

“by Her Royal Highness’s Command”: Endorsements in Advertisements for London Concerts, 1672-1750

Catherine Harbor, Royal Holloway, University of London, London, UK

The first advertisement for a commercial concert to appear in a London newspaper was published in December 1672. From this first advertisement onwards, a range of strategies were used to attract an audience for this novel form of entertainment. This paper investigates how eighteenth-century London concert promoters made use of endorsements in their advertisements to encourage the purchase of tickets. Of the three types of endorsement found in present-day advertisements (typical person, celebrity and expert) only the first two are to be found in the concert advertisements under consideration. The endorsements tended to be short in length, often consisting of little more than a single phrase including the endorsement in question. The typical person endorsement is by far the most common form and is used to stress the elite nature of concert attendance, thus implying that attendees will either be, or aspire to be, of the same elevated social order.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history music has played a part in public ceremonial of many kinds: in social rituals and communal celebrations, as part of church services and theatrical performances, or in association with state and municipal ceremonies. Those musicians who were paid for their services often relied on the patronage of court, church or the wealthy for their livelihood; they were in effect waged servants who composed, performed or taught at their employer’s bidding (Mackerness 1964; Woodfill 1953). It was in England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that a new means of supporting music and musicians gradually began to develop alongside the patronage system. Musicians started to arrange public concerts for which they charged admission (McVeigh; Sadie 1958-1959; Scott 1936, 1938; Tilmouth 1957-8; Weber 2004; Young 1965). Music was developing its own public who wanted to listen to it for its own sake rather than as part of some other ceremony, and who were prepared to pay to do so. These first commercial public concerts heralded the emergence of music as a business and its gradual move into the public sphere (Brewer 1995; Habermas 1992; Love 2004; Woodfill 1953).

How was this new business organised? The majority of concerts were promoted by individual musicians: they advertised their concerts in newspapers and elsewhere, engaged other professional musicians to play or sing, charged admission and hoped to make a profit. There was not a large public for commercial music concerts as this was a pastime for the elite: only the wealthy and educated were likely to have sufficient interest, time and money to consider attending. The concert promoters did not have the benefit of modern marketing theory; ideas such as the marketing mix (Booms and Bitner 1981; McCarthy 1981), constructing a customer value proposition (Anderson, Narus, and van Rossum 2006; Holbrook 1999; Zeithaml 1988), or marketing specifically aimed at cultural events (Bernstein 2007; Diggle 1994; Heaney and Heaney 2003; Hill, O’Sullivan, and O’Sullivan 2003; Kerrigan, Fraser, and Özbilgin 2004; Kolb 2005; Kotler and Scheff 1997; O’Reilly 2004) were unknown to them. Yet they used a range of marketing techniques and produced sophisticated advertising material to promote their events (Harbor 2007, 2008; McGuinness 2004, 2004) and we can trace the beginnings of a hierarchy of musical styles, performers, venues and prices in concert organisation which became more distinct as time wore on and which is still to be discerned today (Bourdieu 1984; Holbrook, Weiss, and Habich 2002; McVeigh 1993).

This paper will outline the place of music within the multifarious entertainments on offer in London during the period. It will describe how concert-giving developed as a new commercial venture in London and will then examine the beginnings of the organisation of music as a business, focussing specifically on how endorsements were used to strengthen the persuasive aspect of London concert advertisements in the 1700s. It will show that far from producing advertisements that were simply informative, London concert promoters used endorsement as one of a range of techniques to encourage purchase of tickets for their events.

ENDORSEMENTS IN ADVERTISING

Two characteristics are held to typify present-day advertising: a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption (O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy 2004), and pervasive coverage through the

use of a wide variety of media. In contrast, earlier advertising practices are seen as being simpler and more information-based, with advertisements restricting themselves to announcing the availability and utility of a product, and appearing to be much less pervasive (Leiss et al. 2005). This idea that advertising is continually honing its ability to persuade consumers to buy is not a new one, and writers on advertising history over the years have almost all compared the progress of their own time with the comparative simplicity that preceded it: As Frank Presbery wrote in 1929: 'Each generation wonders if advertising has not reached its zenith'.

Yet Mackendrick (1982) describes how George Packwood made full and varied use of the art of newspaper advertising in his attempts to sell razor strops in the mid 1790s. Liz McFall has also criticised the idea that pervasiveness and persuasion in advertising are contemporary inventions (McFall 2000, 2002, 2002, 2004, 2004). She draws attention to the wide variety of forms of advertising pervading nineteenth-century life: hand bills, posters, gas lights to illuminate shop interiors, placard bearers, advertising carried on carriages and omnibuses, trade cards, stickers, packaging, and so on. She also highlights eighteenth-century debates about the art of preparing advertising copy and the range of persuasive techniques employed, and is of the opinion that 'advertising was already well established as a persuasive commercial device by the mid eighteenth century' (McFall 2000). Church (2000) considers that advertising differs from a straightforward announcement by substituting rhetoric for simple information and he dates this development to the late seventeenth century in Britain.

O'Donohoe (1997) describes the concept of intertextuality in advertising today, showing how sophisticated consumers of advertising are able to decode the 'many past and contemporary references, quotations and influences' that are woven together to create an effective advertisement. Cook (1992) also sees contemporary advertising as a fusion of 'puns, metaphors, symbolism and endorsements' which aims to imbue a product with desirable qualities. However, this complex web of techniques and meanings is not restricted to the multimedia products of contemporary advertising. In their attempt to attract an audience, eighteenth-century concert promoters used a rhetoric of persuasion in their newspaper advertisements, where concepts such as novelty, value, convenience and comfort, prestige and status, and extra attractions in addition to the concert itself are emphasized (McGuinness 2004, 2004; Harbor 2007).

The United States Federal Trade Commission (1980) defines an endorsement as:

...any advertising message (including verbal statements, demonstrations, or depictions of the name, signature, likeness or other identifying personal characteristics of an individual or the name or seal of an organization) which message

consumers are likely to believe reflects the opinions, beliefs, findings, or experience of a party other than the sponsoring advertiser.

Endorsements in present-day advertising are generally carried out in one of three formats: typical consumer, celebrity or expert (Martin, Wentzel, and 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. The use of the names of well-known public figures in marketing communications is not a recent phenomenon, having been traced back at least as far as the late nineteenth century (Erdogan 1999; Kaikati 1987; Nevett 1982; Packard 1957). In England the freedom of advertisers to use famous names in their advertisements was not restricted by any necessity to seek permission until the late 1920s, although some disgruntled names did resort to litigation.¹

METHODOLOGICAL OUTLINE

In building up a picture of the music business in London in the period 1660 to 1750, historians can draw on evidence to be found in contemporary documents of many different types: diaries, plays, novels, poems, playbills, letters, chancery documents, periodicals and newspapers. Each individual source may supply only one or two facts, but gradually a fuller picture can be established, so that trends and patterns can be identified. Among the printed sources it is newspapers, and more particularly advertisements in newspapers, that hold pride of place for number that survive and the wealth of detail they cumulatively provide on musical performances and the music business (Harbor 2005).

This study takes as its basis more than 6000 advertisements for concerts which appeared in newspapers published in London between 1672 (the date of the first concert advertisement) and 1750.² As one might expect, these advertisements are not explicitly structured (Hartland and Harvey 1989). At a minimum they usually include the name of the venue and the date and time at which the concert will take place; many include much more detail about performers and the pieces to be performed. Two examples will illustrate the problem:

These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banisters House, now called the Musick-School over against the George Tavern in White Fryers, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters, beginning at 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

For the Benefit of Mr. William Douglas, commonly call'd the Black Prince. AT Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-Street, near the Hay-Market, on Tuesday next, being the 23d of February, will be perform'd, A Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. With Singing by Mrs. Fletcher. And a Concerto and Solo by Mr. Matthew Dubourg. A Solo and Concerto by Mr. Kytch, on the German-Flute and Hautboy: With several other Pieces of Musick by the best Hands. NB. Tickets may be had at the Door, and no where else. To begin at Seven a-Clock.

Daily Courant 20 February 1720

While preserving the advertisement texts in their entirety is essential, extra value is added to them by eliciting the structure of the texts and creating database tables to store the structured elements. In the process, use can be made of various coding systems to facilitate analysis (Schürer 1990, 1987; Harvey and Press 1996, 224–5). When dealing with implicitly structured data such as these, a gradual decomposition of their content into progressively more detailed levels of information is necessary before their structure can be revealed (Dunk and Rahtz 1989; Harvey and Press 1996, 81–2). This eventually results in a series of data items that recur frequently, such as name of venue, location of venue, names of performers, names of pieces being performed, and so on. The decomposition process was thus instituted for texts in the *Register of Music* that referred to concerts and resulted in a list of potential data items. Relational data analysis and entity relationship modelling was then carried out to produce a series of database tables in which to record information culled from the concert advertisements (Harbor 2008). Decomposing the texts and storing the structured data in the ways described above yielded a very rich data source describing concerts in London over a long time period during which concert-giving was gradually establishing itself as a commercial activity.

ENTERTAINMENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a large and powerful city; the home of both the nation's parliament and its sovereign, it was also an important centre for finance, trade and manufacturing (Corfield 1982). Already the largest city in Europe by 1700, London continued to grow throughout the eighteenth century and by 1800 was the third largest city in the world, being exceeded in population size only by Edo (Tokyo) and Peking (Beijing) (Harding 1990; Lawless and Brown 1986; Rozman 1976; Finlay and Shearer 1986). This large and growing population provided a ready consumer market for the multifarious industries to be found within its environs.

Not least among these was the rapidly increasing commercial entertainment industry, providing amusement both for the locally-resident middle classes and for the members of polite society who flocked to the social centre that was London during the 'season'.

The cultural focus on the itinerant royal Court which had been dominant in pre-Commonwealth England was now starting to shift, and post-Restoration London was gradually developing as the centre of England's culture, fine arts, intellectual pursuits and fashion. A myriad of different entertainments were on offer on a commercial basis to those who could afford to pay. The theatre was always popular with the fashionable classes, and increasingly with the growing middle class. Both plays and opera were offered on a daily basis during the season, which ran from September to May. Parks, pleasure gardens and wells were fashionable venues for both daytime and evening visits. For men, drinking and gambling were popular pastimes, as were all types of sporting activities. This was also the period of a great expansion of all types of clubs and societies, both for purposes of sociable interaction and for intellectual and artistic pursuits (Borsay 2006; Clark 2000; Rudé 2003).

London's Musical Life

So far as music in London is concerned, the picture that emerges from the newspapers is one of a thriving musical life of immense variety. Music permeated society at all levels and seems to have been an integral part of daily life in the capital. It is likely that music of some kind formed part of the domestic environment for all strata of society, but it is only for the middle and upper echelons that the newspapers provide much evidence. References to servants with musical abilities, often to those who are for hire or those who have absconded, may imply that servants provided musical entertainment for the household. That music of all kinds was played at home is evidenced both by the type and quantity of music that was published: numerous instruction books both for music generally and for various instruments; arrangements of songs from opera or theatre for the use of amateurs; collections of dances from court and theatre for use at home. The number of advertisements for the sale of instruments, and the lists of instruments appearing in auctions of household effects, is similarly illustrative.

The dominance of Court, church and theatre as sources of patronage for music and musicians, which had gradually arisen during the centuries before the Commonwealth period, was either continued or revived to some extent at the Restoration. On his return to London in May 1660 Charles II was escorted to his Palace of Whitehall by a lavish procession that included playing by the musicians of the City Waits. The events of the Civil War had disrupted the well-entrenched elite court musicians, and obliged the Crown to start anew when it reconstituted the Chapel Royal

and King's Musick after the Restoration (Philips 1977). Charles II lost no time in reassembling the royal household, with the swearing-in of musicians for royal service beginning on Saturday 16 June 1660, but the opportunity to reorganise the royal music offered by the disruptions of the Commonwealth period was not taken, indeed some of the musicians appointed had served Charles' father (Ashbee 1986–91; Holman 1993). From Charles I's accession onwards music accompanied royalty wherever they went, both at formal and informal occasions: a trip on the river; the singing of an ode to celebrate the sovereign's birthday, New Year's Day, or safe return from a journey; a ball to celebrate a special occasion; or a royal funeral. It was not until the reign of William and Mary that the situation started to change, for on 2 May 1690 William III ordered a retrenchment in the royal household that had the effect of removing the court from the centre of English musical life. After that the royal band became a part-time institution whose members spent most of their time working in London's commercial theatres and concert halls (Holman 1993).

During the Commonwealth period, the Presbyterian form of church worship had brought a halt to all but the plainest unaccompanied singing of metrical psalms in churches and cathedrals alike (Spink 1992). With the restoration of the monarchy, music was also soon restored to church services; Pepys mentions hearing organs and 'singing-men in Surplices' for the first time in his life at the Chapel Royal in Whitehall on 8 July 1660 (Latham and Matthews 1995 Vol. I). Singing-men and boy choristers were re-employed to sing in church, new organs were built, and guides for the correct singing of psalms in church services were published.³ Bell-ringing was also a popular pastime, with societies of bell-ringers taking great pride in ringing lengthy peals.

The theatre was another setting in which music was heard in great quantity. Music and dancing were woven into plays to increase the spectacle, and between the acts instrumental music or dancing became all the rage. Opera also became increasingly popular as the period progressed (Fiske 1986; Platt 1990). With the establishment in 1695 of newspapers that were published three times per week, and even more so with the arrival of the first daily paper, *The Daily Courant* in 1702, theatre advertisements regularly detail the musical attractions to be added to their theatrical offerings. This was quite apart from the purely musical operas which became increasingly popular.

Taverns were the venue for a varied diet of musical fare. Quite apart from the drunken singing one might expect in such places, musical performances of varying kinds were held to attract custom. Some taverns had private rooms that provided a setting for groups of men to meet for an evening of drinking, smoking and singing. The publisher Henry Playford aimed to promote such clubs or societies by introducing music masters into several taverns and thereby providing a ready market for his publications.

Taverns with larger private rooms, some specially constructed, might provide a venue for meetings of music clubs where instrumental music would be played, either by groups of amateurs, or with the participation of professional musicians.⁴

However, by about 1700 music in England was starting to move away from being an essentially participatory activity towards something like the modern system of concerts and other forms of performance before an audience of cultural consumers (Sharpe 1987).

London Concerts

Among the various elements that made up the entertainment industry, music was for the first time becoming a commercial venture, moving away from its earlier dependence on church, court and home. Concert-like events had been in existence for some little time — as part of the entertainment provided at a theatre, an open-air performance by the town waits (musicians), or a private concert at court or in the house of a nobleman (Woodfill 1953). The novel feature of public concerts as they developed in London in the late seventeenth century was that they were commercial enterprises: musicians advertised their concerts in newspapers and elsewhere, engaged other professional musicians to play or sing, charged admission and hoped to make a profit.

By the end of the period under discussion, various types of concert were well established on the London musical scene. During the winter season a series of twelve or twenty weekly subscription concerts might be offered at Hickford's Room in Brewer Street (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 8 March 1739). On Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent the theatres were not allowed to present operas or plays and thus oratorio concerts were performed instead. Handel promoted an oratorio season regularly from 1733 onwards, at which he played an organ concerto each night (*General Advertiser* 23 April 1745). In addition to the concert series, a large number of individual concerts also took place, many of them being advertised as for the benefit of an individual performer or for a charity. A musician organising a concert for his or her own benefit might engage an ensemble of musicians and would enlist the support of friends as soloists. His or her solo performance might feature to a greater extent than other soloists, but this was not always the case.

During the summer, concerts formed part of the entertainment on offer at the various wells, spas and pleasure gardens. Concert music was also much in vogue in the theatres, often forming part of the entertainment between the acts of a play or opera. At some theatres the play was advertised as taking place between the acts of a concert — often as a means of getting around the theatre licensing laws (Scouten 1968). Besides the fully public concerts that anybody might attend by purchasing a ticket, series of concerts were given for the members of three well-

established musical societies meeting at taverns in the City.⁵ In these, amateur performers took a more prominent part in the proceedings, deciding on the repertoire and also playing, though with some participation by professional performers. These concerts were not so widely advertised as the concert series promoted by professional musicians, but some indication of their existence does appear in the newspapers

ENDORSEMENTS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CONCERT ADVERTISEMENTS

One of the advertising techniques of which eighteenth-century London concert promoters took advantage in an attempt to attract an audience was the endorsement. Present-day endorsements require the permission of, and often payment to, the endorser, but at this period this was not a legal necessity (Nevett 1982). As will be seen, on the whole these endorsements were 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 length of the advertisements as a whole, which in many cases was not great. We have no evidence to show whether these endorsements were included with or without the permission of the endorsers, but it seems likely that they were never even consulted.

The first endorsement to appear within an advertisement for a London concert was published in the *London Gazette* of 9 April 1691. The text was as follows:

The Consort 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 Highness the Princess of Denmark.

Here a celebrity endorsement is being used to encourage attendance by providing a number of quality and lifestyle clues. 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.

Endorsements of one type or another are to be found in a significant minority of concert advertisements in the period under study. Of the 6,237 advertisements for concerts of any type to take place in London between 1672 and 1750, some 892 contain various types of endorsement, a rate of 14.3% (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
ENDORSEMENTS IN CONCERT ADVERTISEMENTS

Type of Concert	All Adverts	Adverts with Endorsement	%
Benefit	2098	432	21%
Club	56		0%
Single concert	825	203	25%
Oratorio	14	1	7%
Oratorio subscription	253		0%
Concert series	386	36	9%
Subscription series	195	18	9%
Wells and Gardens	1961	188	10%
Other	449	14	3%
TOTAL	6237	892	14%

A single concert could be promoted by inserting a series of advertisements in a single newspaper, or by means of a single advertisement in one or several newspapers. Considering the use of endorsements for individual concerts, however, the rate of utilization of endorsements remains very similar, with 2,772 concerts being advertised, of which 409 (14.75%) utilized endorsement (see Table 2). The use made of endorsements differs according to the type of concert being advertised. It is highest for single and benefit concerts, lower for concert and oratorio series, wells and gardens. Whilst advertisements for club concerts and oratorio subscriptions do not contain any endorsements at all (see Tables 1 and 2).

TABLE 2
ENDORSEMENTS FOR INDIVIDUAL CONCERTS

Type of Concert	All Concerts	Concerts with Endorsement	%
Benefit	881	189	21%
Club	36		0%
Single concert	364	91	25%
Oratorio	9	1	11%
Oratorio subscription	66		0%
Concert series	230	23	10%
Subscription series	107	11	10%
Wells and Gardens	931	84	9%
Other	148	10	7%
TOTAL	2772	409	15%

It is perhaps not surprising to find endorsements in advertisements for single concerts or those advertised as being for the benefit of an individual performer or composer. First appearing in advertisements for the 1697/98 season, benefit concerts may have been modelled on actors' benefits in the theatre, or may have provided the model for the latter (Hume 1984; Troubridge 1967).⁶ A musician organising a concert for his or her own benefit would enlist the support of friends as soloists. The

benefiting musician would call on the support of his friends and acquaintance among the concert-going public in an endeavour to sell tickets, and endorsements would here serve as an encouragement to like-minded people to attend. For subscription series endorsements may not have been seen as so necessary because there were other inducements to attend, such as a reduction in price for subscribers over those who bought tickets for individual concerts (Harbor 2008). Likewise advertisements for concerts held at the wells or pleasure gardens often concentrated more on the other attractions offered by the leisure resort in question (Addison 1951; Hembry 1990; Wroth 1979).

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 common short phrases making up these types of endorsements are as follows:

“At the desire of several Ladies of Quality...”
 “As desired by several Persons of Distinction...”
 “At the Desire of several Gentlemen and Ladies...”
 “At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality and Distinction...”
 “At the Request of several of the Nobility and Gentry...”
 “For the Entertainment of several Foreign Ministers...”

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. Lengthier encomiums are occasionally to be found in texts which seem more like ‘puffs’ than straightforward advertisements. 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 Pantons-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. 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 Highness, Prince Eugene of Savoy, at Stationer's Hall, his Highness having promised his Presence there...”
 “For the Entertainment of his Excellency Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas, Ambassador from the Emperor of Fez...”
 “For the Entertainment of His Excellency the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador extraordinary from France...”

As with typical person endorsements, there are a few longer celebrity endorsements:

London, January 6. This day about Noon was perform'd Cavendish Weedon of Lincolns Inn Esq; his Entertainment of Divine Musick at Stationer's Hall. Where the Marquis of Normanby, the Earl of Nottingham with several of the Nobility, as likewise of the Dignified Clergy, and a great many other Gentlemen and Ladies of all Qualities, were pleas'd to be present. The whole Performance was carried on with all the good Order, Decency, and Solemnity as cou'd be desired, and concluded to the entire Satisfaction of all the Company, the Oration, Poem, and Musick being all extremely liked. I hear Mr. Weedon's second Performance will be on this day Fortnight, viz. the 20th of this Instant January; and that the same will be wholly upon the Praise of God, and his Attributes.
Post Boy 8 January 1702

A type of endorsement that is particular to concert advertisements is a variation on the celebrity theme. 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. The idea of a classical repertoire was something that did not start to evolve until somewhat later in the eighteenth century (Weber 1992). Again, royalty and the aristocracy figure strongly in this type of endorsement, as well as references to Court ceremonies:

“...the Entertainment of Musick which was

performed before Her Majesty upon Her Birth Day..."

"...and play'd by him and Mr. Paisible often before her Majesty, and at the Theatre."

"... the Musick composed by Mr. Handel for Their Majesties Coronation..."

"...Esther an Oratorio: or, Sacred Drama. As it was compos'd originally for the most noble James Duke of Chandos, by George Frederick Handel."

"...particularly a Song Sung by him before Her Majesty, in Congratulation of Her Majesty's Happy Accession to the Crown."

"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."

...will be Perform'd, The late Mr. Henry Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate, with Voices and Instruments (perform'd upon several publick Occasions at St. Paul's Cathedral): Signior Bononcini's Anthem with Voices and Instruments (perform'd in Westminster-Abbey, at the Duke of Marlborough's Funeral): An Anthem in Latin by Colonna: The 110th Psalm. and on Tuesday the 17th of April will be Perform'd, A Te Deum: An Anthem on his Mjesty's Return from Hanover (both perform'd at St. James's)...

Daily Journal 23 March 1732

Expert endorsements 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. The United States Federal Trade Commission (1980) defines an expert as

...an individual, group or institution possessing, as a result of experience, study or training, knowledge of a particular subject, which knowledge is superior to that generally acquired by ordinary individuals.

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 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.

Focusing on the use of endorsements by one venue, we turn to Mulberry Gardens in Clerkenwell, which was opened in 1742. 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 eleven advertisements for this new garden appearing in newspapers during the summers of 1742 and 1743, and of these, six contained some use of endorsement. 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. His endorsements tended towards greater length than many of those to be found for single and benefit concerts, but he was unable to include any named celebrities. Body is somewhat unusual in also occasionally including spoiling tactics in his advertisements by criticising the competition. The second advertisement shows this technique, though in a milder form than some of his other announcements.

Mulberry Gardens, Clerkenwell. The Proprietor desires to return hearty Thanks to the Publick for the kind Encouragement given to his Undertaking by the great Apperance of Gentlemen and Ladies last Monday Night, and begs Leave to assure them of his best Endeavours to merit their future Favours...

Daily Post 28 July 1742

Mulberry-Gardens, Clerkenwell, Sept. 2, 1742. The Performance of Musick and Fireworks at this Place having been so much approv'd of, the Proprietor thinks the Emulation and weak Imitation of this his original Undertaking in the Neighbourhood necessarily calls upon him to let the Nobility and Gentry (who have and continue to honour him with their Company) know, that his Entertainments, both of Musick and Fireworks, will be continued, with Additions, as long as the Weather permits...

Daily Post 2 September 1742

Were concert promoters unique in their use of endorsement in newspaper advertisements of the time? It would appear not, since Joseph Addison, writing in *The Tatler* for 14 September 1710, seems to be referring to the use of endorsement:

But 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.

While time and space do not permit of a prolonged discussion of the matter, it is worth noting that advertisements for publications of music on occasion make use of what one might term an expert endorsement by referring to the person and place where the piece of music had been performed. Advertisements for theatrical

performances occasionally make use of the "By desire/command... formula which is found much more frequently in concert notices.

In a slightly more distant area of commerce, that of quack medicine, advertisements for the famous anodyne necklace, whilst being some of the earliest uses of the trade-mark in publication, are also examples of the use of endorsement. An advertisement published in the Daily Advertiser of 22 July 1731, for instance, purports to be a letter from a "Gentleman at Paris" writing to a friend in London "about the King of France's Children wearing Dr. Chamberlen's famous Anoydne Necklace" (Cody 1999; Doherty 1992; Presbery 1929).

CONCLUSION

Whereas it has been widely held that persuasive advertising is an invention of the past century, indeed of the latter half of the past century, this is to ignore the persuasive aspects of earlier advertisements. A wide range of persuasive techniques is to be found in advertisements for London concerts in the eighteenth century, of which various types of endorsement form a small but significant part. While the use of endorsement does not seem to be unique to London concert advertisements, this case study has allowed some interesting conclusions to be drawn. This type of in-depth analysis of advertising texts shows that appeals to class, status and self-identity in advertisements did not begin with lifestyle advertisements in the 1940s but in fact were present even in classified advertisements of the 1700s. This is an interesting conclusion, not least because so many cultural critiques of advertising assume that there was once a golden age when advertising was simply factual and informative rather than persuasive.

NOTES

¹ It was not until 1928 that legal action by the amateur golfer Cyril Tolley against Fry's the chocolate manufacturer brought a halt to the practice of using names in advertising without their permission having been sought (Nevett 1982).

² These are a subset of the references to music to be found in the computer database known as the *Register of Music in London Newspapers, 1660–1750*. Descriptions of the project which lead to the setting up of the *Register of Music in London Newspapers* can be found in a series of publications by McGuinness (1983, 1984–5, 1987, 1988, 1991). Harbor (1996, 2006, 2008) describes the *Register of Music* database and subsequent developments in its design.

³ As an example, see an advertisement for John Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms, commonly Sung in Parish Churches, with the proper Tunes set to every Psalm* which appeared in *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* 22 November 1681.

⁴ Henry Playford advertised *The Second Part of the Musical Companion* as being 'for the Encouragement of the Musical Societies, which will speedily be set up in most part of the Three Kingdoms'; see *Post Boy* 21 September 1700. Abel also offered his 'Consort of Musick' to 'any Society of Gentlemen in City, or Country'; see *Post Boy* 29 November 1701.

⁵ The Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand (The Academy of Vocal Musick, later the Academy of Ancient Music), the Swan Tavern in Cornhill, and the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row (Hawkins 1875).

⁶ Benefit concerts were advertised regularly throughout May, June and July 1697 at Lambeth Wells, six being 'for the benefit of the Composer', while 'the performers' received only two. Further benefits were advertised for the 1697/98 winter season at York Buildings and Hickford's Great Room in Panton Street and thereafter benefit concerts were advertised with some regularity.

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