it was decided to amalgamate the existing and new catalogues, to produce a clear and cohesive finding aid which would be accessible in our online catalogue. Understanding the histories of these companies and the relationships between them

[2] Clare Paterson, 'Unique and Distinctive Collections: The Scottish Business Archives' in P. V. Davies et al. (eds), *The University of Glasgow Library: Friendly Shelves* (Glasgow: The Friends of Glasgow University Library in association with the University Library, 2016), p.210.

[3] Clare Paterson, 'The Scottish Business Archive: New Methods of Managing Business Collections and Clients' in F. Pino (ed.), *Creating the Best Business Archive: Achieving a Good Return on Investment* (Milan: Hoepli, 2017), pp.64-8.

was therefore essential, both for the purposes of appraising the collection and for creating a logical structure for the catalogue.

Origins and History of Whyte & Mackay

The background to the company's formation began in 1875, when James Whyte and Charles Mackay were recruited to manage the warehousing firm Allan & Poynter. When the owner of the company died six years later, Mackay and Whyte jointly bid for the wines and spirits part of the business and established their own company, Whyte & Mackay. By 1883 they had a permanent store, with blending vat, bottling plant, racking facilities and a bottle store. Shortly after acquiring the business, much of Western and Central Europe was struck by an infestation of the insect grape phylloxera, which from 1860 began destroying vineyards first in France, then in the south and east of the continent, leading to shortages of wine and brandy for the international market.[4] This led to a surge in demand for whisky and saw many Scottish companies, including Whyte & Mackay, diversifying their product range. In 1895 nine casks of malt whisky were purchased from the Dalmore distillery in Alness, commencing what was to be a long-standing business arrangement. The following year Whyte & Mackay began blending their own whisky aimed at the export market, leading to a period of steady profits for the company in the first part of the twentieth century.[5]

In stark contrast, the inter-war years proved challenging for the business. Prohibition in America and the impact of the British Temperance Movement led to a drop in sales, creating high stock levels and lower profits. The company was wound up and reconstructed as Whyte & Mackay Ltd on 9 January 1926. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, Charles Mackay's son William left the company's board, leaving the Whyte family in full control of the business. Pressure on the business continued, with the outbreak of the Second World War seeing Major Hartley Whyte deployed on military service overseas, severely diminishing the management team and Alex Whyte also

[4] J. Tello, R. Mammerler, M. Čajić, et al., 'Major Outbreaks in the Nineteenth Century Shaped Grape Phylloxera Contemporary Genetic Structure in Europe' (2019) 9:17540, *Scientific Reports*.
[5] Michael Moss and Alison Turton, *The History of Whyte & Mackay* [unpublished manuscript], 1987, catalogue reference GB 248 UGC 234/8/14/5, Chapter 3, pp.1-11.

conscripted. Despite this, the company's fortunes started to improve and in 1944 Whyte & Mackay declared their highest profit in 20 years. This prompted the decision to undertake a marketing spree to build the company's brand and between 1951 and 1953, advertising spend increased by almost 1500%, from £296 to £4,600.[6]

This heavy marketing saw Whyte & Mackay using their brand name to advertise their particular blend of whisky and when, in the late 1950s, Whyte & Mackay Ltd were presented with the option of merging with their long-term supplier Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd, they were offered an opportunity to follow the same path as many brewers before them, and make 'the backwards linkage into distilling to control the distinctive taste associated with their particular brand name'.[7] As noted above, Dalmore first supplied Whyte & Mackay with casks of whisky in 1895 when the business was run by two brothers Andrew and Charles Mackenzie. Leased since 1867, they eventually purchased the distillery, its farms and the Belleport pier reaching into the Moray Firth in 1891. Work to rebuild and extend the distillery began, taking nearly eight years to complete; during this time demand for whisky orders boomed, and by 1896 the business had 32 hourly or weekly paid employees. However, by the end of the century the distillery was operating at half capacity, due to a drop in the price of whisky and the market becoming dominated by the large blenders. Despite further setbacks, including an extensive fire in 1911 which destroyed two acres of bonded warehouses and other buildings, the Mackenzie Brothers managed to keep Dalmore open until 1917[8] when the complex was taken over by the Admiralty and the US Navy for the purposes of assembling mines which were laid between Orkney and Norway.

The distillery's large sheds, previously used for whisky production, were turned into assembly lines for mine manufacture, using components sent from the United States to Scotland.[9] The disruption of the First World War had a huge impact on the Mackenzie Brothers' company, unable to produce any whisky during the Admiralty's

[6] Moss and Turton, *The History of Whyte & Mackay*, Chapter 4, pp.1-22.
[7] A. Slaven and S. Checkland, *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography: Volume 2, Processing, Distributing, Services* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), p.8-11.
[8] Moss and Turton, *The History of Whyte & Mackay*, pp.123-37.
[9] Invergordon Museum 'Wartime Dalmore' <https://www.invergordonmuseum.co.uk/index.asp?pageid=703464> accessed 3 December 2024.

occupation which did not end until 1920. Andrew Mackenzie's son, William Farquharson Mackenzie, then set about the extensive refurbishments required in the aftermath and became engaged in a prolonged compensation claim from the Admiralty in the War Compensation Court. His claim for loss of profits, goodwill and expenses incurred by the occupation was finally settled in 1924, with the Admiralty paying less than a third of the £30,000 claimed.[10] The company's fortunes continued to go downhill when Andrew Mackenzie died in 1923, and the business was forced to close indefinitely in 1926.

The company was resurrected as a limited liability company in 1927 by W.F. Mackenzie under the name of Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd. Despite an injection of £70,000 worth of capital, few buyers could be found, and the company recorded a loss for its first year of trading. After several tough years, the company was buoyed by the end of prohibition in America, which led to an increase in production and new warehouses being constructed. The boom times were not to last however, and the business was once again battered by the outbreak of the Second World War. The company shut its doors, which did not reopen until peacetime.[11]

Following the death of his father W.F. Mackenzie, Major Hector Mackenzie took over the family business. Under his management, production increased steadily over the next ten years: by the end of the 1950s, three new warehouses had been constructed, a Hydram stacker had been purchased and was being used in the warehouses in order to improve efficiency, and the stills were converted to mechanical stoking.[12] Mackenzie began to explore the possibility of an amalgamation with their long-standing

[10] First World War compensation claims and case v. Admiralty, 1920-26. Papers and correspondence regarding claim submitted to Losses Commission following the occupation of Dalmore Distillery by the Admiralty during the First World War. Includes affidavits issued to the War Compensation Court and 1920-22 letterbook, catalogue reference GB 248 UGC 235/5/1/2.

[11] Moss and Turton, *The History of Whyte & Mackay*, pp.139-42.

[12] Dalmore Distillery, Distillers of Pot Still Malt Whisky, 1958, promotional booklet, catalogue reference GB 248 UGC 235/10/2/4.

customers Whyte & Mackay. After 65 years of business, the two firms merged to form a new public holding company Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd in May 1960.[13]

Unpicking Intertwined Histories within the Archival Record

The scope of the intertwined histories of the companies as outlined above, are represented in their archives. The records included in the Whyte & Mackay and Dalmore collections provide a detailed history of the operations of a major Scotch whisky producer and its associated and subsidiary companies. There are records covering all aspects of whisky production, plant and property files and technical plans. Staff records and photographs document the workforces at various distilleries, and a wide range of advertising and promotional material alongside newspaper cuttings illustrate the development of the public image the company attempted to create for itself. In addition, a significant collection of financial records and correspondence files document the day to day running of the Dalmore Distillery providing information about the company's governance and financial successes. Taken as a whole, the Whyte & Mackay grouping forms one of the largest of the Scottish Business Archive's drinks industry collections, both in physical size and the range of record types, comparable in size and scope to William Teacher & Sons Ltd[14], William Younger & Co Ltd[15] and Tennent Caledonian Breweries Ltd[16].

At first glance, it seemed the Whyte & Mackay papers and the Dalmore Distillery records each accounted for around half of the overall collection with some presence of material from the Fettercairn and Tomintoul distilleries, which were acquired in 1973, shortly after the takeover by SUITS (Scottish and Universal Investments Trust Ltd), an investment and holding company formed in 1948 by Lord Fraser of Allander. When we began cataloguing by listing in more detail than the appraisal report had the scope for, it became apparent there were a substantial number of records from other

[13] Memorandum and articles of association of Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd, 16 May-4 November 1960, catalogue reference GB 248 UGC 235/1/1/3.

[14] GB 248 UGD 306/2/1, Records of William Teacher & Sons Ltd, distillers, Glasgow, c1850-1990s, 35 linear metres.

[15] GB 248 WY, Records of William Younger & Co Ltd, brewers, Edinburgh, 1658-1970s, 30.6 linear metres.

[16] GB 248 T, Records of Tennent Caledonian Breweries Ltd, brewers, Glasgow, 1776-2006, 23.6 linear metres.

distilleries which are currently or have been owned at various times by Whyte & Mackay as well as Fettercairn and Tomintoul, including Invergordon, Isle of Jura, Bruichladdich, Tullibardine and Tamnavulin. In addition, another six subsidiary companies were represented, including agents and distributors, plus those involved in warehousing, bottling and blending activities. These include Hay & Macleod Ltd, Glasgow; Charles Mackinlay & Co Ltd, Edinburgh; Mackinlays & Birnie Ltd, Inverness; Duncan Macbeth & Co Ltd; Jarvis Halliday & Company Ltd, Aylesbury, and William Muir (Bond 9) Ltd, Leith. In total, the collection covers 17 separate subsidiary and associated company archives.

Establishing the interlinked relationships and histories between these distilleries and the other businesses was among the most challenging elements of cataloguing this collection. This was not least due to researching and writing/creating multiple administrative histories and catalogue structures adding significantly to the project workload. Having access to the Moss and Turton manuscript *The History of Whyte & Mackay*[17], as part of the collection, and by trusted authors, was incredibly useful in processing the collection. The separate chapters on distilleries other than Dalmore owned by Whyte & Mackay were of vital assistance in clarifying those relationships and timelines.

This buying and selling of smaller distillers and producers is unsurprising when considering the industry-wide context. As Bower states, in all businesses viability is based on accurate forecasting of future demand: with most whisky sold on average eight years after initial production begins, predicting levels of future demand has been an ongoing challenge for the whisky industry, leading to 'observable patterns of over-production and under-production [...] leading to what is known as the 'whisky cycle''.[18] As such, external economic factors such as the Great Depression, which led to many companies closing and never re-opening, provide an opportunity for companies that do survive such financial challenges to amalgamate with or acquire failed rival businesses. In addition, when blended whisky can be made up of up to 40 different whiskies, it is essential that a brand remains able to trade on a high-quality product,

[17] Moss and Turton, *The History of Whyte & Mackay.*

[18] Julie Bower, 'Scotch Whisky: History, Heritage and the Stock Cycle' (2016) 2:11, *Beverages*, pp.1-14.

leading not only to complex co-operative agreements, swapping whiskies directly, and deals through brokers,[19] but also a need to take over collapsing suppliers in order to sustain production of the blend's components. For brand owners such as Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd, the advantage of purchasing failing distillers was also in being able to control the fillings of other blending companies, as well as employing closer stock management on brewers which had rapidly expanded in the 1960s (a decision which risked impacted prices across the industry); this illustrates the complex nature of the whisky industry as both competitive and co-operative. Such behaviour gathered pace in the 1980s, with large multinational spirits firms consolidating many of the former brewers, in what is known as the 'merger wave'.[20] As such, the multiple company records within the collection and the complex nature of the business during the mid to late twentieth century reflects the industry-wide context in which the company was operating.

There were some further complexities to the project. The collection was physically held in two sites, where we each worked separately on different sections of material: the Archives and Special Collections' Thurso Street repository with the original deposit from the 1990s and the Ballast Trust, Johnstone, which had taken in the 2016 accrual. This required regular communication and strict management of location data. As previously mentioned, we were amalgamating the 1990s catalogue from the first accession with the new one, which would complete some gaps in record series, with all material eventually housed together at Thurso Street. We also had appraisal report recommendations to action, including weeding the numerous correspondence files, and disposing of lower-level financial records.

Taking a functional approach to the catalogue structure, we could model this on other Scottish Business Archive drinks industry record schemas, whilst allowing for future accruals as we were working with a live company. When our project schedule was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, the problematic issue of not having physical access to the materials quickly became apparent, and we questioned whether it was possible to continue processing the collection remotely. However, we were already a

[19] Ibid, pp.1-14.
[20] Ibid, pp.1-14.

considerable way through the detailed listing process and benefitted from the many reference images that had been taken. As such we proceeded to develop a virtual arrangement, leaving the physical arrangement and repackaging work for when we were back on site. As the initial box listing of the material, undertaken by other parties, had not reflected the scope of the separate businesses present in the records, the use of these images in doing more detailed descriptions became a critical tool when creating the virtual arrangement, in order that items were assigned to the correct company and record series.

Unlocking EMu's Functionality

After reviewing and arranging our initial spreadsheets, we were able to remotely input the majority of the collection data and refine the virtual catalogue arrangement using our new collection management system, EMu, from Axiell. We turned the interruption to our schedule offered by the pandemic to our advantage, testing EMu's functionality and ensuring contextual data such as administrative histories were fully detailed.

This included utilising how the structure of previous cataloguing systems was mapped to EMu's range of metadata fields as General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G))[21] compliant and manifested in the online catalogue interface. Some of the additional functionality provided by EMu is available to all users at this front end, other areas are for internal use, therefore the Archives and Special Collections' metadata team then used our training with the new system to work on guidelines for staff and external users. With the Whyte & Mackay group of collections being 17 separate subsidiary and associated company archives, it provided the ideal opportunity to utilise the ability of the online catalogue to encompass both vertical relationships (the multilevel aspect of the ISAD(G) standard) and horizontal relationships '(i.e. separate but linked context and content entities)'.[22] Below will be

[21] International Council on Archives (ICA), *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description: Adopted by the Committee on Descriptive Standards, Stockholm, Sweden, 19-22 September 1999*, 2nd edition (Ottawa: ICA, 2000).

[22] Heather MacNeil and Jennifer Douglas, 'Generic Evolution and the Online Archival Catalogue' (2015) 36:2, *Archives and Records*, p.112.

discussed two functions which were heavily used during cataloguing, the Related Records field in the EMu cataloguing module, and the Parties module, for recording people and organisations.

Using the Related Records field in EMu enables these entities to appear together as live links in the online catalogues as Related Items. Selecting the linked tab will navigate the reader to the list:

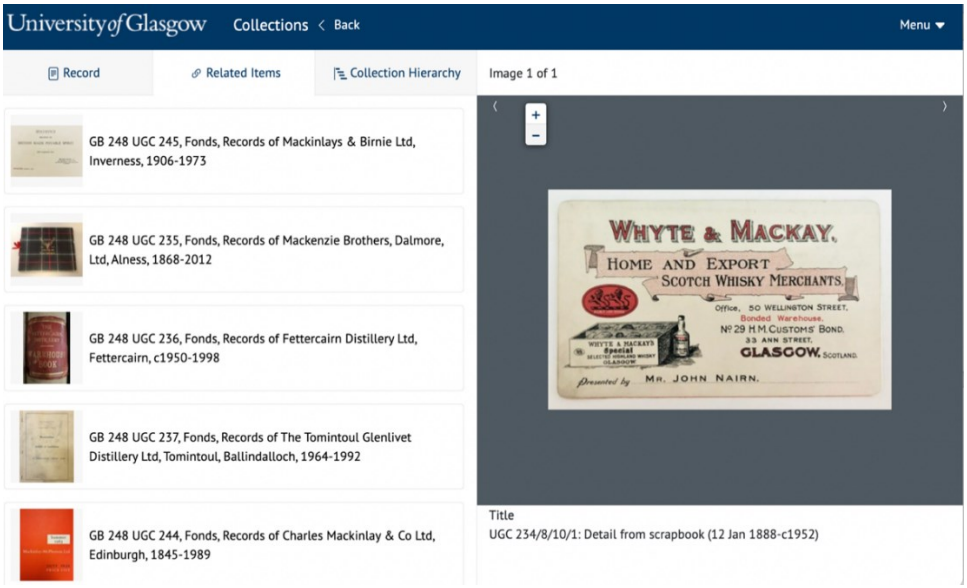
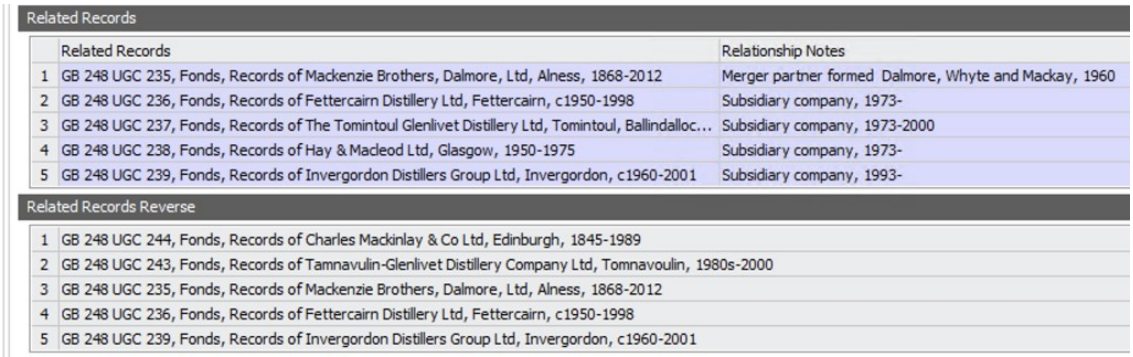


Image 1: Related Items, GB 248 UGC 234, records of Whyte & Mackay Ltd, Glasgow, 1833-2010, online catalogue.

The various inter-company relationships can be complex. EMu is also able to capture extra metadata by providing additional fields to describe the nature of these with more granularity. When collections are linked together using the Related Records field within EMu, there is further space in Relationship Notes to record any pertinent contextual, data, for example, dates:



Related Records

	Related Records	Relationship Notes
1	GB 248 UGC 235, Fonds, Records of Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd, Alness, 1868-2012	Merger partner formed Dalmore, Whyte and Mackay, 1960
2	GB 248 UGC 236, Fonds, Records of Fettercairn Distillery Ltd, Fettercairn, c1950-1998	Subsidiary company, 1973-
3	GB 248 UGC 237, Fonds, Records of The Tomintoul Glenlivet Distillery Ltd, Tomintoul, Ballindalloc...	Subsidiary company, 1973-2000
4	GB 248 UGC 238, Fonds, Records of Hay & Macleod Ltd, Glasgow, 1950-1975	Subsidiary company, 1973-
5	GB 248 UGC 239, Fonds, Records of Invergordon Distillers Group Ltd, Invergordon, c1960-2001	Subsidiary company, 1993-

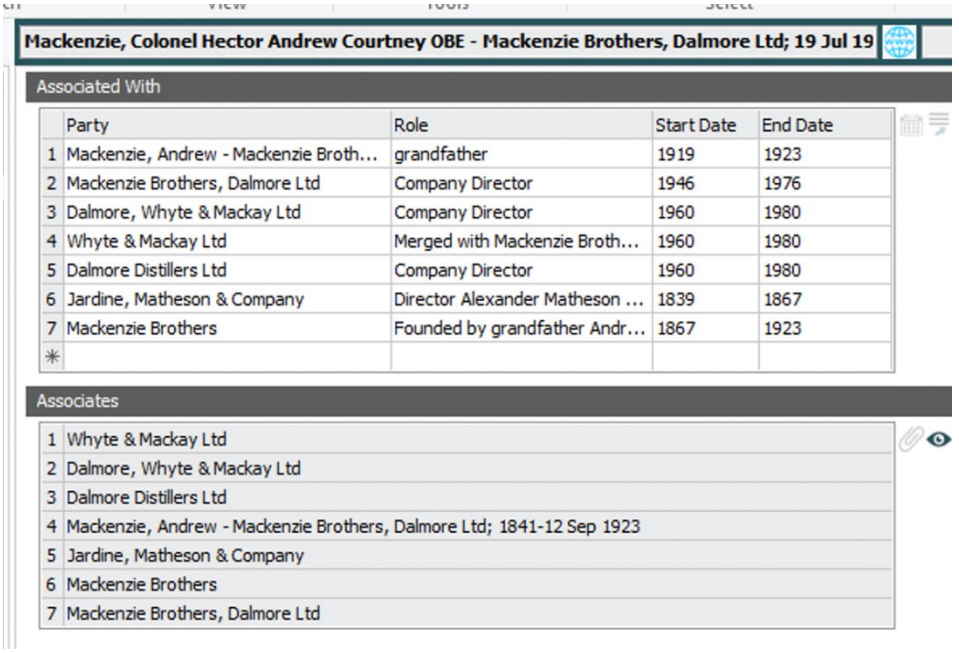
Related Records Reverse

1	GB 248 UGC 244, Fonds, Records of Charles Mackinlay & Co Ltd, Edinburgh, 1845-1989
2	GB 248 UGC 243, Fonds, Records of Tamnavulin-Glenlivet Distillery Company Ltd, Tomnavoulin, 1980s-2000
3	GB 248 UGC 235, Fonds, Records of Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd, Alness, 1868-2012
4	GB 248 UGC 236, Fonds, Records of Fettercairn Distillery Ltd, Fettercairn, c1950-1998
5	GB 248 UGC 239, Fonds, Records of Invergordon Distillers Group Ltd, Invergordon, c1960-2001

Image 2: EMu Related Records field, GB 248 UGC 234, records of Whyte & Mackay Ltd, Glasgow, 1833-2010, catalogue.

The field below, 'Related Records Reverse' auto-populates and acts as a checklist for cross-referencing. Whilst the data in these fields is also captured in prose format in the biographical histories for each company and is available to users in the online catalogue, the extra 'Relationship Notes' function accessible to all by staff by using EMu. This information was not previously available in such a format and has proved to provide a degree of efficiency when answering user enquiries

In addition to the 17 collection level descriptions there are now over 1,500 lower-level descriptions covering the financial, technical, and operational activities of Whyte & Mackay, Dalmore, and related companies, with collection strengths including the substantial amount of advertising and marketing material and photographs. Thirty-nine authority name records were also created for companies and individuals, allowing links to be clearly established between the various businesses. Using the Associations Field in EMu we were able to create links between the parties and add contextual notes. This example shows the party name record for Hector Andrew Courtney Mackenzie, who began the process of amalgamating Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd with their long-standing customers Whyte & Mackay Ltd as whisky blenders, and became company director of Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd in 1960. The tabular format provides a quick summary of where he sits in the web of personal and commercial relationships (see image 3, below):



Mackenzie, Colonel Hector Andrew Courtney OBE - Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore Ltd; 19 Jul 19

Associated With

	Party	Role	Start Date	End Date
1	Mackenzie, Andrew - Mackenzie Broth...	grandfather	1919	1923
2	Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore Ltd	Company Director	1946	1976
3	Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd	Company Director	1960	1980
4	Whyte & Mackay Ltd	Merged with Mackenzie Broth...	1960	1980
5	Dalmore Distillers Ltd	Company Director	1960	1980
6	Jardine, Matheson & Company	Director Alexander Matheson ...	1839	1867
7	Mackenzie Brothers	Founded by grandfather Andr...	1867	1923

Associates

1	Whyte & Mackay Ltd
2	Dalmore, Whyte & Mackay Ltd
3	Dalmore Distillers Ltd
4	Mackenzie, Andrew - Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore Ltd; 1841-12 Sep 1923
5	Jardine, Matheson & Company
6	Mackenzie Brothers
7	Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore Ltd

Image 3: EMu Party record/Associations field, Hector Mackenzie

The utilisation of a content management system to provide this kind of easily accessible summary data, rather than having to navigate multiple company administrative/biographical histories has obvious benefits for anyone working with the collections. The previous cataloguing system did have the Related Records function, as Archives and Special Collections were using the Archives Hub online portal[23] with catalogues uploaded as Encoded Archival Description (EAD) standardised XML format.[24] EAD, developed in the 1990s, enables users to search and browse archival collections in a networked online environment.[25] However, prior to that catalogues were produced as standalone Microsoft Word documents, many of which were produced before the advent of the ISAD(G) standard, and highlighting relationships between collections was something mostly left to additional finding aids

[23] Archives Hub, University of Glasgow Archive Services <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/glaas/?flevel=collection&sort=date.asc> accessed 30 Aug 2024

[24] *Encoded Archival Description* (*EAD*), XML standard for encoding archival finding aids, maintained by the Technical Subcommittee for Encoded Archival Standards of the Society of American Archivists, in partnership with the Library of Congress, <https://loc.gov/ead/> accessed 3 December 2024.

[25] Jane Zhang 'Digital Archival Representation: Approaches and Challenges' inC M. Angel, and C. Fuchs (eds) *Organization, Representation and Description Through the Digital Age: Information in Libraries, Archives and Museums* (Basel/Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2018), p.89.

such as collection guides, or for the user to work out themselves. The precursor to recording related and associated parties was a standalone authority file database, for people, organisations and collections.

As one of the first collections to be catalogued directly using EMu at Archives and Special Collections, rather than imported legacy data, the scale and complexity of the Whyte & Mackay material provided a valuable opportunity to explore and refine our methodology for capturing and describing metadata in specific areas with a degree of granularity that previous systems did not support. From a business archives perspective this can enhance our understanding of the companies and the place of individuals and their familial relationships within them. For front end users the online catalogue is now easier to navigate when researching across a group of related collections. Users of drinks industry collections including The Scottish Brewing Archive Association have given positive feedback on the accessibility and navigational possibilities of the online catalogue. The aim of enabling greater flexibility in searching and delivering more accurate and richly detailed contextual metadata using the back end has benefitted the wider Archives and Special Collections team, which in turn supports external users as we can respond to research enquires more efficiently.

The collection catalogue for Whyte & Mackay is available via the University of Glasgow's Hunterian, Archives and Special Collections online catalogue on the university's website; using the term 'Records of Whyte & Mackay Ltd, Glasgow, 1833-2010' in the search box.[26] Selecting the Related Items tab links users to Mackenzie Brothers, Dalmore, Ltd and the other collections in the group.

[26] Whyte & Mackay catalogue at <https://www.gla.ac.uk/collections/#/details?catType=C&irn=460781&referrer=/&gdcEvent=related_item_view> accessed 3 December 2024.

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Records of William Younger & Co Ltd, brewers, Edinburgh, 1658-1970s, catalogue reference GB 248 WY.

Records of Tennent Caledonian Breweries Ltd, brewers, Glasgow, 1776-2006, 23.6 linear metres, catalogue reference GB 248 T.

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Glen Mhor Distillery, Inverness: Research in Progress

Jason Julier, Independent Historian

Editors' Introduction

Jason Julier's piece is on Glen Mhor distillery and his website www.glenmhorwhisky.com where he has worked to collect and collate materials relating to the distillery into an online repository. Jason started this archive as a passion project in 2021 relying on being able to source materials from a variety of different places, meaning it is not a typical business archive created by professional archivists. Nevertheless, Jason's piece provides us with another aspect on the relationship between businesses and archives which resides in the informal space where collectors and amateur archivists come together (facilitated in no small part by modern technology such as blogging platforms) to create something accessible which would otherwise be lost to time. Collecting and collating materials from disparate sources, Jason has worked for several years to develop the website into a repository of digitised archival materials including photographs, records, letters, and short biographies relating to the inverness-based distillery that operated from 1892 until it closed in 1983. In his article he provides a reflection on how the archive came into being, the processes by which he was able to develop it, and some of his reasoning for undertaking the work. What is interesting about Jason's story and approach is his refusal to turn the work into a book, but instead to have it as a living and evolving archive which can be added to, repositioned, and reconfigured in different ways as and when new materials become available.

The whisky industry has numerous different projects and books written by amateur archivists and historians, driven by their interest in the industry and particular distilleries and brands. Their invaluable work in creating archives through cataloguing materials that are otherwise often either lost or locked away allows for wider and deeper interrogation of one of Scotland's most iconic and important industries which has been historically difficult to access. Technology plays a critical role in this with the internet offering both a place for hosting and accessing materials through formal and informal networks. Jason Julier's article details how his work on Glen Mhor has benefitted both technology and the goodwill of people in supporting the creation of this fascinating and easily accessed archive.

Sometime in the early 1890s, a meeting of the Leith Mackinlay's blending family and the former Glen Albyn manager, John Birnie, led to the establishment of a new distillery in Muirtown, Inverness, in 1892. Glen Mhor (pronounced *Glen Vawr*, or *Glen Vhore*) was situated on the same road as Glen Albyn and sprung into life officially on 8 December 1894.

On 8 March 1983, the stills ceased operation for the final time, marking the end of an era for the distillery, which had endured numerous challenges throughout its history. Like several other distilleries across Scotland during this period, the distillery closed its doors for good, just 12 weeks later. Over the course of almost a century, Glen Mhor had experienced a multitude of challenges and triumphs, reflecting the 'boom and bust' cycle of Scotch whisky. The innovations introduced during this period, the restrictions imposed by wartime, the transition from private to corporate ownership, and the evolution of the industry. Nevertheless, Glen Mhor had not been extensively discussed in the various textbooks on Scottish distilleries. The available information was limited, and the distillery was often erroneously identified as a sister distillery to Glen Albyn, which Mackinlay & Birnie acquired in 1920.

Today, Glen Mhor is not a distillery that immediately captures the imagination, or is seen as sexy by enthusiasts. Many of its whiskies are somewhat challenging to understand and of a style that is no longer produced. In essence, it is a classic and difficult Highland whisky in liquid form. It has been praised by several, including Neil M. Gunn, who was the resident Customs and Excise officer at the distillery during the 1920s and 1930s. Its style is rugged and difficult to appreciate. The whisky is often not immediately accessible and represents a challenge to appreciate. In some ways, I see much of myself in its whisky and felt it was more deserving of being re-evaluated in general.

As is the case with all good tales, they must be discovered and told. I had written extensively online about whiskies previously over several years and had developed an affection for Glen Mhor. My wife is also from the north, and I was finding myself spending more time in and out of Inverness and the surrounding area, visiting family. Despite the city's longstanding distilling heritage, it had been largely ignored or

downplayed. The trio of former distilleries are Glen Albyn, Glen Mhor and Millburn, and the only remaining vestige is the Millburn, which has been repurposed as a Premier Inn. This stark reminder of the city's former glory is a poignant sight you approach Inverness from the A9.

On each occasion that I passed this distillery relic, I considered why more was not being done to research, document and reintroduce these distilleries to a new generation? My own initial digging indicated that Glen Mhor had a fascinating history to uncover. At that time, I was not fully aware of the extent to which this would prove both rich, enjoyable and time consuming. Occasionally I am queried as to the rationale behind my choice of Glen Mhor as a subject for a detailed study. My immediate response is that there is no reason not to do so. In fact, there is a whole community of distilleries that deserve equal attention, it's just I always had an attachment for the youngest fallen producer on Telford Street, Muirtown.

When I was presented with a break in between whisky projects, I decided it was a convenient opportunity to finally start a website devoted to the research of Glen Mhor,[1] which I try to update on a weekly basis currently, with updates looking like slowing down later this year as the materials start to dry up, for now at least.

The website launch occurred in March 2021, and the information I had previously compiled provided a robust foundation for publishing online. Using my social media experience, I established a dedicated Facebook page for Glen Mhor, along with additional Instagram and Twitter (or whatever it's called nowadays) channels to disseminate content further.

These channels are situated around the website, with the sole purpose of directing traffic. In essence, they would serve as virtual breadcrumbs, leading back to the main information hub. They can and do, exist independently and have dedicated followers. In addition to broadcasting the arrival of new information weekly, they also act as an

[1] Glen Mhor Whisky: The Resource for All Things Related to Glen Mhor Distillery, <www.glenmhorwhisky.com> accessed 3 December 2024.

opener for new enquiries and finds, as the community becomes involved and provides new information. Facebook in particular has been very useful for unearthing memories of the older generation and those with a keen interest in distilling or local history. Joining dedicated Facebook groups on lost distilleries and Inverness history has been very fruitful and the older age demographic love to revisit bygone times and revive previously forgotten stories and characters.

Previously, the traditional format for publishing research on a specific distillery was a dedicated book, or as part of a more general guide to distilleries. Over time, these have taken two forms: an officially sanctioned publication, exemplified by Ian Buxton's *Glenfarclas: An Independent Distillery*[2], and a more enthusiast-oriented, but rich in detail, such as Dr Patrick Brossard's works on *Brora: A Legendary Distillery* and *Glen Garioch: The Manson Distillery*[3], which are often self-published and come with their own limitations such as availability, short print runs (Garioch was only an outturn of 250, Brora just 500 copies) with books being snapped up for the secondary auction market.

Tips on How to Research a Distillery

My work on Glen Mhor has prompted me to consider some general rules, which will hopefully help the would-be historian. Prior to initiating any research on a distillery, it's advisable to review existing literature related to the subject. A number of foundational texts are available, although most, with the exception of Brian Townsend's *Scotch Missed*[4] publication, originate from the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterised by limited information. Constructing a timeline and gathering data on significant dates, key individuals, and notable changes will establish a solid groundwork for your research. Additionally, it is beneficial to document the sources of

[2] Ian Buxton, *Glenfarclas: An Independent Distillery* (Glasgow: The Angels' Share, 2011).
[3] Patrick Brossard, *Brora: A Legendary Distillery* (*1819-1983*) *and Whisky* (Self-published, 2016); Patrick Brossard, *Glen Garioch: The Manson Distillery. A Hidden Gem in Aberdeenshire* (Self-published, 2013).
[4] Brian Townsend, *Scotch Missed: The Lost Distilleries of Scotland* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, 1993).

this information, as some dates and facts may be inaccurate, allowing for verification if necessary.

It's essential to consistently scrutinise the information and insights you encounter. Throughout the years, I have observed numerous unfounded assumptions being drawn. It is fun and emotive to engage in speculation and investigative reasoning as you go along, only to let the subsequent discovered facts to guide your final assessment.

It's worthwhile to acknowledge the identities of individuals beyond just the proprietors. My research has revealed previously overlooked figures, including distillery employees, management personnel, and their most reliable assistants and the role of the exciseman should not be underestimated, particularly regarding their diligent record-keeping practices. For example, I successfully traced the life of Robert Robertson, who worked at Mortlach distillery in the early 1890s before joining John Birnie at Glen Mhor as his number two, where he concluded both his career and life. This research also led me to his final resting place in a nearby graveyard in Inverness. There's a wonderful website called *Find a Grave*[5], where volunteers can help you locate a final resting place, and in some cases, offer to take photographs, if you are unable to visit.

If you can, examine all available resources, including council records, burial data, census information, and take note of possible keywords for online searches. Think outside the box. It is essential to delve deeper into each finding, contemplating not only the discovery itself, but also the individuals or entities responsible for its creation, the methods employed in its construction, and its intended function. Endeavor to trace the history as far back as possible, which may involve investigating records from engineering or architect firms and other associated companies. Follow the paper trail for as long as you are able and don't give up, as dead ends are part of the fun.

The texts in general for Glen Mhor have been brief and sporadic. Often regurgitating existing information from a couple of influential publications (often long out of print)

[5] Find a Grave <https://www.findagrave.com/> accessed 3 December 2024.

that have not been updated, or the distillery in question, revisited. We've come a long way since these books debuted, that mainly were produced in the 1970s and 1980s. Whisky and its appreciation is no longer as niche. Stories, images and information are more valued, sought after and archived. In turn, these archives are more aware of such whisky content and the importance socially of a distillery to the local community. And with many archives now digitalised and available online to researchers who are unable to visit, it is a fruitful time to revisit a distillery of choice. Also, I wanted to show the wider community what was possible utilising new and old resources, armed with a relentless tenacity, and pay homage to those that worked at Glen Mhor.

I have learned not to underestimate the significance of engaging in conversations with archivists, local historians, and individuals involved in the Scotch whisky industry. Knocking on doors, asking questions and social media appeals can be worthwhile. Such interactions can facilitate new opportunities and access to valuable resources. Many seasoned professionals and whisky aficionados possess extensive networks that can be beneficial. Maintaining an approachable and open-minded demeanour is crucial. My approach has consistently been to make available my finds for the benefit of the broader community. Assisting others frequently yields advantageous outcomes, including new leads and insights.

Traditional and New Media Platforms

A book in my mind is final, and for some reason, I felt that Glen Mhor had much to say and that spending several years researching, only then to reveal a book, was perhaps missing some of the joy and opportunities that a work in progress could offer. We're are all aware of the programmes on the History Channel that seem to run for countless seasons with very little actually happening. By making my research available online, I was able to dabble in this contemporary context. Observers are able to experience the thrill of new discoveries, the formation and dissolution of theories, and a virtual reconstruction of a distillery through information. Concurrently, individuals who were experiencing a dram of Glen Mhor whisky anywhere in the world, have the opportunity to access an online resource as they consumed the dwindling remnants of a once-thriving distillery via their phone, rather than seeking out an obscure book.

There's a much more instant and accessible aspect that suits modern day life, with your geographical location no longer being a barrier. You can access all the detail on Glen Mhor within seconds, whether you are in Inverness, or in a Tokyo bar.

Of course, I shouldn't assume that a book will never be published. It would be a welcome addition to have a tangible and physical representation of my work in printed form. There is a clear preference among whisky enthusiasts for books, and there is always the possibility that any online work could be lost at any time due to the actions of a teenage hacker in a distant country. With all the twists and turns that the project has offered, and keeps giving, I sincerely doubt I'll reach that place where I feel content to 'think that's it, time for the book'.

Despite the risks, I utilised the Blogger platform that Google offers (a reliable and securely supported host) while purchasing a Glen Mhor-related URL address. Diageo retains the naming rights of Glen Mhor, as they do for any closed distillery. This is a logical decision on their part, given that they are the final custodians, official bottler and likely still have casks maturing. Without this practice, Diageo may have encountered unforeseen obstacles in recently reviving the Brora and Port Ellen distilleries. They have been invaluable in facilitating research, as have numerous other companies and individuals since 2021.

Another factor that has always been a consideration is that this research is conducted for the sole purpose of knowledge, rather than for financial gain. My time is valuable, but the satisfaction derived from this research is very unexpected. It has been a privilege to prompt encounters between descendants of workers and their former family members, witnessing the joy and sense of pride that my research has brought to them.

As is often the case with initial plans, these evolve over time. The website was launched with several specific categories, including documents, maps, newspapers, photographs and quotes. In addition, a synopsis in the form of a distillery information page was included, providing a brief overview for those seeking a general understanding.

Furthermore, a timeline page was created to assist with the complex web of information that was about to be presented, acting as a comprehensive overview of the distillery's history.

The website format allows for the continuous updating of information, which is a significant advantage. As the Glen Mhor journey progresses, the theories and findings presented can be revised, re-examined, and subjected to further debate. The timeline has been very useful as it captures all manner of events and acts as an index. I can see what was happening around the time of a new entry and just afterwards, which often assists in my research.

Early on, it became evident that there was no such prior comprehensive analysis conducted for a distillery using this medium. Consequently, I was learning as I went along and still retain that mindset. Starting with the documents category, I had already gained access to a number of documents relating to Glen Mhor from whisky history collectors. I was able to utilise these resources and, in October 2023, was offered the opportunity to purchase a stash of such documents by a collector. He expressed a desire for the documents to be incorporated into the research and made available to a broader audience. A fair price was negotiated for the collection, taking into account the potential value of the documents individually at auction. In light of previous offers of assistance, an online crowdfunding campaign was initiated via GoFundMe with a target of £600.

I must admit that I was initially uncertain about the potential outcomes of the online fundraising efforts. Asking for donations was a new experience for me, and I was unsure about my ability to do it effectively. However, I was amazed to find that the target was met within a couple of days. The response was remarkable and overwhelming, with familiar names and total strangers making donations to reach the target and then a little more.

The deal was finalised a few weeks later in person at a branch of Gregg's, where tea and sausage rolls were consumed, documents inspected and monies sent by phone. We had

an informative discussion about the history of whisky and the enjoyment from the ongoing research project. Interestingly, when I announced the fundraising initiative, some members of the Twitter community expressed concern about the potential financial gain of an individual from such material. This almost dissuaded the seller from concluding the deal. Fortunately, the acquisition was completed. Based on the prices paid for similar items on eBay or at whisky auctioneers, the total cost of over 20 items was a reasonable price for all parties involved.

The map section was compiled using online archives and illustrates the evolution of the Muirtown area. While the maps themselves may not appear to be of significant importance, they provide insight into the site's development and have proven to be a valuable reference tool when attempting to ascertain the timing of changes, particularly those related to new production facilities or warehouse expansions. A relative recently gifted me a Scotland book from 1905 that includes various maps and walks. From the outset, it was evident that the Inverness map had not been updated since the early 1890s, as it depicted the original rope factory on the site of the distillery.

The section on photographs is self-explanatory, and it was somewhat surprising that there were so few published images of Glen Mhor. These like the distillery information, came from the same handful of sources and the majority of these images were taken from the bank of the Caledonian Canal, which effectively looked across the backside of the distillery, which is not a particularly attractive sight. As the ground level of the distillery was several feet lower than the quayside, valuable details were also obscured.

When contemplating a new distillery, I believe it is important to examine the historical landscape. Consider whether there are any notable unrelated features or structures in the vicinity. Assess the transportation infrastructure present in the area and evaluate the likelihood of the distillery being inadvertently associated with other local attractions or developments? Accidents often prompt the best discoveries.

I am slightly astonished to have amassed approximately one hundred photographs of Glen Mhor since 2021. These have originated from a multitude of sources, and I was

optimistic that there would be some out there, with more to be discovered. The distillery is distinctive in the Scotch whisky industry, as it was situated in close proximity to landmarks that were frequently photographed. In doing so, by chance, Glen Mhor was also captured.

The eastern boundary of the distillery, which was home to warehouses, was situated adjacent to the former Caledonian Football Club ground and predated the football stadium. This area was colloquially known as the 'distillery end' due to its proximity to Glen Mhor. The western edge of the distillery was bordered by the Caledonian Canal, with the Muirtown Basin and Muirtown Locks being prominent focal points. Additionally, the bridge over the canal and the busy Telford Street route out of the city towards Dingwall and the north, featured in many images.

The earliest external photograph that has been identified thus far was discovered amongst a set of donated lantern slides at the Grantown Museum. One of the slides depicts a proud gentleman gazing out towards a vessel in the Muirtown Basin, with a relatively new-looking Glen Mhor distillery visible in the background. Based on the available evidence, I believe that this photograph was taken between 1896 and 1899. The identity of the photographer is unknown. However, the clarity of the image is remarkable and a valuable contribution to the site.

There are a number of excellent online resources devoted to the history of Scotland and photographic material. *Am Baile*[6] is one such destination, as is *Canmore*[7]. The latter hosts the collection of images taken by economic and industrial historian Professor John R. Hume, who photographed Glen Mhor on several occasions. These images are presented in high quality and the website allows the user to zoom in for remarkable detail. It is these images that help to visualise and confirm changes at the distillery site that are being noted through written records.

[6] Am Baile: Highland History and Culture <https://www.ambaile.org.uk/> accessed 3 December 2024.
[7] Canmore <https://canmore.org.uk/> accessed 3 December 2024.

Given that Glen Mhor was effectively encircled on three sides, the majority of the available images from the latter years of its existence were captured from the quayside, as distillery tours were very much in their infancy. It is often overlooked that the quayside was constructed at a higher level than the street level, which is much lower. Any photograph of the quayside of Glen Mhor will be lacking in the ground and first floor levels. This has resulted in a certain degree of ambiguity regarding the purpose of the buildings and the perception that the distillery is unattractive. Viewers are unaware that they are missing the majority of the details and are effectively looking at the back end of the site.

The advent and potential of artificial intelligence is a topic of considerable debate. However, it has proven to be a valuable tool in my research, particularly in the context of images. There are a number of sophisticated online tools that can be employed to effectively enhance the quality of images. Furthermore, when zooming into photographs to consider features, some details are lost. However, through the use of artificial intelligence, these can be restored, while maintaining the resolution and creating larger images. It is, perhaps, a fine distinction between restoration and a new vision, and this is a theme with which those engaged in the field of preservation are already familiar. It is exciting to consider what tools might be made available in the coming years. Additionally, the capacity to colourise images is available, which does entail some degree of artistic licence. However, in the case of the 1939 image of the Glen Mhor distillery workers, this approach did result in a greater sense of realism.

Perhaps the most peculiar account of the search for images and documents involves an estate agent. I had been given access to a 2011 covering letter from a Rodney Burtt, an Englishman who in the late 1960s, had been engaged in the study of whisky. It is possible that he could be mistaken for a courageous individual, as he ventured north to learn the trade at Glen Albyn and Glen Mhor and is referenced in Gavin D. Smith's *Stillhouse Stories – Tunroom Tales*, published in 2013.[8] At the time, I was under the

[8] Gavin D. Smith, *Stillhouse Stories – Tunroom Tales* (Glasgow: The Angels' Share, 2013).

impression that he had passed away shortly after the publication of the book, and sadly this proved to be the case.

The letter to the editor of The Institute of Brewing and Distilling is intriguing, as Rodney enclosed a copy of his whisky manuscript, originally entitled *Highland Gold*, before the distilleries were closed and prompting its renaming as *Spirits Within*. He was essentially seeking a publisher or archivist who would be sympathetic to the work and willing to assist in its preservation for future generations. Additionally, he provided a number of images and the kilobyte size (160 kB) of the text, which was held on a disk, presumably a floppy.

It's unnecessary to explain of the significance of an unofficial account by an ex-employee of his time at two distilleries in the Highlands. Consequently, I contacted the Institute, which had no records on file, but was able to put me in touch with the former editor. Unfortunately, he was unable to assist. Undeterred, I proceeded with a different approach. The letter included a home address for Rodney, and a subsequent online search revealed that the property was currently on the market.

I recall contacting the estate agent with an opening line, noting that this was likely the most unconventional request they had received in sometime. Fortunately, they were very helpful and conveyed the message to the seller, who turned out to be a relative of Rodney's. She recalled his enthusiasm for his tenure at both distilleries and the work he had done to collate material. The property had recently been vacated and the seller inquired as to whether I would be willing to accept Rodney's materials?

These items were kindly donated to my ongoing research as a gesture of gratitude for my shared interest and as a tribute to Rodney's enthusiasm for his Highland whisky experiences. The material comprises a trove of images, including some that I believe originally hung on the walls of the distillery office. There is a tale of such items being saved around the time of the demolition and/or selling of the distillery. However, regrettably, no manuscript is included. The search for the lost story to accompany the photographs remains ongoing.

Since the site's inception, further pages have been added on specific areas. These include the US Navy establishing their first base on UK soil at the distillery and Glen Albyn during the First World War. The Inverness Burgh archive, a series of podcasts and video have received their own pages. And when I have sufficient information to facilitate a specific page, a new possibility is launched. As with every area of the site, I view these as works in progress.

Another valuable resource is the *Internet Archive*, a free digital library of books, documents, and media.[9] Given the vast number of books on whisky and the numerous obscure titles that have fallen into obscurity, this resource can be a useful tool. By utilising the Internet Archive's search engine, you can swiftly scan available texts for any information on a distillery or individual. By employing this method, I was able to rapidly ascertain if there were any valuable insights in a forgotten publication from the UK or beyond.

At times, there is a plethora of potential avenues to navigate, and the system itself can be somewhat unwieldy. Nevertheless, it is a valuable resource that merits preservation. Some of the more valuable outcomes have led to the purchase of books and further investigation, or at the very least, entries on the website's quotation page.

From a personal perspective, I have always been intrigued by history. My interest was further developed through family tree research and investigating other distilleries for specific articles. This subsequently led to a resemblance of familiarity with a range of resources that can be used to obtain information. When searching for a distant family relative, I would often utilise my free trial periods by typing in random related keywords for Glen Mhor and sifting through the results. Noting that the name is often incorrectly catalogued as *Glenmore*, *Glenmhor*, *Glenvhor* and other variants. Genealogy websites can offer a wealth of information beyond mere births, marriages and arrivals, at a price. The resources at my disposal have enabled me to compile a comprehensive newspaper archive, which has revealed the significant influence John Birnie exerted in

[9] Internet Archive <https://archive.org/> accessed 3 December 2024.

Inverness as a distillery owner and Lord Provost. With his son, William, later having a prominent position in the whisky industry.

With all this mention of novel technologies and unconventional methodologies, I still want to acknowledge the enduring significance of traditional approaches, such as archives and onsite visits. Engaging with archivists at the Highland Archive Centre in Inverness has proven to be a highly beneficial experience. I have consistently been impressed by the willingness of everyone I've contacted to assist me in my somewhat unconventional line of inquiry, even if they are politely saying 'no' to a request to use information. I haven't fully explored the conventional methodologies employed in assembling distillery information including visiting Glasgow University, which has the Mackinlay & Birnie company files. The reason for this, other than the presence of a young son, was the advent of the global pandemic, which was a significant concern for all researchers at the time.

The advent of the pandemic necessitated the transition of most archives to exclusively digital or limited access, and I devised the multitude of the inquiries discussed in this paper. These online methods were convenient at the time and also reflected the sheltered lifestyle. Upon reflection, these methods can be integrated into one's lifestyle more readily, particularly if one is awake at night caring for a sibling and managing daily life, or the pipe dream of spending a few hours visiting an archive.

Nevertheless, when you visit an archive and have the materials in front of you, the experience is indelible and cannot be replicated online. The ability to consider the various distillery plans associated with Glen Mhor from the early 1890s until 1950 not only yielded a plethora of material, but also afforded the opportunity to appreciate the condition of the drawings, scale and the craftsmanship that went into each of them.

I recall with fondness the occasion when I was able to sit down with a Glen Mhor distillery logbook, which was a relative unknown entry in the Highland Archive. The logbook, which was maintained by the Customs and Exciseman on site, recorded various events and requests from the distillery between June 1936 and November 1967.

This is a rare and unique find, offering unparalleled insight into the distillery's inner workings, often hidden from public view, over an extended period.

I have been extremely fortunate to be able to call upon the assistance of numerous individuals during my research. Of these, none has been more invaluable than Alan Winchester, former Glenlivet Master Distiller, who has a profound passion for whisky history and a family connection to Glen Mhor, as well as detailed knowledge of distilling. Upon examination of the logbook, it became evident that a transcription of each entry was necessary in order to extract as much information as possible and present it in a manageable form to the wider readership.

The Highland Archive was kind enough to permit the use of photographs that have been watermarked and for which full credit has been given. It may have been sufficient to simply publish these online, but this was a significant discovery that could provide further insight into the interactions between distillers and excisemen, with new understanding for the whisky industry as a whole. A new website section was created, and each page was transcribed in date order, discussed, and debated between Alan and me, with our thoughts noted. This voyage, which spanned just over two years, yielded a wealth of insights for both of us and some wonderful finds.

The initial logbook pages are from Neil M. Gunn, who was replaced by Gilbert W. Peterkin over a couple of decades later. The reality of distillery life and repairs is recorded, along with some unexpected incidents, the war years, accidents, and a break-in during the 1960s. As with much of my research, the process involved a combination of trial and error. However, an approach was soon formulated, that will prove beneficial as there are two other logbooks relating to the Glen Albyn distillery that I will consider later this year.

While I have had success in finding documents and photographs, other artifacts and memorabilia have proved elusive. There is a growing demand for these items amongst enthusiasts (also for documents), so I suspect some do exist within private collections, or are awaiting discovery by descendants for resale.

In addition to the physical original photographs that were previously located at the distillery office, the only tangible piece of memorabilia is an authentic printing stone from the early 1900s. This item was acquired through the mention of Mackinlay's, a company that had its own successful range of blends based in Leith. As the co-founders, it is not explicitly stated that the whisky is Glen Mhor, but there is a clear connection. As a tangible relic, it is particularly distinctive and impressively heavy. The advent of self-adhesive labels in the 1930s signalled the end of this technology, which must have been both time-consuming and labour-intensive.

The stone was discovered for sale in an antique shop in Newcastle. I was made aware of its existence by a whisky enthusiast. Contacting the seller prompted a weekend visit to the city and the acquisition of a unique item of interest to most whisky enthusiasts. The stone slab is inscribed with numerous labels on one side. I traced the origins of each of these whisky labels regardless of whether they were Mackinlay or Glen Mhor orientated or not, as it felt right to do so. It seemed an appropriate course of action, which also enhanced my appreciation of this technology.

The stone is currently situated beneath my bed, wrapped in a blanket, a location that is not ideal for its storage. I believe that any materials should be made accessible to others, whether in an online or in-person setting. Therefore, I made a commitment a few years ago, when friends who are constructing a new distillery in Dornoch will have completed their visitor centre, that the stone will be on show to any visitors.

This prompts the question of what other possibilities exist? It is possible to register with a number of auctioneers and to save keywords on eBay and other websites. Such services provide an advance warning in the event that an unexpected item becomes available.

I have built up a network of individuals to assist when they encounter items of interest, which proves particularly advantageous as some websites impose membership fees. This rationale extends to online family tree databases that require payment for access to census records and newspaper archives. It is beneficial to take advantage of free

seven-day memberships and similar offers by preparing in advance. By compiling a list of key individuals and searches, you can efficiently navigate the available resources. This approach allows for the swift saving and downloading of relevant information for future reference, enabling a focused search during the trial period, followed by a thorough review of potential leads once the membership has expired.

The Glen Mhor website enables users to contact me directly, and I have had conversions with distant relatives in a variety of locations, including Africa. These conversations have provided me with insights into their experiences in and around the distillery, as well as memories of John and William Birnie.

All relatives of former distillery workers, Birnie descendants and locals with a passion for the history of Inverness have been extremely welcoming and appreciative of my work. This has been an unanticipated and ultimately gratifying aspect of undertaking this project. It has been a privilege to be able to bring a little joy and to relive some old memories with them.

This website has proven to be a highly popular for what it is and has become well-established presence on search engines. Consequently, a search for the term *Glen Mhor* would likely yield two results: the hotel bearing that name in Inverness, or my ongoing work. Some whisky enthusiasts have blamed the work for increasing the cost of the whisky itself!

You could suggest that patience is the key to success with this project. Glen Mhor was previously a relatively obscure distillery, and my research has served to bring it to the attention of a wider audience. As the work I have conducted is available online, it'll be a case of waiting for further material by chance or a local or descendent reaching out. Each day brings the possibility of an email or text message from an unexpected source containing new information.

The reality is that the work will never be completed, and my virtual door will always be open. However, it is now approaching the time to move on to the Glen Albyn distillery

with a view to unearthing any details which might assist in our appreciation of both of these neighbouring Inverness distilleries, which no longer exist.

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Business Records Deposited in Scottish Archives in 2023

The following details of business records deposited in Scottish archive repositories in 2023 have been derived from the annual Accessions to Repositories Survey undertaken by The National Archives. Thanks are owed to colleagues at The National Archives for allowing the data to be previewed.

Architects

Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives, Old Aberdeen House Branch: Frank Matcham, architect, London, architectural drawings for His Majesty's Theatre, Aberdeen, 1905; McInness Gardner, architects, Glasgow, plans of Aberdeen Combworks for A.C.W. Plastics Ltd, 1996.

Glasgow Life City Archives: Wylie Shanks, architects, Glasgow, architectural drawings, c.1950-2005.

Historic Environment Scotland: George and Alice Subiotto, architects, records, 1950-70; John and Margaret Richard, architects, records, 1950-97; David Hamilton, architect, drawings of Scotstoun House, Glasgow, 1823; David Lindsay Allan, architect, scrapbook of architectural sketches, photographs and presscuttings, c.1897; Thomas Rutherford, architect, student drawings and records relating to work on schools in Fife, 1946-80; Macnaughtan & Watson, architects and builders, drawings of private and retail properties in Glasgow, 1930-40; Alexander Marshall Mackenzie, architect, drawings for Glenburnie Park, Aberdeen, 1885.

University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections: James Stirling Boyd, architect, Paisley and Sidcup, architectural drawings, lantern slides and unpublished manuscript, c.1897-1931.

Banking

Glasgow Life City Archives: National Savings Bank, Cowglen, photograph album relating to bank construction, c.1964.

Highland Archive Service, Lochaber: British Linen Bank, Edinburgh, letter relating to apprenticeship of N.B. Mackenzie, 1902 (copy).

Boilermaking

Glasgow Life City Archives: Babcock & Wilcox Ltd, boilermakers, Renfrew, photographs and presscutting, c.1940-65.

Building

Highland Archive Service, Skye and Lochalsh: Macdonald Brothers Ltd, builders, Portree, records, c.1955.

Car and tractor manufacture

Dumfries and Galloway Heritage Service: Arrol-Johnston Car Co Ltd, car manufacturer, prints of agent's meetings, n.d.

University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections: Caterpillar Tractors Ltd, Uddingston, records, 1980s.

Distilling

Highland Archive Service, Skye and Lochalsh: Talisker distillery, Carbost, photographs, 1950s-80s.

National Library of Scotland, Archives and Manuscript Collections: Glenburgie distillery, Forres, John MacPherson's notebook relating to the distilling process, 1893.

Engineering

Glasgow Life City Archives: Incorporation of Hammermen of Glasgow, deeds and feuduties, early 20th century.

Highland Archive Service, Inverness: J. Mitchell & Co, engineers, sketch of proposed railway from Dingwall to Kyleakin ferry, 1864.

National Library of Scotland, Archives and Manuscript Collections: Frank Whyte, civil engineer, records including notebooks, 1910-67; Robert Stevenson, civil engineer, journal describing visits to lighthouses for the Commissioners for Northern Lighthouses, 1801-06.

Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives: William Tawse Ltd, civil engineers, Aberdeen, records of Edwin Gall including cash books, 1928-46.

University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections: Andrew Jardine, engineer, Glasgow and London, records relating to studies, apprenticeship, research and lectures, 1927-64.

Estate management

Highland Archive Service, Inverness: Grant Peterkin family of Grange Hall estate, Forres, and Chatham estate, Jamaica, family and estate papers including letterbooks, account ledgers and correspondence, 1690s-1943; Baillie family of Dochfour estate, Inverness, receipts, bank book, school jotters, cash book, waste books, day book, diary, notebooks, publications, 19th-20th centuries.

Fishing

Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives, Old Aberdeen House Branch: Aberdeen Steam Fishing Vessels' Owners' Association Ltd, memorandum and articles, certificates of name change, resolutions, registers of members and directors, minutes, reports and accounts, financial statements, letters, Aberdeen fishing fleet lists, staff wages list, executive committee list, minutes of Scottish Trawlers' Federation, 1902-90.

Hotels

Highland Archive Service, Lochaber: Ben Nevis Hotel, traveller proof relating to excisable liquors and parcel post record book, 1953-55.

Iron and steel

Dundee City Archives: Associated Iron-Moulders of Scotland (Dundee C District), roll of members, 1878-1931.

University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections: Falkirk Iron Co., iron founders, Falkirk, munitions production photograph album, 1915-18.

Mining supplier

Glasgow Life City Archives: Mavor & Coulson Ltd, Glasgow, electrical and mining machinery manufacturer, apprentices' magazines, programmes and catalogue, 1931-4.

Oil, gas and nuclear power

Glasgow Life City Archives: Britoil plc, Glasgow, Clyde Field development plan and photographs, c.1980-6.

University of Aberdeen, Special Collections Centre: Oil and gas industry grey-literature, 1990-2001.

Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives: Dounreay Site Restoration Ltd, Thurso, 'We are Dounreay' magazine 1-5, 2023.

Photographers

University of Aberdeen, Special Collections Centre: George Washington Wilson & Co, Robert Burns series lantern slides, c.1850-85.

Ports and harbours

*Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives: Old Aberdeen House Branch: r*eceipts relating to boats docked at Peterhead, 1959, Peterhead Harbour and Peterhead, records, 18th-20th centuries.

Inverclyde Archives: Greenock Harbour Trust, records, c.1890-1920.

Publishing

National Library of Scotland, Archives and Manuscript Collections: Edinburgh Booksellers' Society Ltd, minute books, cash books, correspondence and printed administrative documents, 1776-1958; Oliver & Boyd, publishers, Edinburgh, in-letters, 1837; John Murray, publishers, London, in-letter envelopes and covers, 1833-1912.

University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections: Craig Dodd, book designer, book jackets and original drawings, 1970s-2000s; David Douglas, publisher and editor, Edinburgh, books and correspondence, 1890-94.

Railways

Highland Archive Service, Lochaber: Lochaber Light Railway Co., minutes, correspondence and plans relating to feasibility study, 2006.

Historic Environment Scotland: Thomas Grainger, civil engineer and surveyor, drawings of stations, bridges and other railway-related structures in and around Leeds, 1837-64.

Retail and wholesale trade

Dumfries and Galloway Heritage Service: Jardine & Palmer, later Robert Jardine, draper, Gatehouse of Fleet, records, n.d.

Glasgow Life City Archives: Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Glasgow, 'Echoes' publication, 1933-8.

Highland Archive Service, Skye and Lochalsh: Lipton Tea Co Ltd, Christmas spirit and wine list and exercise book of Alex Maclean, 1966.

National Library of Scotland, Archives and Manuscript Collections: James Maclean, fruiterer, correspondence relating to his work for London fruit merchants, Samuel Hanson & Son, 1840-1.

Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives: H.B. Reid Ltd, chemist shop, Wick, ledgers, c.1940-70.

Sewing machine manufacture

West Dunbartonshire Council Archive Services, Clydebank Library: Singer Manufacturing Co. Ltd, sewing machine manufacturer, Clydebank, records, 1967-80.

Shipping and shipbuilding

Glasgow Life City Archives: J. & J. Denholm, Glasgow, staff magazines, photographs, wage slips, diary and presscuttings, c.1957-69.

Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives: Unidentified shipping agent, Wick Harbour, ledger, c.1940s; Lloyd's Register of Shipping, registers of ships passing through Pentland Firth, c.2000-20.

University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections: Lithgows Ltd, shipbuilders and repairers, Port Glasgow, minutes, administrative papers, correspondence, reports, scrap and presscutting books, visitors book and photographs, 1928-2013; Alexander Stephen & Sons Ltd, shipbuilders, Glasgow, family papers, 1860-81.

West Dunbartonshire Council Archive Services, Clydebank Library: Denny Shipbuilders: drawing of small paddle steamer c.1820s; technical drawings and operating manuals for M.V. Koolama/Grain Trader, 1958-70s.

Television

Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives: Old Aberdeen House Branch: Grampian Television, records, c.1985-2001.

Textile merchants and manufacturers

Glasgow Life City Archives: James Templeton & Co., carpet factory, Glasgow, national registration identity card of John Eadie, manager, 1948.

Heriot-Watt University Museum and Archive: Donald Brothers, textile manufacturer, Dundee, woven fabric, 1970s-80s.

Mitchell Library Special Collections, Glasgow: James Templeton & Co., carpet factory, Glasgow, records, 1930-70.

University of Dundee Archives: John Sharp & Sons, jute merchants, Dundee, family legal, personal and financial papers, 1824-1958.

Theatres

East Dunbartonshire Archives Service, Kirkintilloch: Kirkintilloch Players, amateur theatre company, photographs and programmes, 2010s.

University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections: Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, playbills, 1824.

Timber

Highland Archive Service, Skye and Lochalsh: Hugh Murray Ltd, sawmills, Portree, photographs, n.d.

Trade unions

University of Aberdeen, Special Collections Centre: Aberdeen Trades Union Council, records, 1950s-date.

Miscellaneous

Glasgow Life City Archives: Sir Iain Maxwell Stewart, industrialist, correspondence, speeches, presscuttings and ephemera, c.1960-78.

Inverclyde Archives: Thomas Boag, bag maker, Greenock, minute books, c.1930-40.

University of Dundee Archives: John Fraser, manufacturer, glass-plate negatives, lantern slides, photograph albums and loose photographs, 19th-20th centuries.

Report of the Business Archives Surveying Officer for Scotland 2023-4

Rachael Muir, Business Archives Surveying Officer

Background

The UK has a long tradition of undertaking national, regional and sectoral surveys of the historical records of business.[1] However, Scotland is unique in having had a dedicated surveying officer for business records since 1977, when the post was established by the Business Archives Council of Scotland and supported by a grant-in-aid from the then Scottish Records Office. Building on the work of earlier regional surveys led by the National Register of Archives for Scotland, this post has been crucial to the preservation and development of Scottish business archives for nearly 50 years.

There have been 18 surveying officers in all and between them they have witnessed a period of profound economic change in Scotland. From the decline of shipbuilding and textile manufacturing in the 1980s, to the 2008 recession and crisis in the oil and gas industry, the surveying officer has been on hand to rescue, preserve and promote the industrial and business heritage of Scotland. Over the years, surveys have ranged from listing a few volumes to surveying hundreds of metres of records that are now major corporate archives of internationally-renowned businesses. The existence of a surveying officer in Scotland has made a huge contribution to the status of the business archives sector and helped to ensure that Scotland has a wealth of business and business-related archives.

The role continued until 2010 when it fell into abeyance for four years. In 2014 the surveying officer role was revived by a consortium of partners, led by the Ballast Trust, a charity which specialises in the rescue, sorting and cataloguing of business archives. Today the post is funded by the Lind Foundation, supported by donations from

[1] Lesley Richmond and Alison Turton, 'Business Archive Surveying in the UK: An Exploration of Past Achievement' *Archives* (2022) 57:2, pp.105-39.

businesses and, since 2021, a new funding partnership with the National Records of Scotland.

The current business archives surveying officer is Rachael Muir who can be contacted[2] by anyone aware of any business records at risk in Scotland and anyone requiring advice on the care and management of business archives. Examples of her work can be found on the surveying officer's website.[3]

Annual Report for the Year to 31 March 2024

It was a varied 12 months for the business archives surveying officer, with two thematic surveys, several records at risk cases, recruitment and consultancy work. Over 130 businesses were contacted in 2023-4 with 27 surveys completed, and an overall response rate of 20 per cent. This was an increase on the average response rate, of 10-15 per cent, that has been standard for business archive surveyor work in the past.

Several unique surveys were undertaken during the year, including a survey of one of the earliest examples of a community-interest company (CIC) in Scotland. This involved the surveying officer travelling to Glenelg in north-west Scotland to visit the offices of the Glenachulish Preservation Trust, which works to preserve the last remaining turntable ferry in Scotland.

A new thematic survey on the natural environment and outdoor economy was launched in the summer of 2023. This led to several first-time surveys for organisations including the Glencoe Mountain Resort, Scottish Wildlife Trust, the Scottish Tourist Guides Association, Action to Protect Rural Scotland and the John Muir Trust, two of which have now been transferred to relevant archive services.

During the year the surveying officer also developed a remote survey questionnaire which was successfully completed by the European Marine Energy Centre as part of

[2] Contact e-mail: surveyingofficer@glasgow.ac.uk.

[3] See <https://surveyingofficer.co.uk/testimonies/> accessed 16 December 2024.

work with the renewables sector. It provided a useful insight into their physical and digital holdings and allowed for a report setting out recommendations to be prepared. By having such a questionnaire to hand, it allows surveys to be conducted remotely in the first instance, where travel, time and money are a restriction, and then planning can take place for a more detailed in-person survey if required.

The surveying officer continued to work as the lead representative for Scotland on the UK Crisis Management Team. The team has existed since 2009 to organise agreed responses to business archives under threat and to monitor and assist in steering records at risk into suitable homes. There have been a high number of at-risk cases in 2023-4, with at least 23 Scottish cases investigated. Most notably, this included the well-known brands of Ted Baker and Hunter Boots, but unfortunately no progress was made in identifying any surviving records. However, there were successes. The records of Alexander Wilkies, retailer, were surveyed and transferred to Fife Archives, and a small number of records were identified following the closure of Cairncross of Perth, jewellers, after 154 years of trading, and transferred to Culture Perth and Kinross. Ishbel MacKinnon, archivist at Culture Perth and Kinross, noted:

> 'When its closure was announced earlier this year the business archives surveying officer got in touch and offered to help with the salvage of any business records - which I accepted without hesitation. She alerted me to an early records survey of the business, negotiated access with the owners, salvaged the records from the premises and deposited them in the archive. This saved me an enormous amount of time and ensured that the records were preserved in a safe and timely manner.'

Nearly two years after initial contact was made with the owners of Peter Greig & Co., Scotland's last linen factory, by Chris Cassells (surveying officer 2018-21), Rachael was delighted to secure the safe transfer of the company's archive to Fife Archives. This case demonstrates that a significant amount of time is often required to ensure the long-term preservation of records, well beyond the moment of an initial survey. Andrew Dowsey, archives and local studies manager, Fife Archives, was appreciative of the surveying officer's intervention:

> 'When Peter Greig & Co. went into liquidation, I was worried that their archive had been lost. I am grateful to Rachael Muir, business archives surveying officer, for tracking the records down, identifying the records worth permanent preservation and for helping to persuade the owner to donate the records to Fife Archives'.

Consultancy work was steady throughout the year. In autumn 2023, Rachael supported James Johnston & Co. of Elgin Ltd, manufacturer and retailer of tweeds, knitwear and woven accessories, in the recruitment of their first corporate archivist. As one of the oldest businesses in Scotland, Johnstons of Elgin was first surveyed by the National Register of Archives for Scotland several decades ago, and re-surveyed ten years ago in 2013. However, it wasn't until the most recent survey and consultancy report in 2023, that the company decided to proceed with recruiting their own record-keeping professional and now have an archivist in post.

Further consultancy work has involved undertaking eight days of historical research for J.C. Peacock & Co., formerly shipping charterers, now salt merchants, as part of their 150th anniversary this year. Newly-found information is currently being used to prepare a commemorative corporate history. Consultancy time has also been secured for the surveying officer to catalogue the Scottish Women's Institute collection. For one day a week, over a six-month period, Rachael has developed a catalogue of the collection providing a clearer understanding of the various records the collection contains.

The archive work of sporting organisations has also featured regularly this year, and the surveying officer attended the Sporting Heritage's Scotland network event at the University of Stirling last summer. Rachael managed a stand which promoted the surveying officer's services with postcards and a new 'records for sporting organisations' guidance designed and printed for the event. The event allowed Rachael to share past survey success, like that relating to St Johnstone Football Club, St Mirren Football Club and Queen's Park Bowling Club. Time was also spent identifying and contacting those clubs with significant anniversaries coming up in the next ten years. This resulted in two surveys, one of which was undertaken remotely by reviewing

Aberdeen Football Club's heritage inventory, whilst the other took place at Airdrieonians.

A new element to surveying officer's work in 2023-4 has been the development of cataloguing placements undertaken by student volunteers and supervised by the surveying officer. Rachael has provided regular practical on-site sessions to support two students, with the cataloguing of the Scotland's Garden Scheme archive, as well as the records of Goodfellow & Steven Group Ltd, a bakery chain based in Broughty Ferry. This has been a successful and satisfying piece of work to provide continued professional development to those beginning their careers in the archives sector, whilst also providing a valuable follow-up for two organisations that were keen to build on the survey experience and develop their archives further.

The year ahead looks exciting with the launch of another thematic survey, this time contacting those in the timber and forestry sector, as well as a new regional partnership that will see surveys launched in Angus.

Crisis Management and Records at Risk

Many businesses and organisations were contacted where the records, due to closures, mergers or insolvencies, were thought to be at risk.

- Alexander Wilkie Ltd, established 1898, retailer, national (Kirkcaldy store surveyed)
- Balgownie Rentals Ltd, established 1907, agriculture, Turriff
- Balmanno House, established 1874, care home, Glasgow
- Bonar Yarns Ltd, established c.1970, fabric manufacturer, Dundee
- Cairncross of Perth, established 1869, jewellers, Perth
- David Bryson & Sons Ltd, established 1933, motor company, Prestwick
- Edinburgh City Football Club Ltd, established 1928/1986, football club, Edinburgh

- Foodmek Ltd, established 1971, food and drinks processing equipment supplier, Tayport
- Glasgow Play-Resource Association, established c.1984, charity, Glasgow
- HIV Scotland, established 1994, charity, Glasgow
- Hunter Boot Ltd [North British Rubber Co.], established 1856, retailer, Edinburgh
- Huntly and District Ex-Servicemen's Club Ltd, established 1920, social club, Huntly
- J. & G. Innes Ltd, established 1879, book retailer, St Andrews
- J.S. Crawford Contracts (Borders) Ltd, established 1946, construction, Melrose
- Kilgraston School Ltd, established 1930, independent school, Bridge of Earn
- Lows Butcher (George A. Low & Sons), established c.1970, butcher, Glasgow
- Scott & Paterson Ltd, established 1983, printer, Dunfermline
- Scottish Agricultural Industries Ltd, established 1928, agriculture, Edinburgh
- Scottish Women's Institute SCIO, established 1917, charity and membership organisation, Edinburgh
- Stewart & Shields Ltd, established 1950s, construction, Helensburgh
- Tayside Aviation Ltd, established 1968, training school, Dundee
- Ted Baker Holdings Ltd, established 1988, retail brand, Glasgow
- Walter Shearer Ltd, established 1897, candle makers, Glasgow

Record surveys, advice and consultancy work

- Aberdeen Football Club Ltd, established 1903, sports club, Aberdeen. Remote survey completed via inventory and recommendations report sent.
- Action to Protect Rural Scotland, established 1926, charity, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent. Records due to be deposited with Historic Environment Scotland.
- Airdrieonians Football and Athletic Company Ltd, established 1878, sports club, Airdrie. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Angels' Share Glass Ltd, established 2013, glassblower and manufacturer, Stirling. Survey completed and recommendations report sent. Records due to be deposited with the University of Stirling Archives.

- Cairncross of Perth, established 1869, jewellers, Perth. Closure of business. Survey undertaken and records transferred to Perth and Kinross Archives.
- Craig & Rose Ltd, established 1829, paint manufacturer, Edinburgh. Survey of business completed and recommendations report sent. Further survey of the family section of the archive undertaken and records gifted to Edinburgh City Archives.
- The Crolla Ice Cream Co. Ltd, established 1895, ice-cream manufacturer, Rutherglen. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- The High School of Glasgow, established 1124, school, Glasgow. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Isle of Skye Ferry Community Interest Company / Glenachulish Preservation Trust, established 2007/2011, charity, Glenelg. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Glencoe Mountain Ltd, established 1956, resort, Glencoe. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Inverkeithing Local History Society, established 1992, membership organisation, Inverkeithing. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- J.C. Peacock & Co. Ltd, established 1784, salt supplier, Ayr. Survey completed and recommendations report sent. Eight days of historical research undertaken as part of preparation for a commemorative publication to mark the company's 150th anniversary.
- John Dansken & Purdie, established 1858, chartered quantity surveyors, Glasgow. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- John Muir Trust, established 1983, conservation charity, Pitlochry. Survey completed and recommendations report sent. Records due to be transferred with Highland Archives.
- Newsquest Ltd, established 1996, newspaper publisher, Ardrossan. Survey undertaken. Some titles deposited with local authority archives and libraries.
- Paper Foundation, established 2020, charity, Cumbria. Work undertaken as part of Scottish records at risk case from the closure of Stoneywood paper mill in Aberdeen Survey completed and recommendations report sent.

- Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, established 1784, membership organisation, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Forestry Trust SCIO, established 1984, charity, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Plant Owners Association, established 1950, trade association, Stirling. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Rugby Union, established 1873, professional body, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Tourist Guides Association, established 1959, professional body, Stirling. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Wildlife Trust, established 1964, charity, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Scottish Women's Institute SCIO, established 1917, charity and membership organisation, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent. Supported the institute with a successful records-at-risk application and a cataloguing project is ongoing.
- Seven Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, established 1587, membership body, Aberdeen. Engagement and support visit to offer advice on cataloguing strategy and tools. Project passed to colleagues at National Register of Archives for Scotland for taking forward.
- Sight Scotland (formerly Royal Blind), established 1793, charity, Edinburgh. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- Goodfellow & Steven Group Ltd, established 1873, bakery, Dunfermline. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.
- St Mirren Football Club Ltd, established 1877, sports club, Paisley. Survey completed and recommendations report sent.

Business and Industrial History: Aims, Scope and Submission Requirements

Aims and Scope

This journal accepts submissions in two broad forms: these are 'notes or perspectives', short pieces which may summarise a recent development or discuss an archival collection, and traditional academic research-based articles. Notes and perspective pieces should be a maximum of 3,000 words including references, while articles will be in the range of 6-8,000 words including references. For anything substantially over 8,000 words, we suggest contacting the editorial board *before* submission.

This journal is primarily for historians and archive professionals, and thus *requires* its pieces to be steeped in archival research. In other words, any piece of research should discuss the nature of, or heavily use, historical archival holdings. These need not be physical – digital archive use is encouraged – but we expect an engagement with history via primarily qualitative methods, and thus will **not** accept pieces that use **only** quantitative data gleaned from published material. While we recognise not all potential authors will be working in history departments or as professional archivists, we wish to stress that this is not an economics or management science journal. Thus, while some blend of quantitative and qualitative methods and sources may be permissible, again we strongly suggest discussing your piece with the editors prior to submission if you feel it does not fall neatly into the categories above.

This journal accepts all pieces which pertain to or discuss the history or archives of industries, businesses or sectors in any geographic or time period, so long as such pieces meet the outlines above. We accept that recent periods, including the global financial crisis of 2008, are commonly treated as history, and as such would accept pieces on this nature – though again we stress the need for the usage of archive-based research, which typically preclude research that is exclusively on very recent issues. Thus, while a narrative that runs until the 2010s or later is potentially acceptable, there

should be significant space and effort afforded to a study which utilises archival holdings and thus is likely to begin in earlier periods. As always, however, the editors are happy to field discussions on prospective submissions where the boundaries between history and contemporary studies are blurred.

Submission Requirements

Submissions should be prepared double-spaced in Times New Roman typeface, with the font sized at 12, and left justified. A single space should follow full-stops within paragraphs. Paragraphs of text should be separated by an extra space rather than indented. Sub-sections and sub-headings are permitted, but these should be titled (e.g. 'From Poverty to Progress, 1960-80') and **not** numbered (e.g. 'Section 1.1.2: 1960-80').

This journal uses British English throughout, and the Oxford OSCOLA referencing style. OSCOLA, commonly used in law papers, is a variation of the Oxford which style uses in-text footnotes with a reference list at the end of the document. It is our view that this is the best way to reference when using archival sources.

For more specific information on style, please see our website, which also gives more concrete examples of the style for footnotes and bibliographic references.