

‘At the Desire of several Persons of Quality and Lovers of Musick’: Pervasive and persuasive advertising for public commercial concerts in London 1672–1749

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Abstract

The late seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries saw the development in London of the public commercial concert, which made early and increasing use of the newspaper as a method of advertising. This was both an innovation for promotion of commercial entertainments and a huge rise in pervasiveness over existing methods such as flyers and bills. A detailed analysis of the advertisement texts shows how they used various advertising techniques to convey a persuasive message about the concert and employed concepts such as novelty, quality, and appeals to class, status and self-identity. Moving beyond the argument that early advertisements could be persuasive, this paper identifies and interprets the techniques of persuasion musicians used and discusses how they foreground those found in more recent and current advertising practice.

Keywords: persuasion in advertising; advertising history; newspaper advertising; advertising concerts; commercialisation of leisure

Summary statement of contribution

Employing concepts such as novelty, quality, and appeals to class and status, the advertisements studied exhibit an understanding of consumer behaviour and an awareness of a range of different kinds of values which may motivate consumption: experiential, symbolic and aesthetic. Moving beyond the argument that early advertisements could be persuasive, this paper identifies and interprets the techniques of persuasion musicians used and discusses how they foreground those found in more recent and current advertising practice.

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Introduction

In a review of historical research in marketing theory and practice since the 1930s Tadjewski and Jones (2014) draw attention to the high volume of publications in the area of advertising history. Concentrating on the advertising history literature of the past three decades, Schwarzkopf (2011) identifies three themes therein: 'modernization', 'Americanization', and 'Semiotics'. Much of the research which one might assign to the modernization theme shows a Hegelian tendency to view the history of advertising as leading inexorably towards a 'golden age' of 'modern' advertising during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or onward to the 'creative revolution' of the 1960s or postmodern ideas from the 1980s with their concentration on self-image fuelled by symbolic consumption, identity construction and aggrandizement (Olsen, 2007; Schwarzkopf, 2011; Tadjewski & Jones, 2014).

Advertising before the early nineteenth century is sometimes described as being predominantly informational and textual, including only the essential promotional details to notify potential consumers of what was being sold, where and when (Falk, 1997, p. 65; Gorman & McLean, 2009, pp. 69–70; Hower, 1949, p. 314; Laird, 1998; Leiss, Kline, Jhally, & Botterill, 2005, p. 153; Williams, 1980); the hyperbole to be found in advertising for patent medicines being occasionally cited as an exception to this rule. Contemporary advertising, in contrast, is characterised by pervasive coverage through the use of a wide variety of media, and a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption (Beasley & Danesi, 2002; Goldman, 1992; Leiss et al., 2005). There is thus sometimes a propensity for the history of advertising to be seen simplistically, as a 'function of a gradual, incremental, evolutionary process' developing from an 'informational orientation to a persuasive lifestyle orientation' (McFall, 2004, p. 98).

However, persuasive elements have been identified in advertisements from many periods. Presbery (1929) describes persuasive announcements for theatrical performances, gladiatorial combats and the like painted onto the walls of Pompeii (pp. 6–9) and also observed that eighteenth-century shop bills 'developed from what was merely an ornamented business card into an advertisement which

illustrated the wares, often in great detail, and grew into a persuasive selling message' (pp. 32–33). In 1710, the English essayist Joseph Addison, recognizing the necessity for persuasion in newspaper advertisements, stated that 'the great Skill in an Advertizer, is chiefly seen in the Style which he makes use of. He is to mention *the universal Esteem, or general Reputation*, of Things that were never heard of' (Addison, 1710). By 1759, Samuel Johnson described how newspapers were so cluttered with advertisements that 'that they are very negligently perused, and it is, therefore, become necessary to gain attention by magnificence of promises, and by eloquence sometimes sublime and sometimes pathetick. Promise, large promise, is the soul of an advertisement ((Johnson, 1759a) quoted in (Bate, Bullitt, & Powell, 1963, pp. 124–128)).

Advertising the Pennsylvania Fireplace (a cast-iron stove) in the 1740s, Benjamin Franklin did not describe the product 'but the health, comfort and pleasure to be derived from its use' (Wood, 1958, p. 51). Many signs, trademarks and promotions for hundreds of years 'gave little or no information about the product but attempted to evoke emotional responses' (Laird, 1998, p. 130). George Packwood's 1794–96 advertising campaign for razor strops 'used advertisements of astonishing variety in type, language and appeal... to imprint the brand name on the public memory' (McKendrick, 1982). Highlighting eighteenth-century debates about the art of preparing advertising copy and the range of persuasive techniques employed, McFall (2000) is of the opinion that 'advertising was already well established as a persuasive commercial device by the mid eighteenth century'. In a similar vein, Church (2000) considers that advertising differs from straightforward announcement by substituting rhetoric for simple information and he dates this development to the late seventeenth century in Britain.

Probably constrained by lack of space, some early newspaper advertisements for public concerts were basically informative, giving details of the date and time, venue and performer(s). However, competition both between individual concert promoters and between concerts and other public entertainments, encouraged some musicians to adopt a more persuasive tone in an effort to entice the public to attend their concerts. McGuinness (2004a, 2004b) identified the rhetoric of persuasion used by concert promoters in their newspaper advertisements, where concepts such as

novelty, value, convenience and comfort, prestige and status, extra attractions in addition to the concert itself, are emphasised but did not make a systematic study.

The purpose of this paper is thus to consider in detail the ways in which late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musicians in London made use of newspaper advertising to publicize the relatively recent development which was the public commercial concert in their efforts to compete with other forms of public entertainment, such as plays and opera. Use of newspaper advertising was in itself both an innovation and a considerable increase in pervasiveness over existing promotional methods, such as flyers, posters and word of mouth. Moreover, while not having access to the wide range of media available today, some promoters of London concerts nevertheless endeavoured to produce advertisements which while purely textual were also persuasive, using allusions and hints to encourage the reader to attend the concert (McGuinness, 2004a, 2004b). Even a seemingly informative advertisement for a concert could be persuasive if its rhetoric was devised in such a way as to frame an appeal based on the functional or psychosocial benefits of attendance. In these late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century concert advertisements we can see a range of persuasive advertising appeals. Here there is exhibited an understanding of consumer behaviour, of the audience and who they are, why they are likely to attend and how they make their attendance decisions which finds echoes in current arts marketing thought (Boorsma, 2002; Colbert, 2003), a closeness between providers and consumers which made possible some form of co-creation of the concert product (Brown, 2007; Lusch & Vargo, 2014; Vargo & Lusch, 2004), and an awareness of the range of different kinds of values which may motivate consumption, many of which are experiential, symbolic and aesthetic (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982).

Literature Review

Advertising Age (2003) states that the 'history of modern advertising begins in the 19th century with the convergence of mass production, new forms of print technology and the advent of the advertising agent'. However, if more 'loosely defined as any human communication intended to persuade or influence buyers, it can be traced to ancient times'. Indeed, the verbal appeals, pictorial signs on shops,

and handwritten fliers or posters which can be traced this far back were all still in use in the late medieval period and beyond (Laird, 1998, p. 130; Wood, 1958, pp. 18–28). The development of movable type technology by Gutenberg and associates in the mid-fifteenth century made high-quality, relatively cheap printing a possibility for the first time and its potential for advertising was soon realised. About 1477, William Caxton produced the earliest surviving printed advertisement in England, for his printed edition of the *Salisbury Pye* or ordinal, a guide to the annual liturgy for Salisbury Cathedral used widely in England; at 3 x 5¾ inches (80 x 146 mm) the notice was designed for public display on a wall or a door (Bodleian Libraries, 2015). From the late sixteenth century onwards, publishers and booksellers, often one and the same, took this one stage further by printing extra copies of the title pages of books which then doubled as advertisements attached to their door posts. As a result title pages started to use more extravagant language and to give more detail about the contents of the book in an effort to encourage purchase (Ferdinand, 1998).

The earliest statement which approaches a newspaper advertisement is said to be that printed in a German newsbook without name or place but dated 1591; it encouraged the purchase of a book by a Dr Laster, printed by Matthew Welack and published by Cunan in Wittemberg (Sampson, 1874, pp. 63–64). There is some disagreement over the date of the first advertisement to appear in an English newsbook or coranto: either for a map of the siege of Breda in *The continuation of the weekly news* of 16 September 1624 (Frank, 1961, pp. 11, 301); or for a book, when George Marcelline's *Epithalamium Gallo-Britanicus* was announced as “this present day published” in the *Mercurius Britanicus* of 1 February 1625/26 (McCutcheon, 1922; Wood, 1958, p. 32). However, it was not a practice which was frequent and newsbooks did not regularly include advertisements until 1648, while the custom of printing the advertisements on the last page of an issue, separating them from the news by a single rule, did not become general before 1650 (McCutcheon, 1922; Walker, 1973). In November 1665 the *Oxford* (later *London*) *Gazette*¹ was established as an official newspaper but until 1668 it contained no advertisements beyond official announcements or the occasional lost or stolen notice. However, it gradually bowed to the pressure caused by its position as a monopoly newspaper between 1666 and

1679 and began to include more commercial advertisements, publishing 21 in the first quarter of 1672 (Walker, 1973). It was in December of this year that the first ever advertisement for a public commercial concert was published in the *London Gazette* by John Banister (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. John Banister's first concert advertisement.

Advertisements.

THese are to give notice, That at Mr *John Banisters* House,
(now called the *Musick-School*) over again^t the *George*
Tavern in *White Fryers*, this present *Munday*, will be *Musick*
performed by excellent *Masters*, beginning precisely at 4 of the
clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future,
precisely at the same hour.

(*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672; British Library, Burney 72a)

Plumb (1982, p. 265) has drawn attention to the increasing affluence in British society that aided the commercialisation of leisure in the eighteenth century; another of his 'social signs of affluence' which facilitated the rise of commercialised leisure was that of the boom in the publishing industry. The lapsing in 1695 of the 1662 Licensing (Printing) Act ended the control of the Stationers' Company over who might act as a printer and there was an immediate and rapid increase in the number of newspapers printed in London and elsewhere and a boom in publishing generally. The single official newspaper allowed previously under the Act, the bi-weekly *London Gazette*, was joined in 1695 by three new tri-weekly London newspapers: the *Flying Post: or the Post Master*, *Post Boy*, and *Post Man*. The first successful daily paper, the *Daily Courant*, began publication in London in March 1702 and others followed (Black, 1991, pp. 12-22; 2001, pp. 1-24; Harris, 1978, pp. 82-97).

Newspapers were not only purchased by individuals within London, but could also be read in newsrooms, coffeehouses and clubs, and were distributed to purchasers around London and across the country via the Penny Post or Royal Mail (Black, 2001; Todd, 1952). Sutherland (1934) discusses a document concerning a proposal to increase stamp duty on newspapers which he dates to 1704. It shows that the numbers of newspapers published in London by this time was not inconsiderable, ranging from 1600 to 2600 on Friday and Wednesday (the least popular days), to 14000 on a Thursday (the most popular day) (see Table 1). Sutherland is of the opinion that the number of readers may have been ten or twenty times greater still. Figures are also available for a slightly later period when the stamp duty had actually been imposed in 1712 and show increases in most cases; however a number of titles ceased publication both before this date and after as a result of the imposition of the tax (Snyder, 1968). Of the nine titles listed in Table 1, all but the last two carried concert advertisements on a more or less regular basis.

Table 1. London newspaper circulation 1704 and 1712/13.

Newspaper Title	1704 (Sutherland, 1934)						1712–13 (Snyder, 1968)
	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat	Circulation
<i>Daily Courant</i>	800	800	800	800	800	800	900–1000
<i>English Post</i>	400		400		400		—
<i>Flying Post: or the Post Master</i>		400		400		400	1400–1650
<i>London Gazette</i>	6000			6000			7000–8000 1000–1100*
<i>London Post</i>	400		400		400		—
<i>Post-Boy</i>		3000		3000		3000	3000
<i>Post Man</i>		3800		3800		4000	3800–4450
<i>Observator</i>			1000			1000	—
<i>Review</i>		400				400	425–500
Total	7600	8400	2600	14000	1600	9600	

* The smaller figure for the *London Gazette* is for paid copies, the larger for the print run: a certain number of copies were given away.

Laird's (1998) study of American business and the rise of consumer marketing argues that 'advertising evolved from the work of *informing customers* (telling people what manufacturers had to sell) to *creating consumers* (persuading people that they needed to buy)' and she traces this process from the end of the American Civil War in 1865 to the 1920s. In a similar vein and based on an analysis of selected adverts in two Canadian popular general-interest, mass-circulation magazines spanning the period 1890 to 2000, Leiss et al. (2005) attempted to 'historically trace the changing discourses through and about things within the expanding mediated marketplace', again showing a move from descriptive product information to lifestyle themes; Table 2 summarizes their findings. Beasley and Danesi (2002, pp. 10–12) expand on this to draw a distinction between the objective quality of print-based advertising which appeals to the consumer's rational mind, as opposed to the non-rational and emotional appeal of electronic advertising. They discuss two main techniques used by non-rational advertising: positioning (targeting a product at the right people) and image-creation (making a 'personality' for a product with which the consumer can identify).

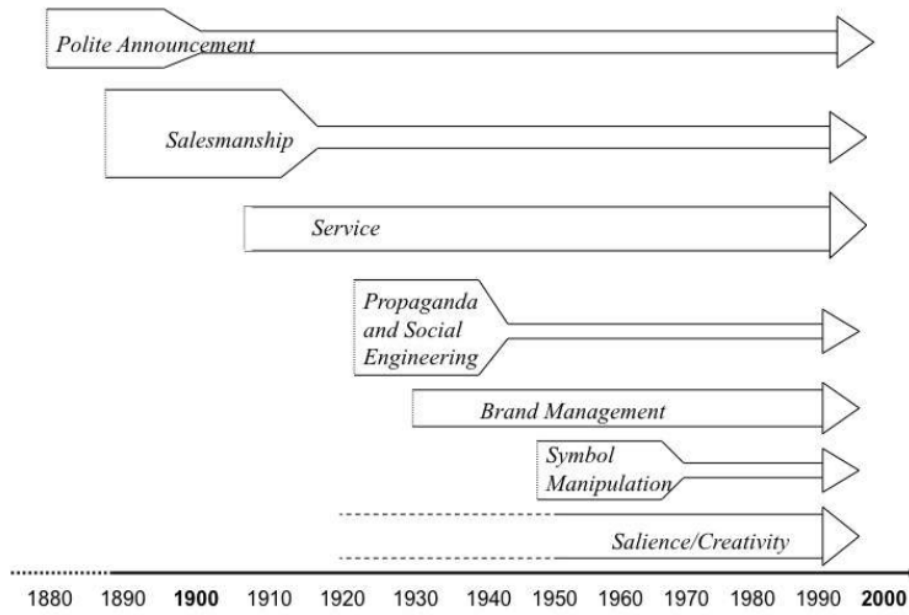
Table 2. The development of media and advertising.

Media for Advertising	Newspapers/ Magazines	Radio	Television	Television	Media mix
Advertising Strategy	Utility	Product Symbols	Personification	Lifestyle	Demassifying
Period	1890–1910	1920–1940	1950–1960	1970–1980	1990–2000
Elements in Ads	Product qualities/ price/use	Product qualities Symbolic attributes	Product Person prototype	Product Activity: person-setting	Brand image Media world niches
Metaphoric-Emotive Themes in Ads	Quality, useful, descriptive	Status, family, health; white magic; social authority	Glamour, romance; sensuality; black magic, self-transformation	Leisure, health; groups, friendship	Authenticity; spotlighting; reflexivity; diversity; transformation of objects
Strategy	Rational	Non-rational			

Source: Based on (Beasley & Danesi, 2002, p. 11; Leiss et al., 2005, p. 22)

In his study of the historical development of advertising concepts and frameworks, Schwarzkopf (2009) argues that different conceptualizations of advertising (as art, science, service, salesmanship, symbolic communication, creativity, and relationship-building) came into being, existed and overlapped in different forms throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. The invention, rise, demise, and disappearance of advertising concepts.



Source: (Schwarzkopf, 2009)

A range of different models seek to explain how a consumer responds to advertising communications. The persuasive aspect of advertising can be explained via sequential models which involve attracting the attention of the consumer, evoking interest, awakening a desire for the product or service and lastly inducing the consumer to action in the form of a purchase (Hackley, 2009, pp. 92–93). The history of such ideas has been traced back to a slogan used in 1898 by E. St. Elmo Lewis when giving a course on advertising: ‘attract attention, maintain interest, create desire’, which is probably the origin of the model which lies behind the acronym AIDA (Attention-Interest-Desire-Action), one of the most widely used and influential sequential models (Hackley, 2009, pp. 92–93; Moore, 2005, pp. 253–259).

O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy (2004) define persuasion as ‘the process of trying to alter, modify or change the saliency of the values, wants, beliefs and actions of others’ and describe it as a ‘major focus for marketing’. They see every person reading an advertisement as being armed with both external and internal ‘shields’ which may counter the persuasive approach; advertisers therefore require knowledge of their target audience, of their social attachments and overall perspective, to work around these shields and ensure that persuasive communications are successful. Effective advertisements will thus attempt to exploit associations tied to the social norms, values or valued images of the target audience, a feeling of solidarity with others, and/or position and prestige (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2004, pp. 63–83). Advertisements may also use endorsements to enforce their persuasive message; to maximise impact it is important for the source of the endorsement to display both credibility and attractiveness. Credibility is linked to the amount the reader trusts and respects the technical expertise of the source, whereas attractiveness is related to the amount to which the reader feels that the source is supportive of their self-image, the amount to which they can identify with the source (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2004, pp. 145–149).

The related idea of consumer value and the importance of framing a convincing customer value proposition to attract a purchase is one that has wide currency in marketing literature (Anderson, Narus, & van Rossum, 2006; Holbrook, 1986, 1994, 1996, 1999; Holbrook & Corfman, 1985; Zeithaml,

1988). Anderson, et al. (2006) contend that when producing a successful promotion it is not necessary to list all possible benefits to the consumer. It is more effective to concentrate on all the favourable points of difference, those features of the product on offer that are better than those of rival products. However, they suggest that the most successful way of constructing a high-quality customer value proposition is to create what they term a ‘resonating focus’ containing ‘the one or two points of difference (and, perhaps, a point of parity)... [which] will deliver the greatest value to the customer’.

Here we will concentrate more on practice than concepts and will investigate the ways in which concert promoters, having attracted the attention of readers to the advertisement, tried to persuade them to attend the concert by arousing their interest and creating a desire which would translate into the action of purchasing tickets. Thus this paper will show how newspaper advertisements for concerts made effective use of a number of the persuasive tactics from Leiss, et al.’s (2005) lists of metaphoric-emotive themes ascribed to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Beasley & Danesi’s (2002) post-1920 ‘non-rational’ techniques of positioning (see Table 2). They used a variety of methods of persuasion which can be likened to some of the techniques described by O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy (2004, pp. 63–83 and 145–149) as characteristic of effective present-day advertising.

Methodology

This study takes as its basis some 4356 advertisements for concerts which appeared in newspapers published in London between 1672 (the date of the first concert advertisement) and 1749.² Two aspects are of interest: to see how musicians took increasing advantage of the medium of newspaper advertising to promote their concerts; and to investigate and describe the meanings that lie behind the seemingly bland informational statements that make up the text of the advertisements, while documenting themes within them as a means of investigating the persuasive techniques by which concert promoters sought to attract an audience. For the former purpose textual decomposition and relational data analysis were used to aid construction of a database in which to record information culled from the advertisements concerning dates of advertisements, concert dates, newspaper titles used, and so on (Dunk & Rahtz, 1989; Harvey & Press, 1991; 1996, pp. 81–82; Miles & Huberman,

1994; Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007, pp. 479–480); Harbor (2013, pp. 74–79) describes in detail the process used. For the latter, the method of content analysis was adopted.

Traditional or basic content analysis has been defined as a ‘research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’ ((Berelson, 1971 p. 52) as cited in (Kassarjian, 1977; Zikmund, 1994, p. 234)). When dealing with speech or text, the basic concept underlying content analysis is that sections of text are coded, that is they are classified into a smaller number of content categories, each of which may consist of one or more words. The words, phrases, or other units of text classified as being in the same content category are then presumed to have similar meanings. Multiple coders each independently follow rules to code the texts, with quality of coding assessed by one of several methods of calculating inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff, 2004; Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002).

However, it has long been realised that it is possible to go beyond analysis of manifest content to investigate the latent or connotative meaning underlying such communication (Ahuvia, 2001; Kaplan, 1943; Laswell, 1941; Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Potter and Levine-Donnerstein (1999) draw a distinction between two types of latent content analysis: one focussing on ‘patterns in the content itself’, while the other ‘shifts the focus more onto coders’ interpretations of the meaning of the content’ and the judgement of the coder, based on their pre-existing mental schema, takes precedence. Krippendorff (2013, p. 23) refers to such interpretive approaches as ‘interactive-hermeneutic’, with ‘analysts working within hermeneutic circles in which their own socially or culturally conditioned understandings constitutively participate’. Ahuvia (2001) stresses the possible problems caused by analysis of latent or connotative meanings: coding ‘cannot follow a series of rules’, requires the coder to possess ‘theoretical sensitivity’ (Glaser, 1978) to enable good interpretations, involves significant expertise necessitating a prohibitive amount of training, and, when dealing with historical documents in particular, may call for a detailed understanding of the context in which the texts were created. Ahuvia goes on to state that for such interpretive content analysis, ‘multiple coders are recommended because collaborative work is likely to be of higher quality, but in principle a single

coder is sufficient' and asserts that 'interpretive content analysis substitutes public justifiability for interrater reliability'. Public justifiability may be achieved by providing reviewers with a random sample of the texts under study, together with the codings and a justification of how they were applied to those texts when a study is submitted for publication (Ahuvia, 2001; Drisko & Maschi, 2015, pp. 127–128).

This paper was developed from a doctoral dissertation and, as such, the data were coded by the primary investigator and the analysis discussed with a supervisor. However, the historical and musicological expertise required to comprehend and code the advertisement texts also dictated the methodological approach, as this requires knowledge which takes years to develop and it is not easy to specify coding rules for other less experienced coders to follow. Orthography was not yet fixed at this period so the names of composers, compositions and musical instruments could easily appear with a variety of different spellings; moreover, not all the names which appear in advertisements are those of musicians and it is important to realise which are musicians and which are not; compositions were not necessarily given the same names or numbers as they are now and are sometimes only vaguely specified; and the manners and culture were very different from that of our own time. In the context of the public concert between 1660 and 1749, content analysis can be used to describe and make inferences about the wording of concert advertisements, analyzing the techniques of persuasion used and trying to identify trends in the persuasive content of the advertisements. This type of rhetorical analysis concentrates on how messages are delivered and what are their intended or actual effects (Krippendorf, 2013, p. 22).

When carrying out content analysis, the first task is to select a unit of analysis. As the advertisements are on the whole fairly short, the text of each advertisement in its entirety is taken as the basic unit for analysis. The process of detailed reading of the advertisements necessitated by construction of the relational database facilitated the drawing up of concept memos, focusing on emerging persuasive concepts and the ways in which these were phrased within advertisements (White & Marsh, 2006). This enabled use of an emergent coding technique as this preliminary examination of

the data allowed construction of a category system based on themes which emerged from the advertisements themselves. Although it is often stated that ideally a category system should be mutually exclusive so that each unit of analysis is placed on a single category (Krippendorf, 2013, p. 132; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 159), in this case it was decided that it should be possible for an individual advertisement to belong to more than one category if it used more than one persuasive technique to encourage concert attendance. Within each advertisement, a portion of text could be defined and assigned to the appropriate category so that each text fragment only belonged to a single category, while an advertisement as a whole may have used several of the persuasive techniques identified.

The concept memos also made it possible to use computer-assisted techniques to aid the coding. Certain commonly-occurring tropes and phrases were identified which then formed part of computer-based queries to carry out coding where these occurred within an advertisement. For instance, the phrases 'by the best masters' suggesting quality and the eponymous 'vocal and instrumental' occur 490 and 1854 times respectively within the advertisements under study and could be swiftly tagged as such. Benefit concerts, named composers, named performers, named or identifiable pieces and named instruments were already identified and stored within the relational database and could also be swiftly added to the content analysis coding; these computer-generated codes occurred 8587 times.

However, many advertisements contained text which required interpretation before the appropriate coding could be applied. Within the following advertisements several phrases are assigned to categories to show the persuasive themes used (see Table 3 and Table 4); a full list of the categories used is shown in Table 6.

At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality.
For the Benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Hemmings.

At the great Room in York-Buildings: On Friday being the 21st Day of April, will be Perform'd, A Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the best Masters. Several New Cantata's, with other Songs and Italian Pieces, lately brought from Italy, will be Sung by Mrs. Hemmings and others; and she will also Accompany to her own Voice on the Harpsechord, being the first time of appearing in Publick.
Daily Courant 17 April 1710

Table 3. Example Categories for Content Analysis: Elizabeth Hemmings benefit concert 21 April 1710.

Category	Text	Computer Coded
Endorsement	At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality	X
Benefit	For the Benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Hemmings	X
Vocal and instrumental	A Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick	X
Quality	by the best Masters	X
Novelty	Several New Cantata's, with other Songs and Italian Pieces, lately brought from Italy	
	being the first time of appearing in Publick	
Foreign	with other Songs and Italian Pieces, lately brought from Italy	
Named performer	will be Sung by Mrs. Hemmings	X
Skill	she will also Accompany to her own Voice on the Harpsechord	
Named Instrument	she will also Accompany to her own Voice on the Harpsechord	X

TO morrow (being *Wednesday* the 28th) in the Great Room at *Lambeth Wells*) at the request of several Gentlemen and Ladies) will be performed the last Entertainment of Warlike Musick, with Trumpets, Kettle-Drums and other Instruments, and a new Dialogue, with variety of other Vocal and Instrumental Musick, for the benefit of the Performer; to begin exactly at Six. Price of coming in but One Shilling: No person whatsoever will be admitted in a Mask, nor after 7-a-Clock.
(*Postman and the Historical Account* 27 July 1697)

The aspects of this advertisement which are not immediately obvious comprise the mention of warlike music which was not at all common at the time and has thus been coded as being an unusual or specific performance attribute. The use of the word 'last' in its meaning of 'recent' justifies the coding of novelty for this phrase. Inclusion of the word 'but' in the information about the price of entrance encourages coding as 'cheap/value for money', and this is amplified by the knowledge that tickets for the cheapest concerts at venues other than spa resorts like Lambeth Wells would have been two shillings and sixpence in this period. The instruction that no-one wearing a mask will be admitted, nor after 7 o'clock is a lifestyle clue. The wearing of masks at public events was held to encourage less formal behaviour as the apparent anonymity lead masked attendees to abandon propriety or allowed prostitutes to sneak in where they would not normally be able to. Some theatres allowed patrons to enter for a reduced price after a certain time, but Lambeth Wells with its mention that no-one may enter after 7 o'clock is here signalling that this practice will not be allowed.

Table 4. Example Categories for Content Analysis: Lambeth Wells benefit concert 28 July 1697.

Category	Text	Computer Coded
Endorsement	at the request of several Gentlemen and Ladies	X
Novelty	the last Entertainment of Warlike Musick	
	a new Dialogue	
Unusual or specific performance attributes	the last Entertainment of Warlike Musick	
Named instruments	Trumpets, Kettle Drums & other instruments	X
Variety	variety of other Vocal and Instrumental Musick	
Vocal and Instrumental	variety of other Vocal and Instrumental Musick	X
Benefit	for the benefit of the Performer	X
Cheap/value for money	Price of coming in but One Shilling	
Lifestyle/manners	No person whatsoever will be admitted in a Mask, nor after 7-a-Clock	

Increasing pervasiveness of concert advertisements

Not only was newspaper advertising a new channel of which concert promoters took advantage, but as it became possible to do so, they made increasing use of it. The first concert advertisement to appear was placed by John Banister in the London Gazette 30 December 1672 (see Figure 1); this advertised a series of concerts to take place daily thenceforth. Banister continued his concerts for the next seven years until his death in 1679, generally advertising little more than the beginning and end of his long daily concert series each year and, inevitably, using only the London Gazette.

New newspaper titles appeared regularly: some of them failed to prosper, and some were not used to advertise concerts. Thus the number of newspapers in which concert promoters placed their advertisements rose and fell over the period (see Figure 3). The wide variety of titles in which concert advertisements appeared is quite remarkable, though many of them were only used for a very short period or for a relatively smaller number of adverts (see Table 5).

Figure 3. Number of newspaper titles containing concert advertisements, by decade and publication type.

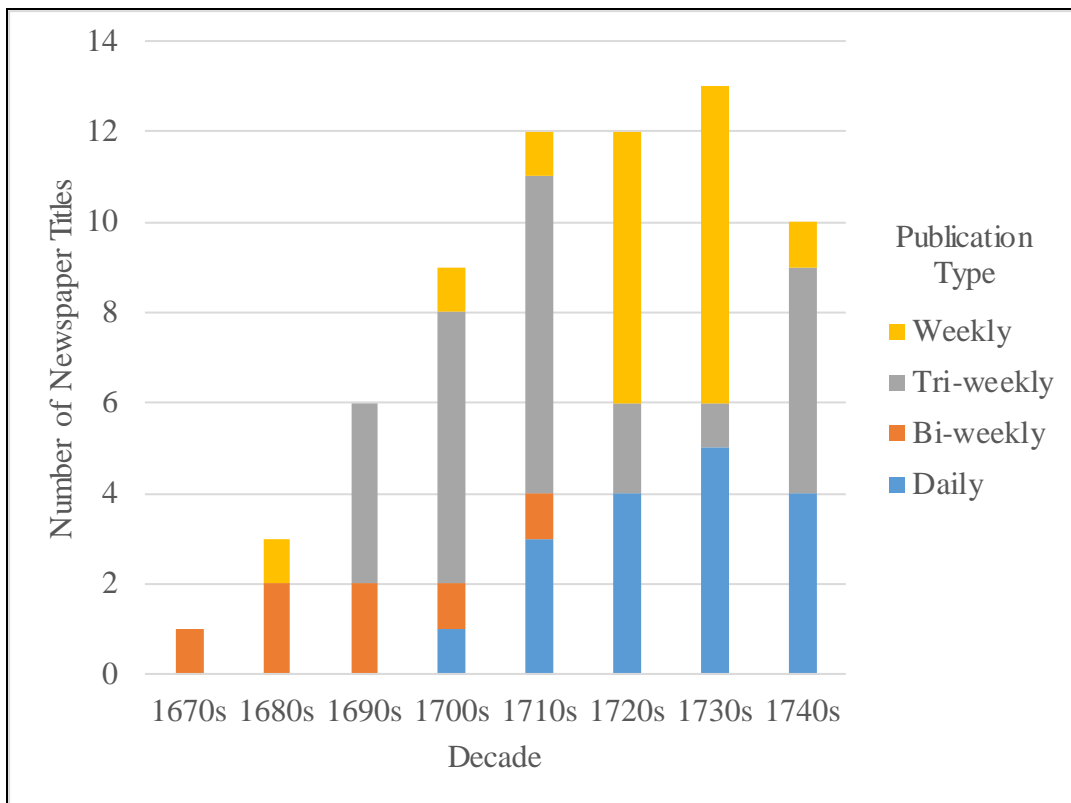


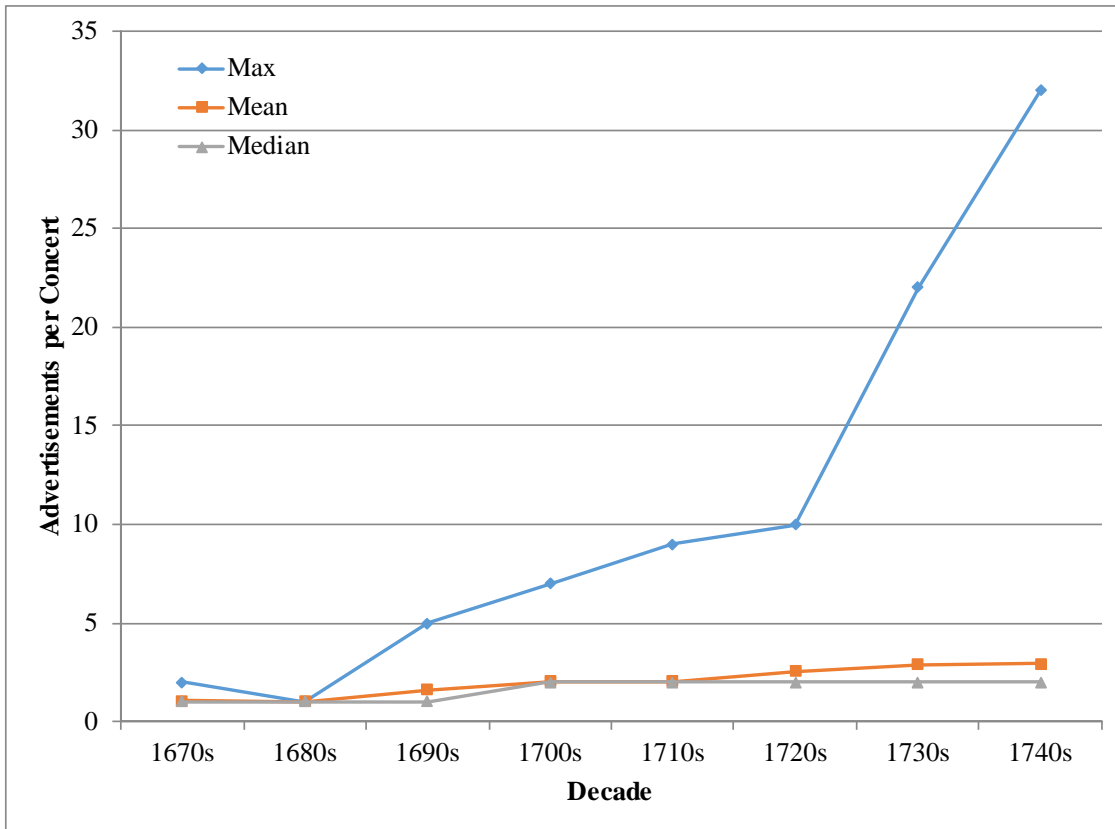
Table 5. Newspapers containing concert advertisements, 1672–1749.

Title	Type*	Concert Adverts			
		From	To	Years	Number
London Gazette	B	1672	1702	31	104
Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence	B	1682	1682	1	1
Publick Occurrences Truly Stated	W	1688	1688	1	1
Flying Post: or the Post Master	T	1696	1718	23	60
Post Boy (A. Roper)	T	1696	1718	23	111
The Post Man: and Historical Account	T	1697	1719	23	82
The Protestant Mercury	B	1697	1697	1	1
London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick	T	1699	1702	4	11
The English Post	T	1701	1702	2	10
Commonsense	W	1702	1702	1	1
Daily Courant	D	1702	1734	33	808
The Tatler	T	1709	1710	2	9
The Spectator	B	1711	1712	2	31
The Guardian	D	1712	1713	2	24
Evening Post	T	1713	1719	7	3
Weekly Journal; or British Gazetteer	W	1717	1726	10	2
The St. James's Post	T	1718	1718	1	1
Daily Post	D	1719	1745	27	460
St. James's Evening Post	T	1719	1720	2	2
Daily Journal	D	1721	1736	16	322
London Journal	W	1721	1733	13	5
General Advertiser	D	1722	1749	28	1107
Weekly Journal: or Saturday's Post	W	1722	1722	1	1
Mist's Weekly Journal	W	1726	1726	1	1
London Evening Post	T	1728	1749	22	84
Country Journal: or the Craftsman	W	1729	1735	7	5
Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal	W	1729	1733	5	2
Fog's Weekly Journal	W	1730	1730	1	1
Grub Street Journal	W	1732	1735	4	4
Weekly Miscellany	W	1733	1733	1	3
London Daily Post and General Advertiser	D	1734	1744	11	898
Daily Advertiser	D	1735	1747	13	161
Daily Gazetteer	D	1736	1745	10	24
Champion: or Evening Advertiser	T	1742	1742	1	1
General Evening Post (London)	T	1743	1743	1	1
Penny London Morning Advertiser	T	1747	1747	1	2
Whitehall Evening Post	T	1748	1749	2	14

* Codes in Type column: B: bi-weekly; D: daily; T: Tri-weekly; W: weekly.

As time progressed the number of advertisements per concert increased. As can be seen in Figure 4, the median number of advertisements per concert rose from one in the 1670s–1690s to two in the 1700s–1740s, while the mean number of advertisements per concert rose from not much more than one in the 1670s and 1680s, to just over 3 by the 1740s. However, the rapid increase in the maximum number of advertisements per concert in the 1720s was undoubtedly a function of the growth in the number of daily newspapers. The *Daily Courant* began publication in 1702 and carried the majority of concert advertisements during the 1700s and 1710s. With the advent of competing daily newspapers — *Daily Post* 1719, *Daily Journal* 1721, *General Advertiser* 1722, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 1734 —there was then a range of daily newspapers in which concert advertisements could appear, and some concert promoters would place advertisements in more than one of the daily newspapers. Although it is the case that the majority of concerts still only received small numbers of advertisements throughout the period, the maximum number of advertisements for a single concert in any year increased steadily: between 1740 and 1749 only three years had a maximum between 6 and 8; all other years had a maximum of 14 or above, and some concerts were advertised much more extensively. Thus a concert ‘For the Benefit and Increase of a Fund establish'd for the Support of Decay'd Musicians, or their Families. At the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, Wednesday, March 28' 1744, was promoted by a total of 32 advertisements placed in two different newspapers, the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* and the *Daily Advertiser* from 8 March onwards.³

Figure 4. Advertisements per concert, by decade



The lack of information on print runs for handbills and posters makes it impossible to judge how many of such appeared, but the occasional newspaper advert does mention ‘great bills’, normally in the context of saying that they will give more detail of the programme than the newspaper advertisement, so they were obviously still being used. However, taking into consideration the fact that in the 1670s Banister usually only placed a single newspaper advertisement to announce a long series of daily concerts, we can see that over the period under consideration the pervasiveness of concert advertising in newspapers increased considerably. The increase in newspaper advertising over the period in general, though not for concerts in particular, was a matter for comment at the time: Samuel Johnson warned in 1759 that ‘Advertisements are now so numerous that they are very negligently perused’ ((Johnson, 1759b) quoted in (Bate et al., 1963)).

Persuasion in concert advertisements

The first task of an advertisement is to attract the attention of the reader of the newspaper to the advertisement itself (Hackley, 2009, pp. 92–93). This was accomplished by the use of capitalisation, font styles and other typographical devices to emphasize certain words in the advertisement, part of what is still understood as advertising today (Batchelor, 2014, p. xi; Presbery, 1929, pp. 56–73). (Harbor, 2013, pp. 232–237) discusses the use of such tactics in newspaper advertisements for London concerts.

Having attracted attention, some advertisement texts then attempted to persuade readers to attend the concert by arousing their interest and creating a desire for attendance which is translated into the action of purchasing tickets. In discussing their proposed model of the development of communication formats, Leiss et al. (2005) and Beasley and Danesi (2002) provide the outline shown in Table 2, showing a move from descriptive product information to lifestyle themes. The former, however, note that their first phase is preceded by ‘the “announcements” of earlier periods’ and go on to say that ‘no phase supplants the foregoing ones, but rather each complements the others, adding variations and new operations to the existing repertoire’ (Leiss et al., 2005, p. 153 and 160). While the blatant hyperbole or falsehoods of eighteenth-century advertisements for patent medicines and the like

may not have found their way into concert advertising, many texts were constructed in such a way as to convey a more or less concealed message either about the concert itself or the social benefits of attendance. Concert promoters were trying to make their potential customers aware of different types of product knowledge associated with the advertised concert, constructing a customer value proposition which would aid them in their decision as to whether to attend or not (Anderson et al., 2006).

Table 6 shows the results of the content analysis of the advertisements for concerts published in London newspapers between 1672 and 1749, giving the percentage of the advertisements for each decade which contain text for each theme; the possibility of each advertisement containing more than one theme means that percentages do not add to 100.

Table 6. Content Analysis Results.

Theme	1670s n=10	1680s n=6	1690s n=210	1700s n=329	1710s n=487	1720s n=527	1730s n=794	1740s n=1993	Total n=4356
None	10.00	66.67	6.67	0.91	1.03	0.76	1.39	3.26	2.46
<i>Product-oriented information</i>									
Vocal and instrumental	60.00		54.29	62.31	64.07	41.75	29.09	33.27	40.20
Variety	10.00	16.67	10.48	2.13	2.67		2.39	0.95	1.88
Instrumental music only						1.71	0.25	0.40	0.44
Room - attributes			0.95	6.69	1.64	3.04	12.47	6.62	6.40
Convenience				2.43	2.05	6.26	1.76	2.61	2.69
Limited opportunity			4.29	5.78	1.85	3.23	3.27	5.42	4.32
Quality	40.00	16.67	16.67	65.65	61.81	51.23	42.95	26.09	38.75
Skill					0.62	1.90	1.39	0.15	0.62
Named composer	40.00	33.33	26.19	36.47	26.90	18.41	37.78	21.73	26.22
Named performer		16.67	18.57	55.02	46.20	53.13	30.10	49.62	44.86
Named/identifiable piece	40.00	33.33	34.29	39.51	31.01	22.96	57.68	51.88	45.27
Named instruments		16.67	9.52	26.14	28.95	42.13	34.51	39.14	34.99
Many/more performers			7.14	0.30	2.67	0.19	15.99	1.05	4.09
Extra music			4.76	2.13	1.44		11.08	1.56	3.28
Words/music printed			0.95	0.91	1.44	0.38	0.38	2.41	1.49
Value for money			18.10	2.74		0.57	7.68	4.67	4.68
Competition (lack of)					0.82			0.35	0.25
Favourite piece						0.95	2.90	4.77	2.82
<i>Symbolism and product-image</i>									
Augmented product			7.14	6.38	13.35	4.17	3.53	1.40	4.11
Novelty	20.00		56.67	44.07	34.29	23.15	28.21	36.98	34.80
Ancient and modern							2.02		0.37
Young performer			0.48	2.13	7.19	3.61	1.26	1.91	2.53
Specific performance attributes			6.67	2.13	2.26	5.88	13.98	1.56	4.71
Named instruments		16.67	9.52	26.14	28.95	42.13	34.51	39.14	34.99
Foreign link		16.67	10.00	28.57	17.04	17.65	3.40	2.51	8.47
Patriotic			4.76	1.82		1.33		0.90	0.94
<i>Personalization</i>									
Endorsement			14.76	31.31	23.00	14.80	22.04	17.96	19.67
Prior performance			16.19	6.38	4.31	6.07	5.29	2.11	4.41
<i>Lifestyle</i>									
Addressed to audience			1.43	2.74	4.52	1.14	1.13	3.41	2.69
Link to royalty			11.43	7.90	7.60	3.04	3.02	3.21	4.38
Lifestyle/manners			10.00	0.61	2.87	0.95	4.91	3.36	3.40
Benefit			31.43	43.47	75.77	69.26	40.81	36.53	45.80
Gentlemen/women performers				0.30				1.81	0.85

Announcements

Certainly there were some concert advertisements which seem to be simple ‘announcements’, more solely informational than persuasive in content, presenting only what Kolb (2005, pp. 165–166) would term the features of the artistic product. The most basic information for a concert would consist of the venue, date and time of the concert, as shown below:

THE Consort of MUSICK in Charles street Covent-Garden, will begin to Morrow, being Friday, the 3d of February, at 8 of the Clock at Night, and to continue every Thursday Night after during this Season.
(*London Gazette* 2 February 1692/3)

However, this kind of basic informational advert, giving only details of the venue, date and time, is the exception rather than the rule: of the 4356 adverts under consideration, only 107 (2.46%) simply give the venue, date and time of the concert.

Product-oriented information

While almost all of the advertisements under study include basic details of the date, time and venue of the concert, many are not just pure announcements but rather include elements and themes ascribed to the first stage defined by Leiss et al. (2005), that of product-oriented information, a persuasive informational approach arguing the quality and merits of the product. Even Banister’s very first advertisement from December 1672 (see Figure 1) uses the word ‘excellent’ to describe the quality of those who will be performing.

Concert advertisements might include information about performers, programming, physical attributes of the venue and additional services provided. The vast majority of concerts in the period would appear to have consisted of both vocal and instrumental music (1751 advertisements 40.2%), indeed the phrase ‘Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ or a variant thereof appears so frequently from the very earliest concert advertisements onwards as to be more noteworthy in its absence than its presence. Anderson, Narus and van Rossum (2006) might consider this to be one of the points of parity which contribute towards the construction of a ‘resonating focus’ in a customer value proposition. Only occasionally is the phrasing altered, but the sentiment remains the same:

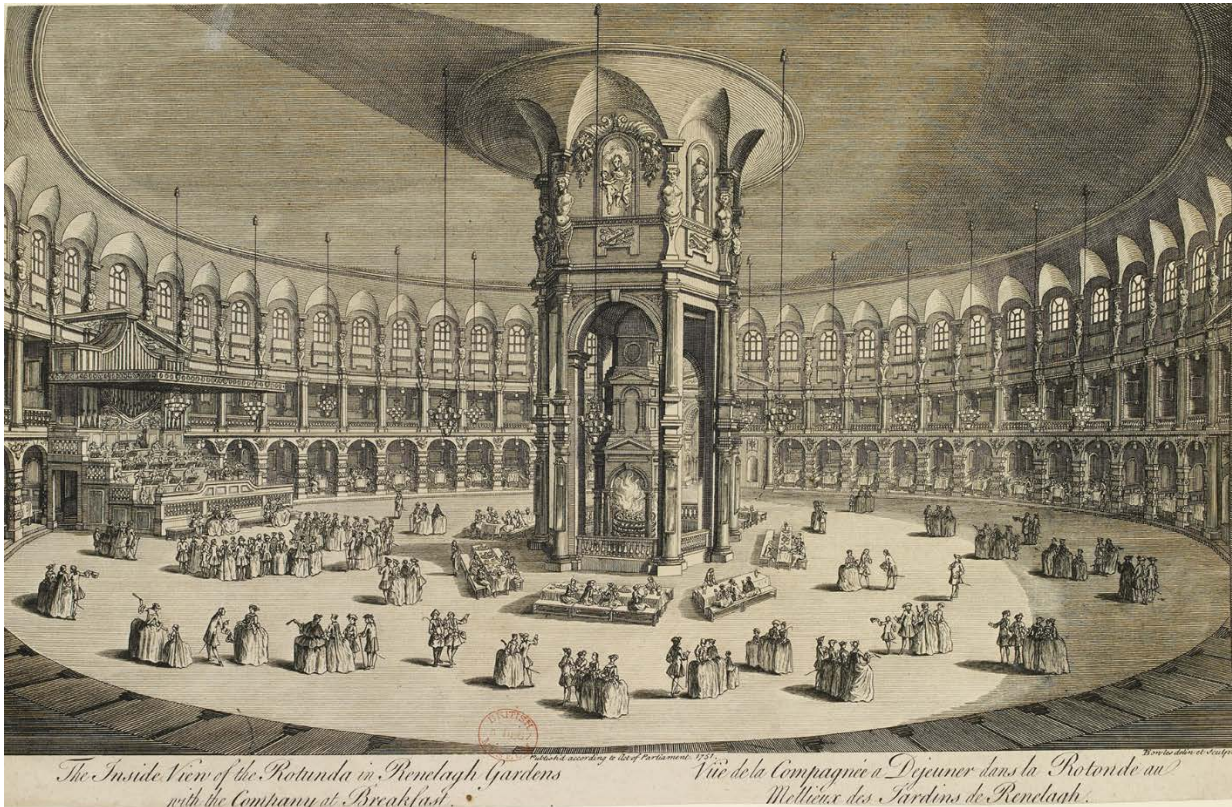
A New Consort of Musick; *By Mr. Abell, and other Voices; with Instrumental Musick of all Sorts...*
(*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702)

To add to the appeal of this basic information about the concert the attractions of the venue itself might be stressed, focusing on elements which might appeal to the audience, such as the lack of crowding, exclusivity, or the comfort of the venue (279 advertisements 6.4%):

...Tickets will be delivered out from Tuesday at Mr. *Playford's* and at most of the chief Coffee-Houses in Town. But no more of them than what there shall be convenient Places for to prevent all Crowding, the great Inconvenience of such Meeting. As also a Place shall be kept distinct for Nobility.
(*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 16 December 1701)

AT *Ranelagh House*, this Day, will be a
CONCERT of MUSICK by the Whole Band.
To begin at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning.
*** The Amphitheatre is made Warm, and Breakfasting as Usual.
(*General Advertiser* 28 March 1748)

Figure 5. Music and Breakfast at the Rotunda, Ranelagh Gardens.⁴



For certain venues which were not so easily reached, advertisements might strive to emphasise convenience by allaying worries about the possible difficulties in travelling there (117 advertisements 2.69%). The following concerns a concert at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, then a more remote spot than today:

Note, that the Moon will shine, the Tide serve, and a Guard placed from the College to St. James's Park, for the safe return of the Ladies.
(*Post Man* 21 May 1702)

Indications that there was limited opportunity to hear a particular concert was also used as a means of encouraging attendance (188 advertisements 4.32%):

...being the last time of performance this Season.
(*Post Man* 25 September 1697)

This Consort to be perform'd but once, because of the Queen's going to the Bath.
(*Daily Courant* 7 August 1703)

Quality is a feature that is not frequently mentioned openly in advertisements for present-day classical music concerts however in the eighteenth century quality is a theme that is accorded some prominence (1688 advertisements 38.75%). Frequent allusions are made to the quality of the performers:

A Consort of Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental; Will be Perform'd by the Best Hand and Voices in London.
(*Post Boy* 25 July 1702)

...an extraordinary Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick... the best Masters of each Profession in England performing their Parts.
(*Post Man* 8 March 1701)

Comments on the quality of the pieces to be performed are less frequent:

The Pieces to be perform'd are Collected from the Works of the most Celebrated Masters in Europe.
(*Daily Courant* 18 May 1711)

Quality may also be stressed by naming particular pieces that are to be performed (1972 advertisements 45.27%), or by giving the names of performers (1954 advertisements 44.86%) or composers (1142 advertisements 26.22%) — as today, potential concert attendees might be attracted by particular composers, performers or pieces, knowing them to be of high quality. Listing pieces and

performers is not common in early advertisements which were generally shorter, but as the period wore on some advertisements became quite extensive, presenting what was in effect an outline programme. The example in Figure 6 lists every piece and performer, even showing the division of the concert into its component three sections, and the composer of each song.

Figure 6. Concert advertisement listing pieces and performers.

*For the Benefit and Increase of a Fund establish'd
for the Support of Decay'd Musicians or their Families.*

AT the KING's THEATRE in the
HAY-MARKET, on Tuesday, April 10, will be perform'd
an Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental
M U S I C K.
As Follows.

Part I. A New Overture, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi.

Air. *Io Son quell Pellegrino*, compos'd by Sig. Terradellas, sung by
Sigra Giacomazzi.

Air. *Dille che d'altra Face*, compos'd by Sig. Cocchi, sung by Sig. Laschi

Air. *Questo core amato bene*, compos'd by Sig. Araija, sung by Sigra. Galli.
Cantato by Sig. Pasqualino.

Air. *La Doleressa dell' Amor*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sig.
Guadagni.

Air. *In felice in Van milagno*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sigra
Fras.

Part II. Concerto by Mr. Dubourg.

Air. *Qual Nocchiero*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sigra. Mellini.

Air. *Dal Labro*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sigra. Giacomazzi

Air. *Ob diò mancar mi Sento*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sigra
Fras.

Concerto by Mr. Miller.

Air. *Sen sventurato*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sig. Guadagni

Air. *Fair and comely is my Love*, compos'd by Mr. Handell, sung by
Sigra Galli

Part III. Concerto by Mr. Vincent.

Air. *Crudo Amore*, compos'd by Sig. Fini, sung by Sig. Laschi.

Air. *Alla selva al prato*, compos'd by Sig. Fini, sung by Sig. Mellini;

Air. *Se torna il geto ufato*, compos'd by Sig. Pulli, sung by Sigra Gia-
comazzi.

Air. *So che per Gioco*, compos'd by Sig. Pulli, sung by Sigra Galli.

Duet. *O Fairest of Ten Thousand Fair*, compos'd by Mr. Handell,
sung by Sigra-Fras, and Sig. Guadagni.

A Grand Concerto of Mr. Handel's.

Pit and Boxes to be put together, and no Persons to be admitted
without Tickets, which will be deliver'd That Day, at the said Office
at Half a Guinea each.

N.B. The Tickets deliver'd to the Subscribers to this Charity, will
admit one Person into any Part of the House.

To begin exactly at Six o'Clock.

(General Advertiser 29 March 1750)

Occasionally concert promoters would advertise the fact that they would provide the words of the vocal pieces being performed, either for purchase or as a free gift (65 advertisements 1.49%):

...Note, The Words of the Songs and other Particulars of the Entertainments will be Printed and Sold to the Audience.
(*Daily Courant* 17 November 1707)

The Words of the whole Entertainment are Printed, and will be given Gratis to each Person at their Entrance.
Post Boy 23 January 1714

Other persuasive elements linked to the concert as product include variety, some special skill of the performer, the number of performers, the addition of extra music when a piece or concert programme is performed for a second or further time, tickets which provide good value, lack of competing events on the same day, and the performance of a piece which is noted as being a favourite.

Symbolism and product-image

The second stage described by Leiss et al. (2005, p. 155) is that of symbolism: products should 'resonate with qualities desired by consumers' as social, rather than functional, motivations for consumption. Thus advertisers may allude to the psychosocial benefits provided to those who purchase a ticket and go to the concert (Kolb, 2005, p. 165). Inducements to attendance might include extra activities or attractions in addition to the concert itself (179 advertisements 4.11%), what is termed the extended or augmented product, which would add to the prospect of relaxation and entertainment (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2004, pp. 93–99), and also provide further opportunities for socialising (Bouder-Pailler, 1999; Gainer, 1995; Thyne, 2001):

...And for the Entertainment of such Gentlemen and Ladies as please, there will be Musick to Play Country Dances after the Consort is over.
(*Daily Courant* 10 April 1711)

...a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK: The Vocal Part by Miss Faulkener: To begin at Ten o'Clock. Tickets Two Shillings, Breakfasting included Plenty of Carp, Tench, Perch, &c. &c. and the Best of French Wines, particularly Champagne, now in the greatest Perfection.
(*General Advertiser* 1 August 1747)

Whilst mention of new music might function as a deterrent for some classical music lovers nowadays, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the overwhelming majority of the music

performed at concerts was composed by living composers. In the early eighteenth century, the name of the famed English composer Henry Purcell was used to attract an audience for some time after his death in 1695, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The appeal of novelty (1516 advertisements 34.8%) offers the attendee the opportunity to increase his or her awareness of music by hearing unfamiliar pieces or new performers, thus satisfying the thirst for cultural knowledge or the desire to be at the forefront of fashion (McLean, 1995; Slater, 2007; Slater & Armstrong, 2010). Phrases such as the following are commonly found:

... will be performed a New Consort of Instrumental Musick.
... with several new Songs set for that occasion.
... a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick... not yet perform'd.

... by an Italian Gentlewoman that was never heard in this Kingdom before, and Signior Gasparino, the famous Musician that plays upon the Violin, newly come from Rome...
(*London Gazette* 2 November 1702)

Related to this is the new interest in music described as 'ancient' in the 1730s; this was a new fashion which seemed to have only a limited appeal and thus appears in only 16 advertisements (0.37% overall, 2.02% in the 1730s).

Novelty in the form of young performers or child prodigies is also used to attract an audience (110 advertisements 2.53%).

For the Benefit of John Clegg, a Youth of Nine Years of Age, lately arriv'd from
Ireland.

AT the New Theatre, over-against the Opera-House in the Hay-Market, on Friday next, the 24th of May, will be perform'd A Concert of Musick. With several Solo's and Concerto 's on the Violin by the Youth; particularly a Grand Concerto of Vivaldi's for French Horns, Hautboy, Violins, &c. The principal Violin by the Youth...
(*Daily Courant* 22 May 1723)

A novel method of performance (205 advertisements 4.71%) or the use of particular named or unusual instruments (1524 advertisements 34.99%) might also be mentioned:

...with Instrumental Musick of all sorts: To be placed in two several Quiers on each side of the Hall; a Manner never yet perform'd in England.
(*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702)

...and the said Signior Conti will play upon his great Theorbo, and on the Mandoline an Instrument not known yet.

(Daily Courant 2 April 1707)

The appeal of the foreign over the home-grown may be thought of as being related to the appeal of novelty and an opportunity to exhibit or increase one's knowledge of different performers, languages and musical styles (369 advertisements 8.47%). Foreign performers and foreign composers had long been known in England, but the vogue for foreign music and musicians seems only to have increased over time, with Charles II's penchant for all things French being succeeded by an enduring enthusiasm for Italian music and musicians (Wilson, 1959). Many concert advertisements emphasise the presence of foreign music or musicians:

...with several Songs, by the Famous SENIORA ANNA, lately come from *Rome*, who never Sung on the Stage.

(Daily Courant 3 March 1703)

...a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, composed by that great Italian Master Seignior Gioseppe Saggion....

(Daily Courant 19 April 1704)

English performers who could sing in foreign languages were also eager to advertise the fact:

Mr. Abell will sing in English, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French.

(London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick 8 September 1701)

...by very great Masters, of all sorts of Instruments; with fine Singing, in Italian, French, English, Spanish, German, Dutch, and Latin; after the Newest Italian and French manner.

(Post Boy 20 November 1697)

It was, however, less usual for Englishness to be stressed :

...the best Masters of each Profession in *England* performing their Parts.

(Post Man 8 March 1701)

And likewise several Songs in English, composed by the late Famous Mr. Henry Purcell.

(Daily Courant 19 April 1704)

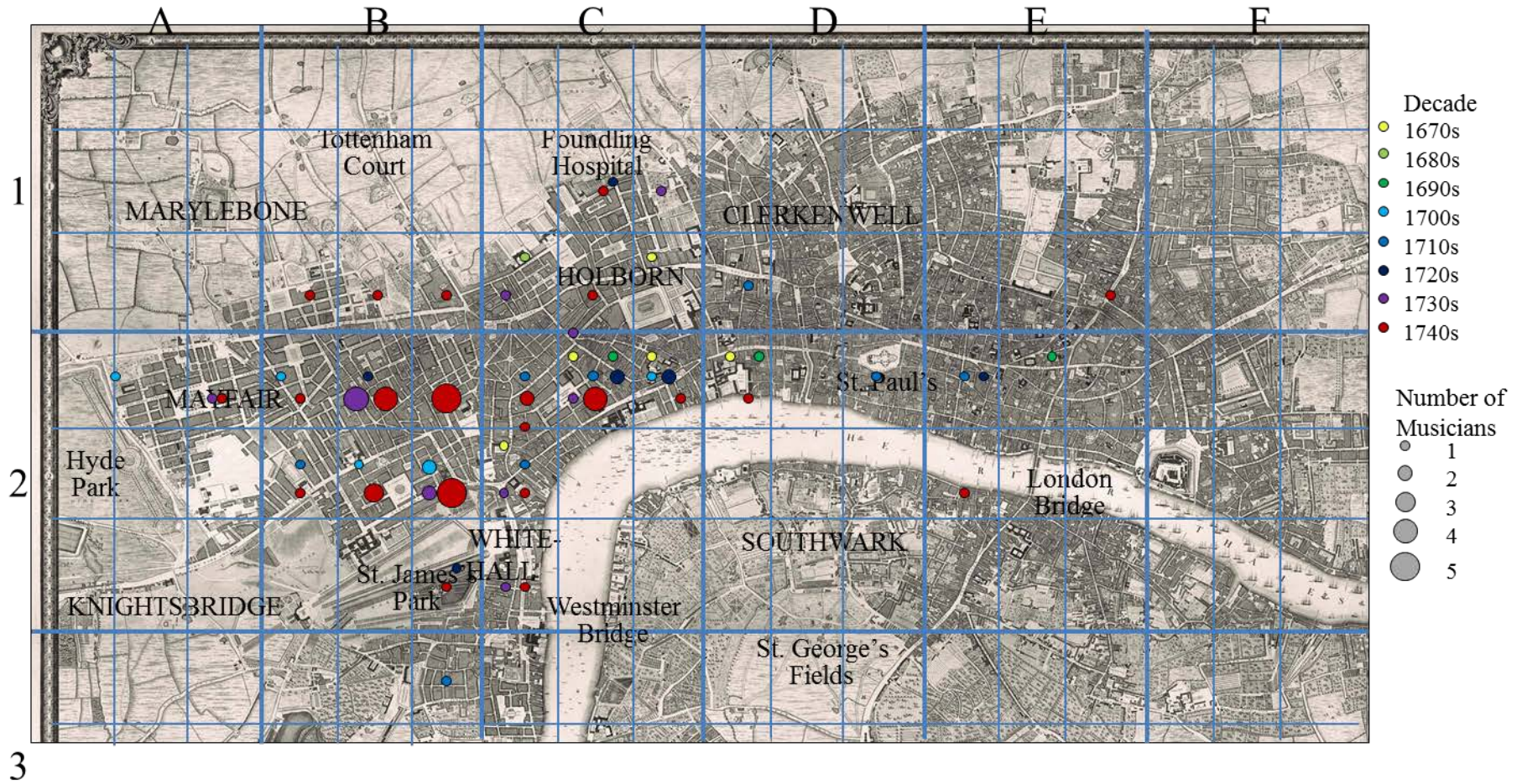
Particular events which struck a chord with the national consciousness might also lead to a stress on patriotic programming which concert organisers then flagged up in their advertisements (41 advertisements 0.94%). For instance concerts in 1697 and 1698 included pieces celebrating the Treaty of Ryswick; in 1702 John Abel advertised concerts to celebrate the coronation of Queen Anne; and in 1745, probably as a response to nationalistic fervour inspired by the Jacobite Rebellion, Thomas Arne

revived and extended his 'Historical Musical Drama, call'd, The Distresses of King Alfred the Great, King of England, With his Conquest over the Danes' which included a version of *Rule Britannia*, and the concert was 'To conclude with a celebrated Ode in Honour of Great-Britain', *God bless our Noble King, God save Great George our King*, which with slightly different words was to become the British national anthem.

Personalization

("Vauxhall Gardens," ; Leiss et al., 2005, p. 184) describe the personalized format as one in which the primary framework is defined by a 'direct relationship between a product and the human personality'. Here knowing more about the consumer is central to effective advertising and in the present day this presumes the use of consumer research. However, in the period under study such research was not necessary as musicians interacted with their potential audience on a regular basis: this might be at the concerts they gave, or when selling tickets for their benefit concerts from their own lodgings, but definitely in their role as musical instrument teachers for the children of those who were likely to attend concerts. Musicians' places of residence were also significant. It is not possible to ascertain where musicians lived in all cases as very few musicians owned their own houses and thus their names and addresses do not often appear in official documents, such as rate books or records of electoral polls. However, advertisements for benefit and other concerts sometimes gave the address of a musician as a place where tickets were available or very occasionally as a concert venue. These data show that although a very few musicians lived within the walls of the City of London or just outside, a much stronger spread northwards and westwards into Westminster and the newer and more prestigious suburbs of the West End and Bloomsbury is easily discernible as the eighteenth century progresses (see Figure 7). These wealthy parishes in Westminster contained a high proportion of shops and houses with lodgers (Schwarz, 1982, pp. 102–103; Smith, 1776) and this is where many musicians lived, cheek-by-jowl with the very people whom they were trying to persuade to attend their concerts, making consumer research somewhat redundant.

Figure 7. Musician's Recorded Residences in London by Decade.



A variant of the personalized format is the testimonial or endorsement ‘in which the person’s relationship to the product is based on experience with use or consumption’ (Leiss et al., 2005, p. 186). Endorsements and testimonials in present-day advertising are generally carried out in one of three formats: typical consumer, celebrity or expert, (Martin, Wentzel, & Tomczak, 2008). The typical consumer testimonial involves an unknown person, who is presumably representative of the target market, endorsing the product in an advertisement. A celebrity or expert endorsement is made by a carefully selected celebrity or expert who lends their name or expertise to the product being advertised. Endorsements in concert advertisements were generally short in length, often consisting of little more than the phrase including the endorsement in question. However, this should be taken in the context of the brevity of advertisements on the whole. We have no evidence to show whether named endorsements were included with or without the permission of the endorsers, but it seems likely that they were never even consulted, as was still the case in the nineteenth century (Nevett, 1982, pp. 130–133).

The first endorsement to appear within an advertisement for a London concert was published in 1691 (see Figure 8). Here a celebrity endorsement is being used to encourage attendance by providing a number of quality and lifestyle clues; this is what O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy (2004, pp. 147–148) term an ‘attractive source’, one which is supportive of the audience’s self-image or self-esteem. Those who were present might expect to see or even meet a member of the royal family, Anne Princess of Denmark, the second surviving daughter of King James II, who was to become Queen in 1702. Her expected presence was also a guarantee of the quality of the performance, as one would not expect so prominent a member of the royal family to attend an event of inferior quality. It likewise signals that those attending would also

be of high rank, or aspire to be so, and indicates that this is a prestigious event for the elite members of London society.

Figure 8. First concert advertisement containing an endorsement.

Advertisements.

THE Confort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick lately held in
York-buildings, will be performed again, at the same Place
and Hours as formerly, on Monday next, (being Easter-Monday)
by the Command, and for the Entertainment, of her Royal High-
ness the Princess of Denmark.

(London Gazette 9 April 1691)

Endorsements of one type or another are to be found in 857 (19.67%) of concert advertisements in the period under study. The vast majority of the endorsements were very short and were of the ‘typical person’ type, where a characteristic and unnamed consumer makes the endorsement. Obviously, for this type of endorsement there would be no possibility of permission or payment of an endorser. Within concert advertisements, we have already seen the sort of short phrases which make up these types of endorsements:

At the desire of several Ladies of Quality...
As desired by several Persons of Distinction...
At the Request of several of the Nobility and Gentry...

Here the purpose is to stress the elite nature of concert attendance: the prestige and exclusivity of an event is emphasised, implying that attendees will either be, or aspire to be, of the same elevated social order; the endorsement is thus considered to be from an ‘attractive’ source (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2004, pp. 147–148). It may also be considered as witness to co-creation: the ‘Ladies of Quality’ have expressed a desire to a certain musician for a benefit concert to be held or for particular pieces to be performed (Lusch & Vargo, 2014, pp. 143–147). It is possible that such endorsements are entirely fictional, but that is not really the point, as the reader has no way of checking their veracity.

Lengthier encomiums are occasionally to be found in texts in the news section but sometimes seem more like ‘puffs’ than pure news. Describing a concert which has already taken place, these obviously have the purpose of encouraging attendance at subsequent concerts:

We hear that several Persons of Distinction and Gentry were at Mr. Geminiani’s Consort in Panton-street near the Haymarket, which was received with great Applause, to the intire Satisfaction of all the Audience.
(*Daily Post* 11 December 1731)

While the idea of the celebrity is somewhat anachronistic at this period, there were certain notable personages who could be assumed to hold the same type of position in

eighteenth-century society as present-day celebrities. Among these would be members of the royal family, prominent noblemen and distinguished visitors from overseas. Thus, some endorsements can be classified as being of the ‘celebrity’ type which could also be considered as ‘attractive’ sources; again the majority of the endorsements consisted only of a short phrase:

By His Majesty’s Command...

By Her Royal Highness’s Command...

By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales...

For the Entertainment of his Excellency Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas,
Ambassador from the Emperor of Fez and Morocco...

(*Daily Courant* 6 November 1706)

A type of endorsement that is perhaps particular to concert advertisements is a modification of the celebrity theme, a variant on the ‘as used by...’ which might be found in advertisements for products such as patent medicines (Burnby, 1988; Doherty, 1992). Here the piece to be performed is described as having been previously performed in the presence of a particular person of note, or in a place or at an occasion where such persons would have been expected to be present. This would verify the quality and status of the piece and would be useful information for possible concert attendees bearing in mind that the overwhelming majority of pieces performed in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century concerts were relatively new compositions by living composers. Again, royalty and the aristocracy figure strongly in this type of endorsement, as well as references to Court ceremonies:

ESTHER an ORATORIO:

OR,

SACRED DRAMA.

As it was compos’d originally for the most noble James Duke of Chandos, by
GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL.

(*Daily Journal* 17 April 1732)

Signior Fr. Conti will cause to be perform’d... the Consort of Musick compos’d
by him for her Majesty, and which he had the Honour to have perform’d at Court
the Day the Act for the Union pass’d.

(*Daily Courant* 2 April 1707)

Expert endorsements from credible sources, where an acknowledged expert in the field

provides support or approval are not to be found as such in advertisements for London concerts in the period under consideration. While there is no doubt that expert practical musicians and composers existed in the period, their views were not used as part of endorsements in advertisements for concerts. Nor do we often find comments from reviewers of musical performances; this is not that surprising as reviews of concerts, plays and opera were not at all common in this period. The newspaper music or theatre critic did not yet exist, and the only 'reviews' were to be found in the rather subjective outpourings of the puff advertisement.

Lifestyle

According to Leiss et al. (2005, p. 190), the lifestyle format combines aspects of the product-image and personalized formats in the use of stereotypes based on 'inferences about the relationship of the individual to the group or social context (class, status, race, ethnicity, role relations, group membership)'. Attendance at a concert can be considered as a type of symbolic consumption, of participating in a form of collective ritual which affirmed status and membership of a particular social class (Botti, 2000, pp. 63–83; Colbert, 2003; Cuadrado & Mollà, 2000; Gainer, 1997; Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982; Kelly, 1987; Leiss et al., 2005; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2004). Concert prices were broadly equivalent to the range of prices charged for seeing a play or opera at one of the patent theatres, pursuits with which concerts competed for an audience (Avery, 1968, pp. liv–lviii; Avery & Scouten, 1968, pp. lxx–lxxiv; Hunter, 2000; Scouten, 1968, pp. lxviii–lxxix). Those who attended concerts would thus in the main be wealthy members of the aristocracy and gentry, but might also include some members of the growing middle class who might be described as genteel, consisting of members of the professions or the arts, merchants and high-class wholesale and retail tradesmen (Earle, 1994; Hume, 2006; Hunter, 2000). As much concert-going tended to be an activity restricted to the more elite sections of society, attendance

at a concert was a way of advertising one's social status, involving as it did both considerable expenditure and pretensions to good taste (Bourdieu, 1979; Gans, 1999; Holbrook, Weiss, & Habich, 2002; McVeigh, 1993). In common with advertisements for the opera, those for concerts suggest a deliberate exclusivity with frequent appearance in advertisements of lifestyle motifs stressing the elite nature of concert attendance (Milhous & Hume, 1983).

The prestige and exclusivity of an event was often emphasised thus implying that attendees would either be, or aspire to be, of the same social class. We have already seen the use of phrases referring to the concert as being:

At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality...
...by Her Royal Highness's Command.

But this could be amplified by addressing the reader of the advert more directly (117 advertisements 2.69%):

MR. Abell having had the Honour lately, to Sing to the Nobility and Gentry of *Richmond* and the Neighbouring Towns, thinks himself bound in Gratitude, to give an Invitation to the said Noble Assembly...
(*The English Post* 3 September 1701)

Prestige might be emphasised by revealing that the music to be performed had some link to royalty (191 advertisements 4.38%), perhaps having been performed before the monarch or at court:

...will be presented the Entertainment of Musick which was performed before Her Majesty upon Her Birth Day.

...the Consort of Musick compos'd by him for her Majesty, and which he had the Honour to have perform'd at Court the Day the Act for the Union pass'd.
(*Daily Courant* 2 April 1707)

Another ploy was to make mention of the lifestyle and appurtenances of the upper classes of society, such as footmen, coaches and chairs (even though most venues were within easy walking distance), again implying that attendees would either be or aspire to be of the same social order, and that the lower orders would be excluded (148 advertisements 3.4%).

The relatively high prices charged for concerts can only have served to emphasise this point (Hume, 2006).

N.B. No Footmen to be let in; but there is without the Hall a Cover'd Walk, where they may wait.
(*Daily Courant* 27 February 1717)

The Chairs are desir'd to come Bow-street Way, and the Coaches to the Door in Drury-Lane.
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 11 January 1743)

Appeal to the elitism of a true love and knowledge of music was somewhat rarer:

At the Desire of several Persons of Quality and Lovers of Musick...

THese are to give Notice to all Lovers of Musick, and the Art of Singing, that Mr. *James Kremberg* is lately come out of *Italy*, and shall keep a New Consort of Musick by very great Masters, of all sorts of Instruments; with fine Singing...
(*Post Boy* 20 November 1697)

It could be said that references to named performers, composers or pieces of music provided another method of creating a feeling of belonging to a cultured elite. Only those who were educated in such things and attended concerts regularly would be able to appreciate the quality, or otherwise, of the pieces, composers or performers listed.

Concert advertisements might also attempt to indicate the types of values shared by those who purchased tickets (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Lury, 2011; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2004, pp. 63–83). Large numbers of concerts were held to benefit either the performers themselves or for various charitable purposes (1995 advertisements 45.8%); thus one could assume that those attending might share in a wish to support a particular performer, the arts in general or other charities.

For the Benefit of Mr. GUERING, Virtuoso of the Violin...
(*Daily Journal* 14 April 1730)

Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children,⁵ May 10, 1749.

GEORGE - FREDERICK HANDELL,
Esq; having generously offered his Assistance to promote this Charity, on Thursday the 25th Day of this Instant May, at Twelve o'Clock at Noon, there

will be a Grand Performance of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
M U S I C K.

Under his Direction...
(*General Advertiser* 19 May 1749)

Other Tactics

Focusing on the tactics used in advertisements by one venue, we turn to Mulberry Gardens in Clerkenwell, opened in 1742, where the proprietor, one W. Body, made no charge for admission but instead relied on the sale of refreshments to make a profit (Wroth, 1979). Acknowledged as ‘a genius for advertisement’ (Boulton, 1901), the proprietor inserted 28 advertisements for this new garden appearing in newspapers during the summers of 1742 to 1745. As a new pleasure garden, and one among many in the metropolis, perhaps Body felt that he needed all the help he could get to attract paying customers and he thus used a variety of tactics. His endorsements tended towards greater length than many others, and Body is somewhat unusual in also occasionally including spoiling tactics in his advertisements by including disparaging or critical comments about his competitors:

Mulberry Gardens, Clerkenwell.

THE Proprietor desires to return hearty Thanks to the Publick for the kind Encouragement given to his Undertaking by the great Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies last Monday Night, and begs Leave to assure them of his best Endeavours to merit their future Favours, having now made considerable Additions to his Band of Musick, Illuminations and Fireworks, which he continues to perform gratis.

Note, As this Undertaking was first calculated for the publick Good, to prevent Extravagance in Diversions, the Effects are visible.

Rockhoults has found one Day and Night Al'Fresco in the Week to be inconvenient.

Ranelagh House supported by a Giant whose Legs will scarcely support him.

Mary le Bon Gardens down on their Marrow-Bones.

New Wells at Low Water.

At Cuper's the Fire almost out.⁶

(*Daily Post* 28 July 1742)

Another concert promoter who seems to have had a good instinct for effective promotion was the Scottish countertenor, composer and lutenist John Abell. He promoted public entertainments and concerts to celebrate the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales (*Publick Occurrences Truly Stated* 26 June 1688), the Coronation of Queen

Anne (*English Post* 29 April 1702) and the first Christmas of her reign (*Daily Courant* 28 December 1702), and frequently announced that he would sing in numerous languages. Abell also invited music societies to hire him for a concert saying that he would make ‘Proposals to their satisfaction’ (*Post Man* 29 November 1701), a phrase which may indicate some form of co-creation in terms of choice of performers, programme and other arrangements (Lusch & Vargo, 2014, pp. 143–147)

Conclusion

Rust (2004) avers that it ‘is no coincidence, then, that the information revolution that has accelerated in the past 100 years has brought with it a revolutionary new capability to leverage knowledge and information into service’. Surely, however, the concept of the dominance of individual service was a given which then disappeared with the gradual growth of the mass market. The information revolution has restored the pre-industrial capability to leverage knowledge and information into service. In pre-industrial societies, where there was more likely to be a direct dialogue between producer and consumer, producers could more easily find out what their customers liked and wanted.

In late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London, musicians would have had direct interactions with at least some of their audience: many musicians lived in the same areas as their potential audience, albeit in rented rooms above shops and taverns rather than in an entire grand house; they visited their houses to give instrumental lessons, to play at private concerts or for dancing; the potential audience could often obtain tickets for benefit concerts from the places where the benefiting musician lived, or the benefiting musician would wait on them at their house with tickets if requested (Harbor, 2013, pp. 269–273, 277 –279). Modern-style consumer research was thus not necessary for musicians to frame advertisements which would be persuasive to a potential audience.

In advertisements, the frequent use of phrases such as ‘At the Desire of...’ and such like, show that there was interaction between concert promoter and at least some members of the audience in terms of what should be played; even more striking are Abel’s advertisements where he proposes working with music societies in putting on a concert. Musicians knew their audience, they had a good idea of their likes and dislikes in terms of music to be programmed, what would attract them. Nor were they inhibited by the idea of ‘genius’, which only developed during the course of the eighteenth century, into thinking that the audience just had to accept what was offered.. Prior to this technical skill, rather than vision, was considered the most important requirement for production of an artefact, which, though it might be beautiful in itself, had as its primary purpose that of being useful; the artist or musician was thought of as a craftsman who learned his craft, rather than a genius who was born (Clifford, 1988, pp. 233–234; Lowinsky, 1964; Staniszewski, 1995, pp. 111–116).

While the current ‘era of persuasion’ in advertising makes use of the amplified qualities provided by graphical and electronic forms of advertising to concentrate on non-rational and more emotional appeals to promote a product’s ‘personality’ or the lifestyle aspects related to use of a product (Beasley & Danesi, 2002, pp. 11–15), one should not ignore the persuasive aspects of earlier purely textual advertisements. Although the methods used are not as sophisticated as today’s multimedia productions, given the technological limitations of the time they were the best that were available. Samuel Johnson’s (1759b) assertion that ‘The trade of advertising is now so near to perfection, that it is not easy to propose any improvement’ is perhaps going too far (Bate et al., 1963, pp. 165–166). However, the advertising techniques used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as illustrated by this investigation into advertisements for public concerts, built up a customer value proposition which enabled the reader to evaluate available alternatives, and used a number of persuasive techniques to encourage attendance. Concerts were not the only entertainments on offer in a thriving

metropolis such as London where the business of leisure was flourishing and thus many concert promoters realised that they needed to do more than just provide information about when and where a concert was taking place. Some persuasive techniques of the period have been described for medical products which are often cited as being exceptional in their advertising practice (Burnby, 1988; Doherty, 1992), but it is interesting to find a wide range of persuasive appeals being used for an artistic product which could be considered more as a service rather than a true product.

By putting these concert advertisements into their historical perspective, we can see that, in their time, they may well have been seen as being both pervasive and persuasive. By today's standards, the pervasiveness of concert advertisements in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century might seem to be so small as to be barely measurable. However, the use concert promoters made of newspaper advertising was a new departure, an increase in pervasiveness which must have been noticed by and had an impact on a potential audience. Furthermore, an in-depth analysis of the concert advertisement texts shows them using a variety of persuasive appeals: product-oriented information arguing the quality and merits of the product; product image and symbolism promoting social motivations for consumption; personalized appeals based on endorsements of various types; lifestyle appeals showing concert attendance as a type of symbolic consumption, affirming class, status and self-identity; even spoiling tactics. Here we see seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musicians, forerunners of present-day cultural organisations, using a variety of advertising appeals to encourage attendance at their concerts. While the effect is perhaps not so emphatic as the graphical and electronic advertising formats used today, these concert advertisements show a wide variety of persuasive appeals forming part of the craft of advertising, foregrounding those found in more recent and current advertising practice.

Notes

- ¹ This first appeared as the Oxford Gazette in November 1665 and became the London Gazette in 1666 on the return of the Royal Court to London after the plague had died down.
- ² These are a subset of the references to music to be found in the computer database *The Register of Music in London Newspapers, 1660–1750* (Harbor, 1996, 2001 (publ. 2006); McGuinness, 1983, 1984–5, 1987, 1988, 1991).
- ³ The Fund for Decay'd Musicians, founded in 1738, was later to become The Royal Society of Musicians which supports professional musicians in need to the present day.
- ⁴ The Rotunda at Ranelagh Gardens was built to house entertainments and dining during bad weather. The image shows breakfast in progress: the huge central fireplace keeps the room warm, while musicians play on the stage at the left beneath the grand organ.
- ⁵ The Foundling Hospital in Coram Fields, London.
- ⁶ The final section of the advertisement refers disparagingly to a number of rival pleasure gardens: Ruckholt House and Gardens in Leyton, Essex; Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea; Marylebone Gardens in Marylebone High Street; the New Wells are probably those 'near the London Spaw' in Clerkenwell; and Cuper's Gardens in Lambeth.

Acknowledgements

Figure 1 © The British Library Board, Burney 72a

Figure 5 Public Domain, accessible at <http://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/georgian-entertainment-from-pleasure-gardens-to-blood-sports>

Figure 6 © The British Library Board, Burney Collection Newspapers

Figure 8 is reproduced from *The Gazette* (<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/data>) under the provisions of the Open Government Licence. (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/>)

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