

# Wines and distillates through advertising. Print marketing strategies in Argentina and Chile (1900-1930)\*

*Vinos y destilados a través de la publicidad. Estrategias de marketing gráfico en Argentina y Chile (1900-1930)*

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## Abstract

This article analyzes the consolidation process of European commercial brands of wines and distillates in Argentina and Chile, through graphic advertising in Argentinian magazine *Caras y Caretas* and the Chileans *Zigzag* and *Sucesos*, between 1900 and 1930. A purposeful sample of 26 advertisements is examined based upon its significant relevance. The main strategies of the advertising campaigns were identified: the appeal to the aesthetics of *Art Nouveau* in Bordeaux Wine, Champagne, Cognac, Geneva, and Cinzano, and the appeal to English landowners' traditions through Whiskey. It is concluded that the aggressive advertising campaigns managed to shift the symbolic value of traditional statutory consumption, origin and territory of alcoholic beverages, towards the status symbols linked to European elite's culture, thus promoting an identity dissociation that only in recent dates has begun to reverse.

**Keywords:** advertising, wines and distillates, marketing strategies, magazines.

## Resumen

El artículo analiza el proceso de consolidación de las marcas comerciales europeas de vinos y destilados en Argentina y Chile, a través de la publicidad gráfica del magazine argentino *Caras y Caretas*, y los chilenos *Zigzag* y *Sucesos*, entre 1900 y 1930. Se examina una muestra intencionada en base a su pertinencia significativa compuesta por 26 anuncios. Se identificaron las principales estrategias de las campañas publicitarias: el recurso a la estética del *Art Nouveau* en el Vino de Burdeos, el Champagne, el Coñac, la Ginebra y el Cinzano, y la apelación a las costumbres de terratenientes ingleses a través del Whisky. Se concluye que las agresivas campañas de publicidad lograron trasladar el valor del consumo estatutario tradicional: origen y territorio de las bebidas alcohólicas, hacia los símbolos de estatus ligados a la cultura de la élite europea, fomentando así una disociación identitaria que sólo recientemente ha comenzado a revertirse.

**Palabras clave:** Publicidad, Vinos y destilados, Estrategias de Marketing, Magazines.

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## 1. Introduction

By the three first decades of the XXth century, the southern cone of America was a growing market for the largest international players in wine and distillates, especially within the framework of the European modernization of the food market so prevalent in Latin America's most important cities (Palma, 2004; Remedi, 2017). In Argentina this was particularly empowered by the wave of European immigration that brought with it their traditional consumer habits (Lacoste, 2003). The economic prosperity in both Argentina and Chile, due to a boom in the export of natural resources and the precepts of free trade, generated a friendly economic context for the arrival of *Cousteaux Frere* Bordeaux, *Louis Roederes* champagne and Frapin and Girard cognac from France, Cinzano vermouth from Italy, *Bols* gin from the Netherlands, and *Buchanan's* Scottish "Black and White" whisky, all brands that were at the forefront of tremendous battles in the design and creativity of mass periodicals in Buenos Aires and Santiago. Although there were local versions of European products (Núñez, 2016), this article focuses on the advertising campaigns of foreign brands to better understand that studying consumption is crucial to learning more about the basis for the debate on good society and good living (Aldridge, 2003).

In this sense, the article tracks how European wines and distillates in Argentina and Chile were established, running through graphic advertising in the first three decades of the XX century. The research also considers the strategies that some of the companies analyzed were deploying at the same time in other markets to define the specific features of the campaigns deployed in the southern cone countries. The research question addresses what cultural elements added value to the consumption of foreign alcoholic beverages in the Southern Cone market. The temporal framework is defined by the first issue of *Caras y Caretas* in Argentina in 1898 and the ending of the economic world crisis in 1929-1930, which brought about profound change in the nature and volume of international trade.

The research is inspired by the convergence between the history of winemaking culture and the traditional local products and European beverages competing for taking over domestic markets

(Lacoste, 2003; Lacoste et al., 2014). The topic is studied under the frameworks of consumption and advertising which, on a global dimension, were undergoing significant changes by that time, with the industrial revolution and technological improvements in the world of graphic and print media as the backdrop. Such phenomena laid the foundation of consumer culture (Magaudda, 2015), particularly a consumer culture driving by status aims (Veblen, 1899).

On the other hand, this study's originality lies in the fact that although previous research has addressed the development of the cultural role of magazines at the beginning of the XXth century in Argentina and Chile (Rogers, 2008; Ossandón, 2002a, 2002b; Ossandón & Santa Cruz, 2005), such studies have not delved specifically into the analysis of advertising for alcoholic beverages, with the exception of a very recent study, covering the question of hygiene practices of the time and ignoring the symbolic value of consuming foreign products (Fernández & Sedran, 2019).

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The period analyzed in this study corresponds to the global transformation toward a mass consumer culture (Montero, 2011; Ossandón & Santa Cruz, 2005) which had enormous impact on trends in advertising (Klein, 2002; Tungate, 2007). The process would lead to the consolidation of "modern advertising" (Varela, 2017). It is a time of transition from free market capitalism to more monopolistic markets, where large economic groups sought to protect themselves from the risks of competition by pushing to reach a dominant market position (both materially and symbolically) over other economic players (Sixto, 2010, p. 63). At the same time, individuals that up to the middle of the XIXth century defined him or herself as a citizen or subject, now understood themselves to be a person with needs and, therefore, a consumer. Therefore, this is the interplay where advertising finds a home and is understood as the divulging body of advertisements of commercial interest to attract possible buyers (González, 1994).

With the turn of the twentieth century, a transition process was taking place in which rational think-

ing, represented by text, coexisted with an emotional message, expressed in images. The trend marked a radical turn in the history of publicity. From that point on, the main focus driving publicity campaigns shifts to focus on the emotional connection with customers, rather than appealing to rationality. *Art Nouveau* was an appropriate style because of two reasons: one, signs and billboards had a privileged place in design, they merged artistically with iconography, the written brand, and had an effect that, up until then, had an unprecedented effect on visibility and recall.

The second minimized the backdrop and landscape to emphasize the subject (Afanador, 2007, p. 20) and replace it with more organic forms and plant motifs (Silverman, 1992). The new style managed to divorce the product from its original location. It was all particularly functional taking into consideration the objectives of large corporations that had, as their central goal, to strengthen their commercial brands, at the expense of downplaying the territories and local communities that had originally created the product. It was a time for intuition and creative liberty which set the field for the subsequent development of key elements at a global scale, such as developing brand image which started in the 1940s (Klein, 2002).

Within this framework, this paper analyzes the diverse marketing strategies to which many of the brands studied herein turned to, at least in so far as aesthetic overhaul of graphic design. The campaigns took onboard the stylistic proposal of *Art Nouveau* and used it in the preferred medium, billboards in public spaces, and graphic ads in magazines, which themselves were going through their own boom by incorporating new technologies that allowed publishing printed illustrations on a massive scale.

As a result, periodicals such as *Caras y Caretas* in Buenos Aires, and *Sucesos* and *Zigzag* in Chile had their own uptake in popularity. Their low prices were due to financing from advertising sales (Rogers, 2008) and varied graphic displays turned them into a hitherto unprecedented popular mass communications media form, functional in their development of "industrial culture" and the modern cultural market (Ossandón, 2002a, p. 164). At the beginning of the XXth century, *Caras y Caretas's* print run was at over 100,000 a week. In fact, it was

described as an "actual prism allowing to visualize the rise of the modern world in Argentina" (Varela, 2017, p. 65).

Mass distribution of these magazines ensured high visibility of their advertisements, leading to large investments from international companies to use them as a resource for their campaigns. In several cases, ads' original molds were made in Europe and, then, sent abroad, to countries where the product was exported and consumed. This type of scale economy made it possible to reduce costs and gain the advantage over local competition. For the companies studied herein this made it easier to lead the wave of profound changes in graphic advertising and, for wines and distillates, its massive distribution in the southern cone.

### 3. Methodological Framework

In order to explore the trajectory of the strategies deployed by the main foreign brands of wine and distillates in the Southern Cone, a diachronic and synchronic qualitative analysis method was developed. In particular, the study analyzed *Caras y Caretas* between 1898 and 1930 (from issue 1 to 1630); *Sucesos* between 1902 and 1917 (issue 1 to 783), and *ZigZag* (issues 1-45; 64-358, and 372-462)<sup>1</sup>. The magazines were selected based on criteria regarding the scope of their respective recognition, circulation, and continuity over time as well accessibility. *Caras y Caretas* was the most representative periodicals of the Argentinian market (Rogers, 2008; Fernández & Sedrán, 2019), while *ZigZag* was the most successful in Chile (Ossandón, 2002a).

The universe of the sample used in this study included all ads relative to imported alcoholic beverages publicized in any of the three magazines mentioned earlier. Out of this, we crafted a purposeful sample of 26 ads based on their significant relevance (Otzen & Manterola, 2017). The previous was undertaken to understand the diachronic and synchronic development of the marketing strategies in function of values shared with symbolic consumption, given that in every case they were considered luxury items targeting both elites and massive audiences.

Once the task of collecting the material was done, the ads found were classified into categories addressing the nature of the product they were advertising and the main textual and graphic strategies used over time. A discourse analysis was also conducted (Sayago, 2014), focusing on the arguments linked to the associated stable symbolic value of the advertised product, one of the main tools available to advertising (Ferraz, 1993, p. 10).

The framework for interpreting the ads took into account the theory of “the Great Recommender”. This frame refers to the strategy used when “a voice is delegated (in publicity) to embody a type of announcer that in discourse builds the ethos of a presenter (...) based on their effectiveness to influence” (Suárez, 2019, p.37). This influence can be of an intellectual nature when it appeals to knowledge, or affectionate, when it uses fear, desire, or plays on audiences’ hope. Studying which is “the Great Recommender” contributes to identify the value frameworks used by each brand in order to persuade their targeted consumers.

It is also important to point out that we indicate the original source and the date from which each item analyzed in this research was pulled out. Nonetheless, it is also relevant to note that Cinzano published ads in all three of the magazines included in this study, providing interesting links between them. Champagne would publish in both *Caras y Caretas* and *Zig Zag*. *Bols* gin, *Bordeaux* wine, and the Italian *Spumante* were present in the Argentinian market. *Frapin* cognac and *Buchanan’s* whisky appeared in Chilean magazines.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 Bordeaux Wines and its leading Art Nouveau publicity

The powerful winemaking industry in Bordeaux led in the use of *Art Nouveaux* in advertising for wines and distillates in the American Southern Cone. In 1906, most importers began to include posters and billboards fully inspired by the features of such style in Buenos Aires. Shocking and impactful posters were distributed throughout magazines including women in provocative poses entangled in or set against grape vine backgrounds to promote their beverages.

Bordeaux wine ads embedded the classic *Art Nouveau* style in Europe utilizing the more organic and naturalist variants. The organic forms and attitudes were clearly present in the concept of returning to nature. The proposal was a discourse between specific aesthetics of the wine world and vineyard landscape, and the profusion of vine shoots, leaves and grape clusters. Women were depicted as goddesses of abundance and were closely integrated in the wine makers commercial message. The wine advertisements grew more distant from the place of production, away from the toil of the winemaker, to advance toward a space of fantasy, the image of prestige and attractive lifestyles related to young women, and presented in a manner that evokes a stereotypical form of seduction.



Image 1. Coustau Frères Wine.

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 406/7: 14 and 21-7-1906.

In regards to the caption and text in the ad, what catches the eye is the sale point argued in the text claiming the “purity of the wine”, or the argument that it is “a French wine of pure grape”. The message makes sense when taking into consideration the phylloxera crisis which led to an onslaught of adulterated and fake wines both in the market and in winemaking handbooks circulating throughout the Southern Cone (Lacoste, 2017).

## 4.2. Champagne and Sparkling Wine

The campaigns for the French Champagne *Louis Roederer* used engravings also heavily inspired in *Art Nouveau*, including the absence of volume, the simplification of lines, and organic motifs. But the most accomplished element in the design was the full integration of both icon and typographic areas. The words formed an integral part of the composition. The ad published in *Caras y Caretas* on the eve of Christmas holidays and New Years in 1923 is a good example.

The publicity campaigns for champagne, as with the Bordeaux wines, shifted the consumer focus from the product embedded in the winemaking landscape, vineyard, and country lifestyle to a world of desire, pleasures, and social status. The figure of a woman is represented in a provocative pose, skimpy outfits exhibiting her neck, shoulders, and arms on full display. The product was dissociated from the producer and became a consuming good with strong symbolic connotations intensely emphasizing a rather sensorial experience. The product was of great symbolic value and offered a link between the consumer and their object of desire. It also gained further relevance within the borders and limits of the total surface of the poster. Little by little, the first steps were taken to link the brand with an image of prestige.

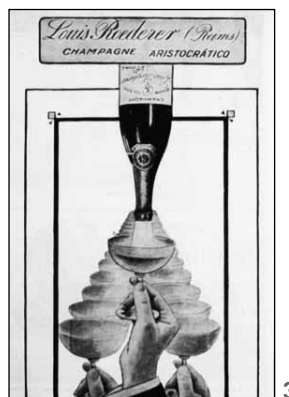
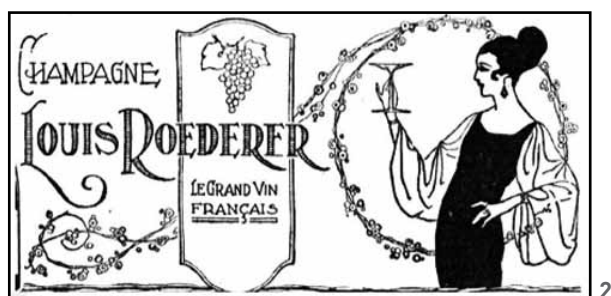
Another example is the ad published in the magazine *ZigZag* in 1913. The message not only indicated through the text that it was an "aristocratic champagne", it also used strategies in composition inherent to modern art. There is no classic image of an entire human form, rather it uses the symbol-

ism of multiple flutes where only one flute in particular receives the champagne as it is poured into it. The hand holding the flute is elegantly dressed.

The strategy employed in Italian sparkling wines took a different path. Although the central perspective of the subject matter was also a female figure, instead of modern clothes the Italians dressed her in traditional garb. The woman represented the Italian peasantry in her traditional clothing and wicker basket carrying the recently harvested grapes and as such was anchored in the roots of winemaking. However, the clear inspiration in the works of Audrey Beardley emphasized the use of curved lines in long skirts. The sizes of the dresses worn in the advertisements illustrated a will and desire to separate from the hard-working people and daily lifestyle of the vineyard, but also rescued elements directly from country living and integrated them with the image of a woman of high society, the women of tea salons and banquets, spaces for consumption driven by status.

## 4.3. Cinzano Vermouth and Visual Impact

Although there are records of the Italian vermouth in Chile from 1880 onward (Couyoumdjian, 2006, p.54), it was at the beginning of the XX century when the beverage, together with Italian sparkling wine, launched their campaign to conquer the markets of the Southern Cone heavily investing in advertising. Their campaigns had a great impact with the company taking advantage of their creative strengths and Italian designers. Addition-



ally, they also decided to develop a line of design in the vein of *Art Nouveau*. The Cinzano campaigns used drawings by renowned artists such as Guido Petiti, artworks the brand circulated internationally. These were simple illustrations and unsigned, where the main strength relied in the text.

The *Cinzano* campaigns incorporated elements from the *Art Nouveau* movement to graphically develop concepts that emotionally linked the consumer to the good. The product was a tool to building masculinity, and a medium for seduction and conquest. The messages were oriented on associating *Cinzano* with a masculine identity dressed in the fashion of the elite, and set in an elegant background. The advertisement was constructed in simple svelte lines, and the *Cinzano* consumer was young and elegant, in contrast to the consumers of port, sherry, cognac; all linked to the more senior consumer.

On another note, Cinzano publicity in Chile also appealed to the relationship between product and youth in an even more direct manner.

The other concept utilized by *Cinzano* gave women a place of relevance, which in turn strengthened the association with reaffirming masculinity. Generally speaking, the male figure had a more active role, he tended to be standing next to a seated woman, would raise his cup in a toast, while the woman drank and took on a more relaxed posture or position. In each case, the *Cinzano* bottle was closer to the man. From an aesthetic perspective, curved lines were predominant and represented in the lines of the table cloth, the woman's dress, and the character's general posture.

Regarding the caption or message in the ad, *Cinzano* also appealed to the "Great Recommender" as observed in several advertisements published in Chile which referenced Argentinian preferences for the product. Later it was decided to equate consumers with their transandine peers when said advertisements proclaimed the preference of "Chilean and Argentinian women".

The *Cinzano* campaigns in Chile and Argentina were an early experiment in building brand image. Nonetheless, such concepts were fully developed more deeply from the 1940s onward. But in analyzing the *Cinzano* advertisements, early progress in this direction was observed. They were consistent in presenting the brand, always in an attractive setting, and linked to the values of social success, seduction, and prestige.

**Image 2. Champagne Louis Roederer.**

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1315/6: 15/22-12-1923

**Image 3. Aristocratic Champagne.**

Source: *Zig Zag* 455, 15-12-1913.

**Image 4. Sparkling Wine Margherita.**

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1421: 26-12-1925

**Image 5. Cinzano by Petiti.**

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 432: 31-5-1913

**Image 6. The Cinzano Man.**

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1.054: 14-12-1918

**Image 7. Cinzano: How many times has this cheeky devil made me forget my years?**

Source: *Zig Zag* 377, 11th of May 1912.

**Image 8. The Cinzano Couple.**

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1213: 31-12-1921



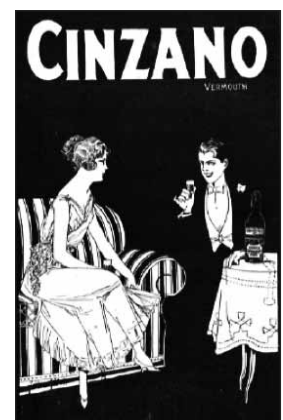
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#### 4.4. In the Time of Cognac

Following the commercial opening of the market in the mid XIXth century, French cognac arrived in Southern Cone markets and engaged in an intense battle to displace the local *aguardientes* (firewater or schnapps). The elite engaged very quickly as it was a means to reinforce their privileged status. To consume cognac was a way of belonging to the distinguished and exclusive circles of society, who boasted either real or fictitious ties to the country of origin, France.

Toulouse Lautrec was the inspiration for cognac advertising, in the manner of incorporating graphic fields with iconography. The letters fully integrated into the design of the ad; the setting was eliminated or reduced to the bare minimum, and all realistic scales were abandoned. Another aspect that stands out were the ample monochrome lines and sharp contrasts, typical of the deployment of *Art Nouveau* in advertising in the Southern Cone at that time (Steimberg & Traversa, 1997, p. 57).

The advertising campaigns for cognac adopted two approaches: one, that elaborated artworks for the international market, and the other, to take advantage of local art through elaborate advertising targeting the domestic audiences.

*Frapin*, the brand of cognac, used the same illustration and adapted it to the new format, but kept

Louis Tanzin's signature style as is clear in the example below.

In the meanwhile, Girard cognac used an illustration that circulated on a stamp<sup>3</sup> in Germany from 1904 for their advertising campaign in Argentina in 1913.

The other cognac company, Frapin, took advantage of the space assigned to the weekly "comic strip" offered up for publicity by the magazine *ZigZag* in 1912 and 1913, in which the periodical presented an artwork created locally for a full page ad on the inside cover of the magazine. The illustration was much inspired by the work and proposals of Aubrey Beardsley with the distinct orange and white coloring. In this case, it is interesting to note the text accompanying the images. In the 1912 advertisement, they claim that Frapin Cognac was the cognac of kings, and the piece points out: "Well, today I really feel like being king". This infers that consuming the product is not simply related to the uses and traditions of the aristocracy, it goes even beyond that, to royalty.

The following year, the advertisement referenced the qualities of Frapin Cognac, characteristics that made it famous the world over: "it's exquisite taste, digestive quality, and longevity" and links the product's fame to the subject represented in the illustration, the famous theater performer Daniel de la Vega, whom the magazine wishes the "same fortune". In this case the "Great Recommender" is not



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the consumer, but the product itself, the renown of which is used to jump start the artist's career.

#### 4.5. Dutch Spirit: *Bols* Gin

The advertising investment in *Bols* gin was original in design and the privileged space they paid for. For several years, they bought the inside page of the back cover in *Caras y Caretas* for their campaigns. The general trend pointed to linking the product with universal values. In contrast to the products from France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain, the Dutch avoided nationalism and the projection of culture and values. The trend was consistent with the eminently commercial tradition of the Dutch empire, and was honored by *Bols* gin. In fact, the brand campaigns were characteristically especially elaborate for the Argentinian market.

The aesthetic proposal put forward in the *Bols* campaign was directed at linking the product with a global world vision. The engraving of 1915 represented bottles of gin as great pillars of the world, capable of sustaining the cables that represented the transmission of power, a symbol of progress. The illustration published in 1910 was aimed at highlighting a specific attribute of *Bols* gin: its age, as accredited by the cobwebs in the drawing. In both cases, stylistic details are decorative, with curved lines and simple shapes predominant. In the three decades of advertisements that drove the

*Bols* campaign, this type of cosmopolitan theme was the most recurrent.

As with the Italian *Cinzano*, *Bols* also engaged in an early process of brand building. In both cases, the word depicting the brand occupied a significant space in the advertisements; they used the same type of lettering to ensure continuity and persistence in public memory. They also slowly began to move away from the product (which was of de-

##### Image 9. Argentinian *Cinzano*.

Source: *Sucesos* n° 418: 7-9-1910.

##### Image 10. Chilean and Argentinian *Cinzano*.

Source: *Sucesos* N° 435: 5-1-1911.

##### Image 11. *Frapin* Cognac.

Source: *Sucesos* n° 446: 23-3-1911.

##### Image 12. *Frapin* Cognac.

Source: *National Geographic*<sup>2</sup>.

##### Image 13. *Girard* Cognac.

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 455-457: 8, 15 and 22-12-1913.

##### Image 14. *Frapin*, Cognac of Kings.

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 379: 125-05-1912.

##### Imagen 15. *Frapin* Cognac. Daniel de la Vega.

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 456: 15-11-1913.

##### Image 16. *Bols* Communications.

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 899: 25-12-1915.

##### Image 17. *Bols* cobweb.

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 638: 24-12-1910.



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creasing importance) toward images and lifestyles. In both cases there was little reference to juniper, juniper berries, and the Italian countryside. Instead, images promising attractive, free, and cosmopolitan lifestyles arose.

However, the movement in such a direction was not linear. In the 1920's there was a temporary twist in the commercial strategy for *Bols* gin. The company strove to build a relationship with their clientele by evoking a feel for Argentinian culture, both in the halls of high society, with which they came closer to the type of campaign deployed by both Champagne and Cinzano, as well as the rural community, where they appealed to the Argentinian cowboy, the *gaucho*.

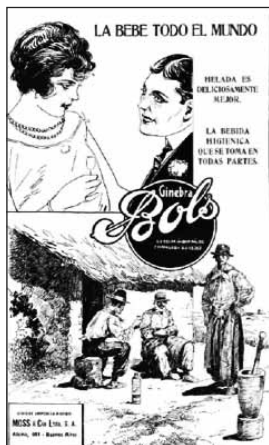
*Bols gaucho* campaign was an extraordinary publicity hit which entirely broke the mold of all the marketing strategies for imported beverages. Apparently the Dutch through *Bols* detected early on that the prestige of western empires was at a decline, from World War II onward, and instead there was a current of searching for an identity, which was reflected in new cultural movements such as *criollismo* and *gaucho* roots, all gaining strength in the southern cone. These trends stemmed from a crisis in the trust and faith previously held in Eurocentric progress, and the rise of nationalist push-back which, in Argentina, was promoted by Leopoldo Lugones and Ricardo Rojas (Maiz, 2002).

The age of Dutch nationalism for *Bols* gin also developed in this time period. It was 1923 when, parallel to the cycle of the *gaucho* campaign, the company launched a campaign to evaluate the product on the basis of visibilization of Dutch cultural con-

tent. For the first time through mass periodicals, the specific symbolism relative to the Netherlands was first put in print and circulation, including wind mills, typical child characters, farm folk, and sailors donning traditional apparel: coats, hats, and shoes.

In representing Dutch women wearing traditional outfits, the illustrators once again applied the formal repertoire of *Art Nouveaux*, including the predominant curved lines, less volume, heavy contrasts of black and white, and the trend toward a decorative mood. However, the protagonist was set against the backdrop of the classic windmill, wearing traditional hats and shoes.

The campaigns advanced toward new codes of visual communication, codes that required elements indicating characteristics inherent to each respective culture, to put them in the limelight and represent them in simple, clear, shapes and forms, heavily contrasted and easy to comprehend. The message became increasingly more independent from the nature of the product. The hiding of the juniper berry, the backbone of the cultural identity of Dutch gin was symbolic of this change. In its place, companies developed images as a medium through which to build an emotional link with the consumer. The main objective was to somehow join the brand with the idea of prestige. Moving away from the modern industrial area, Dutch culture and their women and sailors, of the romanticized vision of the Argentinian *gaucho*, the company was rolling out a new strategy targeting mass audiences, a phenomenon previously unheard of in South America.



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#### 4.6. Scotch Whisky and The South American Land Owner

The most representative whisky campaigns in the region were driven by the company *Buchanan's*. The very first of its distilleries was founded in Scotland in 1894. Their most well-known brand was "Black and White", currently associated with two purebred dogs. However, the image would only establish itself in the 1920s. Previously the brand underwent constant evolution and a dogged search for a corporate emblem, going through constant trial and error. Such a process of trial and error can be traced in the company's campaigns in the American Southern Cone, particularly in Chile, where they used the illustrations they published abroad. In fact, this particular case is where the link to publicity campaigns launched all over the world was strongest. Initially, these publications were imported directly from abroad to the local landscape without translating the text, as one can appreciate in the image of the ad published in *Sucesos* in 1909.

In other cases, the advertisement used the same artwork, although it would be modified or adapted eliminating the text that came with it, such as the case in 1907 which is exactly the same as that used in England<sup>4</sup> in 1906.

Whisky publicity campaigns appealed to the consumer through symbolism closely associated with land ownership: horses and hounds. Whisky seemed to harmonize and blend perfectly into this scenario, as it did in the more sporting arena, represented by the polo player whose image was used in the whisky campaign both in the Southern

Cone and other regions. In fact, the drawing of the polo player on horseback used in an advertisement in 1909 in the magazine *Sucesos* was reused in a graphic campaign for the same brand in England, 1924<sup>5</sup>.

Whisky campaigns also used dogs. Dogs accompanied aristocrats in the sport of kings, namely, hunting. In those hunts one would often have great hunting dogs and minor hunting dog breeds. The Black and White campaign included representations of hounds such as the Irish Setter, and sight hounds, such as the Greyhound<sup>6</sup>, even Saint Bernards as observed in the ad published in the magazine *ZigZag* in 1912.

##### Image 18. Gaucho and Ballroom Bols.

Source: *Caras y Caretas*, 1274, 3/3/1923.

##### Image 19. Bols Dutch Boy.

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1274: 3-3-1923

##### Image 20. Dutch Bols.

Source: *Caras y Caretas* n° 1341: 14-6-1924

##### Image 21. Buchanan's Special.

Source: *Sucesos* n° 344: 8-4-1909

##### Image 22. Dogs on The Hunt.

Source: *Sucesos* n° 274 and 277: 5 and 26-12-1907; n° 388 10-2-1910.

##### Image 23. Polo Player.

Source: *Sucesos* n° 350: 20-5-1909; n° 355: 24-6-1909; n° 357: 8-7-1909.

##### Image 24. Buchanan's Saint Bernard.

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 375: 27-4-1912.

##### Image 25. Buchanan's Ratters.

Source: *Zig Zag* n° 392. 24-8-1912.



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Accompanying the hunting dogs, the original brand campaigns also included representations of ratters, dogs bred to catch rats. This was a code shared between landowners. To control pest populations the country tradition was to employ the ratter, among which the most prestigious was the Fox Terrier and German Schnauzer. They were precisely the two breeds chosen to be in a “Black and White” advertisement for the publicity campaigns in the American Southern Cone and the rest of the world.

The joint images of polo horses and hunting dogs allowed the creative departments in charge of the publicity campaigns of the whisky brand to create a world of fantasy with elements of exclusivity to rouse the interest of the clientele. The product became in itself a desirable object, symbol of social standing, and a position only a few could achieve, as observed in one of the ads analyzed in this study: “Whisky is the favorite of Sportsmen and High Society all over the world”. The image of the spirit was now detached from the product itself, to become a symbol of social preeminence.



Image 26. Buchanan's Minor Hunting Dogs.  
Zig Zag n° 426: 19-4-1913.

## 5. Conclusions

Large European wine and distillates companies took the opportunity to enter the open and prosperous Southern Cone markets by the early XXth century, and the advanced technology of mass periodicals part of a developing cultural industry, to wage great battles of art, communication, and design. The magazines in Buenos Aires and Santiago were privileged in becoming the scenario for the process. The advertising campaigns under examination were intense in their use of the repertoire of *Art Nouveaux*, especially in the use of curved lines, reduced volume, and integrating the graphic features with symbolism. With these elements, ads became greatly impactful and contributed to establishing a base for future development in the larger brands of wine and distillates.

Based on the cases studied herein, the researchers have observed that several of the brands were in the process of consolidating their wider, global advertising campaigns, which had until now remained undetected as a careful review of previous research demonstrates. The same ads circulating in English or Italian periodicals were used in the Southern Cone. In some cases, the text in the advertisements wasn't even translated; this was particularly evident in the case of whisky *Buchanan's Black and White*. The advertisements sought to link the consumer with “sportsmen”, “royalty”, or the daily uses and customs in Europe. This association brought a certain prestige linked to lavish consumption of the elites from the second half of the XIX century onward.

Nonetheless, there were exceptions, such as was the case with *Bols*. The Dutch brand remained loyal to the national style of not imposing language or culture on a foreign market, by becoming one of the first brands to adopt local symbols to position their product. The brand slogan changed from “the best there is” to “everyone drinks it”, actively seeking to distancing itself from the concept of an exclusive consumer good for the elites. *Cinzano*, on the other hand, used the Argentinian consumer as the “Great Recommender” for the Chilean market. Regardless of the actual strategy used, the goal was to link the product to pleasant moments and experiences, and began to leave behind the characteristics of the product itself.

Although there are strong synchronic ties to the development of advertisements for foreign alcoholic beverages in Argentinian and Chilean magazines, some divergences were also noted. There was greater autonomy in *Caras y Caretas* which was noticed in the elaboration of ads produced by local artists and designers. The case of *Bols* gin is emblematic of such a trend. On the contrary, in Chile there was a greater trend to present the same ads displayed in Europe and the United States, especially in the case of *Buchanan's*. An explanation for the asymmetric response could be the difference in scale. The domestic market in Argentina was greatly boosted by a wave of immigration toward the end of the XIXth century, generating the appropriate conditions for advertising with a greater creative autonomy, in which artists and illustrators could be hired by magazines such as *Caras y Caretas*, as well as the brands vying to position themselves in the local market.

In any case, the final result of the process demonstrates a move away from symbolic value linked to the identity of the product. Focus was now placed on consumption by status using symbols to represent lifestyles and social importance. Gin forgot about the juniper and practically vanished the juniper berry; whisky did the same with barley. The hard-working country men and women and the winemakers were also erased, together with the vineyard landscape. In their stead, the creative powers replaced them with flexible vine shoots and tendrils; and the harvester of such goods was replaced by an elegant and provocative female figure. The aims of the commercial campaigns in the cases analyzed were not to inform the public of the *ins* and *outs* of the vine and wine's origins or their cultural landscapes, plants, or country traditions. The industry of marketing and advertising was cutting all ties of solidarity between the producer and consumer, between the farmer and city dweller. Coming between them, emerged the invisible power of the great commercial houses and graphic designers, charged with building symbols and messages for the masses who looked on as the elites were depicted in magazines for them to aspire to and share in the consumer habits.

Wine and distillates were detached from their country origins, and relocated in an imaginary world, elegantly glorified and embellished by the hands of artists and designers and surrounded with im-

agery of high social standing. And thus started the cycle of hegemony of brand over location.

## Notes

1 *Caras y Caretas* issues considered in this study are available on the Digital Newspaper and Periodicals Archive at the National Library of Spain. *Sucesos* and *Zig-Zag* issues are available at the website *Memoria Chilena*.

2 Revised on 15 January 2019 at [https://www.nationalgeographic.com.es/viajes/grandes-reportajes/visita-al-corazon-de-francia-por-la-ruta-del-conac-2\\_7992/3](https://www.nationalgeographic.com.es/viajes/grandes-reportajes/visita-al-corazon-de-francia-por-la-ruta-del-conac-2_7992/3)

3 The image can be observed in the Alamy collection: Image ID: BAANP3. <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-advertising-stamps-girard-cognac-germany-circa-1910-additional-rights>.

4 The image can be found in the Alamy collection, Image ID: KKKYN0. <https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-1906-uk-magazine-buchanans-black-white-whisky-advert-167010620.html?>

5 The image of the advertisement can be found in the Alamy database: Image ID: KKNP9T. <https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-1924-uk-magazine-buchanans-black-white-whisky-advert-167050292.html>

6 These dogs also appear in foreign advertisements, like for example the 1922 advertisement in England. Please refer to Alamy, Image ID KKKYG5. <https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-1922-uk-magazine-buchanans-black-white-whisky-advert-167010485.html?>

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