

**THE BIRTH OF THE MUSIC BUSINESS:
PUBLIC COMMERCIAL CONCERTS
IN LONDON 1660–1750**

Catherine Harbor

Thesis submitted to the University of London
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Royal Holloway University of London

September 2012

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or award in any other university or educational institution.

Catherine Harbor

September 2012

Acknowledgements

Working on this research project while having a very full-time job has made it seem like a long and sometimes rocky road. I wish to gratefully acknowledge the help and support of the following who have helped me along the way: my supervisors Professor Christopher Napier and Dr Catherine Liston-Hayes from the School of Management, and Professor Penelope Corfield from the History Department; Professor Charles Harvey; Dr Edmund Green; and especially the late Professor Rosamond ‘Corky’ McGuinness, whose friendship and enquiring mind were a joy which will never be forgotten.

My family have, of course, been a help and consolation when things got tough, and probably had to put up with a certain amount of neglect on occasions: so many thanks and apologies to Adrian, Caroline and Daniel. Thanks also to my closest sibling in age, Professor Jon Harbor of Purdue University, who went through it all himself but rather earlier in life than I.

Abstract

As a case study in cultural production and consumption and of the commodification of culture in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, this study examines how musicians in London began to emerge from their dependence on the patronage of court, aristocracy and church into a more public sphere, moving from positions as salaried employees to a more freelance existence where they contributed to their income by putting on public commercial concerts. Taking as its starting point the almost 50,000 references to music recorded in the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750*, a database has been built to record detailed information extracted from over 12,000 advertisements, puffs and news items related to commercial concert giving in London between 1660 and 1750. Concert advertisements and other material may thus be studied longitudinally in relation to each other, providing a valuable source of data for the growth of concert giving in London over a long and important period of its development.

Public commercial concerts emerged in London in the period following the restoration of Charles II in 1660, developing from private music meetings dominated by amateur performers and informal public performances by professionals in taverns via John Banister's first advertised concerts in 1672. By 1750, public commercial concerts in London may not have achieved their final form or the heights of popularity that accompanied the 'rage for music' of the 1790s, but they were promoted regularly and with a clear sense of programme planning, laying the foundations for later expansion. The possibility for musicians to make a living as freelance professionals without having to rely solely on patronage, their development of commercial skills, their emerging links with music publishers, all this is witness to the birth of music as a business in London in the period between 1660 and 1750.

**THE BIRTH OF THE MUSIC BUSINESS:
PUBLIC COMMERCIAL CONCERTS
IN LONDON 1660–1750**

Catherine Harbor

Volume 1

Table of Contents

Volume 1

Declaration of Authorship	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	4
Table of Contents	6
List of Figures	11
List of Tables	13
Chapter 1. Introduction: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750	15
1.1. London: Supply and Demand for Music after the Restoration	15
1.2. Scope and Structure of the Study	18
1.2.1. Approach.....	18
1.2.2. Research aims	20
1.2.3. Structure.....	21
Chapter 2. Marketing the Arts	24
2.1. Music as a Business	24
2.2. ‘Marketing Activity’ versus ‘Marketing Thought’	28
2.3. Marketing Thought.....	29
2.4. Marketing and the Arts.....	31
2.4.1. The Art versus Commerce Debate.....	32
2.4.1.1. Managerial Orientation: Product Focus.....	33
2.4.1.2. Consumption Orientation: Consumer Focus	39
2.4.2. The Marketing Mix for the Arts	46
2.4.2.1. Product	49
2.4.2.2. Place/Performance	51
2.4.2.3. Price	51
2.4.2.4. Promotion	53
2.4.2.5. People	59
2.5. Conclusion.....	61
Chapter 3. Sources and Methods	62
3.1. Introduction	62
3.2. Sources for the History of the Music Business 1660–1750	62
3.3. Newspapers as a Source for Historical Research	64
3.3.1. Content of the Newspapers	66
3.3.2. Some Potential Problems with the Sources	68
3.3.3. The Advertisements as a Research Resource	70
3.4. <i>The Register of Music in London Newspapers</i>	72
3.5. Analysis of Concert Material in the <i>Register of Music</i>	73
3.5.1. Textual Decomposition and Relational Data Analysis	74
3.5.2. Content Analysis.....	79

3.6.	Conclusion.....	82
Chapter 4.	The Musical Background	84
4.1.	Introduction	84
4.2.	Music in England before the Civil War	85
4.3.	Music in England during the Civil War and Commonwealth 1642–1660.....	88
4.3.1.	Music at Court, in Church, Theatres and by Municipal Employees...	88
4.3.2.	Music in House and Tavern.....	90
4.4.	Music in London 1660–1750	94
4.4.1.	Music at Court, in Church and Theatres	94
4.4.2.	Public and Domestic Music	96
4.5.	The Development of Public Commercial Concerts in London.....	98
Chapter 5.	The Musical Product I: Types of Concert.....	104
5.1.	Introduction	104
5.2.	Concert Series	106
5.2.1.	Banister’s and Other Early Concert Series	106
5.2.2.	Weekly Concert Series	110
5.2.3.	Ode, Oratorio, Serenata and Sacred Music Series.....	112
5.2.4.	Musical Society Series.....	114
5.3.	Benefit Concerts.....	117
5.4.	Concerts at Wells, Spa Resorts and Gardens	122
5.5.	Single Concerts	126
5.6.	Concerts Linked to Publications	127
5.7.	Concerts at Theatres: the so-called ‘concert’ formula	128
5.8.	Annual Feasts	128
5.9.	Exhibition Concerts.....	129
5.10.	Others	130
5.11.	When Were Concerts Held?.....	131
5.12.	Extra Features of Concerts	136
5.13.	Conclusion.....	138
Chapter 6.	The Musical Product II: Concert Programming and Design	140
6.1.	Introduction	140
6.2.	The Importance of Information about Repertoire	143
6.3.	Development of Concert Structure.....	149
6.4.	Modifications to Concert Design	154
6.5.	Repertoire Selection	157
6.5.1.	‘Vocal and Instrumental Musick’	157
6.5.2.	The Rise of the Virtuoso Style.....	159
6.5.3.	National Trends	161
6.5.4.	Novelty and ‘Ancient’ Music	163
6.5.5.	Thematic Programming	166
6.6.	Violin Repertoire in London Concerts.....	167
6.7.	Conclusion.....	171

Chapter 7.	Place/Performance: Concert Venues.....	173
7.1.	Introduction	173
7.2.	Types of Venue	175
7.2.1.	Concert Rooms	175
7.2.2.	Theatres.....	177
7.2.3.	Wells, Spas and Pleasure Gardens.....	180
7.2.4.	Taverns	185
7.2.5.	Livery Company Halls.....	187
7.2.6.	Other Venues	187
7.2.6.1.	Churches	187
7.2.6.2.	Dancing Schools	188
7.2.6.3.	Schools and Music Schools	188
7.2.6.4.	Private Houses	189
7.3.	Location.....	190
7.4.	Transport	195
7.5.	Size and Layout.....	196
7.6.	Facilities	201
7.6.1.	Decoration.....	201
7.6.2.	Comfort.....	202
7.7.	Ticket-Selling Outlets	203
7.7.1.	Types of Ticket-Selling Outlets.....	205
7.7.2.	Location of Ticket-Selling Outlets	207
7.8.	Conclusion.....	219
Chapter 8.	Price and Promotion	221
8.1.	Introduction	221
8.2.	Price.....	221
8.3.	Promotion.....	227
8.3.1.	Increasing Pervasiveness	227
8.3.2.	Attracting Attention	232
8.3.3.	Persuasion in Concert Advertisements	238
8.3.3.1.	Features of the Concert	239
8.3.3.2.	Benefits Provided by Attendance	243
8.3.3.3.	Values Associated with Attendance	247
8.3.3.4.	Endorsements.....	251
8.4.	Conclusion.....	258
Chapter 9.	London Concerts and the Professional Musician.....	260
9.1.	Introduction	260
9.2.	The Amateur/Professional Divide.....	263
9.2.1.	Performances outside London	263
9.2.2.	Europe: Court and Amateur Dominance	265
9.3.	Social and Financial Status of Musicians.....	267
9.3.1.	Musicians' Places of Residence in London	269
9.3.2.	Financial Status of Musicians	273

9.4.	The Importance of Information about Performers	283
9.4.1.	Concert Promoters	286
9.5.	Provenance of London Musicians: the case of Violin Soloists.....	288
9.5.1.	Violinists in England before the Restoration.....	289
9.5.2.	Violinists in London after the Restoration.....	290
9.6.	Performers and Venues	294
9.7.	Conclusion.....	302
Chapter 10.	Conclusions	304
10.1.	Introduction	304
10.2.	Motivation: commercial or musical?	304
10.3.	Product: Types of Concert	305
10.4.	Product: Concert Programming and Repertoire.....	307
10.5.	Place/Performance: Concert Venues and Ticket Selling Locations.....	309
10.6.	Pricing Strategies	312
10.7.	Promotion: Pervasiveness and Persuasion	313
10.8.	People: Musicians as Professionals.....	318
10.9.	London's Concert Life and the Birth of the Music Business.....	320
Bibliography	323

Volume 2

Appendix A.	<i>The Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750 Database</i>	370
A.1	Database Design and Construction	370
A.2	Updating Search and Retrieval Systems	375
A.3	Limitations of the Full-text <i>Register of Music</i>	379
Appendix B.	Structure of the Concerts Database	381
Appendix C.	Calendar of Weekly Concert Series	390
Appendix D.	Calendar of Oratorio, Serenata and Sacred Music Series	398
Appendix E.	Concerts at Lambeth Wells 1697	402
Appendix F.	Calendar of Benefit Concerts.....	403
Appendix G.	Calendar of Concerts at Wells, Spas and Gardens.....	471
Appendix H.	Pieces for Violin Not Performed by their Composer	515
Appendix I.	Calendar of Performances by Solo Violinists	520
Appendix J.	Less Frequently Used Concert Venues.....	598
J.1	Theatres	598
J.2	Wells, Spas and Pleasure Gardens.....	598
J.3	Taverns	599
J.4	Dancing Schools	599
J.5	Musician's Residences	600

Appendix K.	John Rocque's 1746 Map of London, Westminster and Southwark	601
Appendix L.	Concert Venues and Ticket-Selling Outlets.....	603
Appendix M.	Ticket-Selling Outlets and the Venues They Served (with Dates of	
	Concerts).....	629
Appendix N.	Ticket-Selling Outlets Appearing in Advertisements for 10 or	
	More Concerts.....	715
Appendix O.	Prices for Benefit Concerts — Various Venues and Performers,	
	1740–50	717
Appendix P.	Musician's Places of Residence in London	722
Appendix Q.	Short Biographies of Solo Violinists	730
	Q.1 Foreign Violinists in London after the Restoration.....	730
	Q.2 British Violinists in London after the Restoration	735

List of Figures

Volume 1

Figure 2-1: Modern Musical Networks.....	26
Figure 2-2: Creativity according to audience and objective	35
Figure 2-3: Marketing and cultural enterprises.....	36
Figure 2-4: Product-oriented classification of artistic products.....	37
Figure 2-5: Needs satisfied through arts consumption.....	45
Figure 2-6: Consumer Response Hierarchy Models	57
Figure 3-1: Concerts Data Entry Screen	77
Figure 3-2: Concerts Entity-Relationship Diagram	78
Figure 4-1: John Banister's First Concert Advertisement	100
Figure 5-1: Benefit Concerts per Month	121
Figure 5-2: Benefit Concerts Per Year.....	122
Figure 5-3: Concert Months 1672–1750 by Concert Type	132
Figure 5-4: Concert Days 1672–1750 by Concert Type	133
Figure 5-5: Average Start Time by Concert Type and Decade.....	135
Figure 5-6: Most Common Start Time by Concert Type and Decade	136
Figure 6-1: Average Number of Pieces/Performers Listed per Advertisement, by Decade	144
Figure 6-2: Advertisements with Any Details about Performer, Piece or Composer... 145	145
Figure 6-3: Advertisements with Details about Composer(s)/Piece(s).....	146
Figure 6-4: Advertisements with Information about Piece(s) or Composer(s).....	147
Figure 6-5: Handel Oratorio Advertisements, by Decade.....	149
Figure 6-6: Pieces Performed by Violin Soloists.....	168
Figure 7-1: Main London Concert Venues 1672–1750 (by Type)	193
Figure 7-2: Main London Concert Venues 1672–1750 (by Decade).....	194
Figure 7-3: Advertisements Containing Details of Ticket Selling Outlets	204
Figure 7-4: Average Ticket Selling Locations Per Advertisement, by Decade	204
Figure 7-5: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Hickfords, Panton Street/James Street, 1700s to 1738.....	209
Figure 7-6: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Hickford's, Brewers Street, 1738 to 1750.....	210
Figure 7-7: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Stationers' Hall, 1690s to 1740s.....	212
Figure 7-8: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Vauxhall Spring Gardens, Marylebone Gardens and Sadler's Wells	213
Figure 7-9: Concert Venues for which White's Chocolate House Sold Tickets	215
Figure 7-10: Ticket-Selling Outlets for William Corbett's Benefit Concerts	216
Figure 7-11: Ticket-Selling Outlets for Abraham Brown's Benefit Concerts.....	218
Figure 8-1: Prices of Benefit Concerts at Hickford's, 1713–50	223
Figure 8-2: Newspaper Titles Containing Concert Advertisements, by Decade	230
Figure 8-3: Newspaper Titles Containing Concert Advertisements — Length of Use	231
Figure 8-4: Advertisements per Concert, by Decade	232
Figure 8-5: Indented Asterisks	234
Figure 8-6: Daggers (Obelisks) and Asterisk with Larger Font for First Line	234
Figure 8-7: Pointing Hand with Larger Font for First Line	234

Figure 8-8: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym	235
Figure 8-9: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym	236
Figure 8-10: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym	237
Figure 8-11: Display in Concert Advertising.....	237
Figure 8-12: Concert Advertisement Listing Pieces and Performers.....	243
Figure 8-13: First Concert Advertisement Containing an Endorsement.....	251
Figure 9-1: Musician's Recorded Residences in London by Decade.....	271
Figure 9-2: Musician's Residences by Decade.....	271
Figure 9-3: Advertisements with Any Information about Performer(s) by Concert Type	284
Figure 9-4: Advertisements with Information about Performer(s) by Concert Type ...	285
Figure 9-5: Advertisements with Information about Performer(s), by Decade	286
Figure 9-6: Solo Violinists by Nationality	294
Figure 9-7: Concerts Containing Solo Violinists by Nationality of Violinist.....	294
Figure 9-8: Solo Violinists at Venues 1695–1705	296
Figure 9-9: Solo Violinists at Venues 1745–1750	300
Figure 9-10: All Performers at Venues 1749	301

Volume 2

Figure A-1: <i>Register of Music</i> Entity-Relationship Diagram Version 1	373
Figure A-2: <i>Register of Music</i> Data Entry Screen Version 1	373
Figure A-3: <i>Register of Music</i> Entity-Relationship Diagram Version 2.....	378
Figure A-4: <i>Register of Music</i> Data Entry Screen Version 2.....	378
Figure K-1: John Rocque's 1746 Map of London, Westminster and Southwark showing Map References.....	602

Reproductions of original newspapers are included by kind permission of the British Library, London and Her Majesty's Stationery Office (*The London Gazette*).

Maps are based on John Rocque's 1746 Map of London, Westminster and Southwark, reproduced by kind permission of MOTCO Enterprises Limited, Guildford.

List of Tables

Volume 1

Table 2-1: Typology of Consumer Value	42
Table 2-2: The Marketing Mix.....	47
Table 2-3: Shields against Persuasive Overtures	58
Table 3-1: Example Categories for Content Analysis.....	81
Table 5-1: Banister's and other Concert Series from the 1670s and 1680s.....	109
Table 5-2: Concert Times 1672–1750 by Concert Type.....	134
Table 5-3: Average Start Time by Concert Type and Decade	135
Table 5-4: Most Common Start Time by Concert Type and Decade	136
Table 6-1: Advertisements for Oratorios	148
Table 6-2: Composers of Whole Consorts	151
Table 7-1: Concert Rooms as Concert Venues	175
Table 7-2: Theatres as Concert Venues	178
Table 7-3: Wells, Spas and Pleasure Gardens as Concert Venues.....	180
Table 7-4: Taverns as Concert Venues	186
Table 7-5: Livery Company Halls as Concert Venues.....	187
Table 7-6: Dimensions of Concert Venues	201
Table 7-7: Categories of Concert Ticket-Selling Outlets.....	205
Table 7-8: Types of Shops Selling Concert Tickets.....	206
Table 8-1: Prices for Benefit Concerts at a range of Venues, 1740–50.....	224
Table 8-2: Ticket Prices for Geminiani Series 1731/2.....	226
Table 8-3: London Newspaper Circulation.....	229
Table 8-4: Endorsements in Concert Advertisements.....	252
Table 9-1: Charitable Benefits for Musicians or their Families.....	281
Table 9-2: Named Promoters of Concert Series	287
Table 9-3: Italian Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century.....	291
Table 9-4: Non-Italian Foreign Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century.....	292
Table 9-5: British Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century.....	292
Table 9-6: Solo Violinists at Venues 1695–1705	296
Table 9-7: Solo Violinists at Venues 1745–1750	299

Volume 2

Table A-1: The TITLE Table	370
Table A-2: The LOCATION Table.....	371
Table A-3: The TEXT Table.....	371
Table A-4: The REGISTER Table	377
Table B-1: The CONCERT Table.....	382
Table B-2: Concert Types	382
Table B-3: The CONCERT_TYPE Table.....	383

Table B-4: The VENUE Table.....	384
Table B-5: The CONCERT_DETAIL Table	385
Table B-6: The TICKET_DETAIL Table.....	387
Table B-7: The TICKET_LOCATION Table.....	387
Table B-8: The BENEFICIARY Table.....	388
Table B-9: The PERSONNEL table	389

Chapter 1. Introduction: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750

The nature of the cultural market [in London] evolved dramatically between 1660 and 1740.... The ways in which the production and consumption of culture changed were almost totally unforeseeable in 1660, and because they were gradual and little recognized by commentators at that time we tend not to recognize how drastic they really were.

(Hume, 2006)

1.1. London: Supply and Demand for Music after the Restoration

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 acted as a magnet to the gentry and nobility, and was also an important centre for finance, trade and manufacturing (Corfield, 1982: 66-81; Price, 1981: 10). 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) (Finlay and Shearer, 1986; Harding, 1990; Lawless and Brown, 1986: 8; Rozman, 1976: 243; Wrigley, 1967). Quite apart from the courtiers, officials and professional men who formed part of the resident population of London, the number of occasional visitors rose substantially following the Restoration. The landed élite poured into London after 1660 to welcome Charles II and continued to visit to enjoy all the pleasure of luxurious urban life. The aristocracy, who during the earlier sixteenth century had visited London occasionally and resided in their great London palaces with a large number of retainers, now visited more frequently, stayed in smaller houses in the London suburbs and brought with them a smaller number of servants. Whilst some of the county élite — baronets, knights and squires — might be courtiers based in London, now larger numbers visited London during the legal and social seasons or when Parliament was sitting. Even the lesser gentry began to form the habit of visiting London, leasing a furnished house for a few weeks or months from time to time. For young gentlemen just down from university or having completed a period of private tutoring at home, a stay in London was considered to be an essential conclusion to their education. Thus, the noble, bourgeois and professional population of London was massively increased for at least some of the year, giving rise to a growing

demand for residential housing and stimulating the expansion of the suburbs of the West End (Stone, 1980).

This large and growing population also provided a ready consumer market and increasing demand 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, the so-called *beau monde*, who flocked to the social centre that was London during the 'season'. The *beau monde* and 'the World' emerged as terms in London during the early eighteenth century as ways to refer to the cosmopolitan élite, a social grouping more diverse than that of a court but smaller than the entire metropolitan upper classes. This was a 'club' whose membership was restricted to certain individuals and families who all knew *of* each other even if they were not actually acquainted, a club whose over-riding *raison d'être* was public appearance, and nowhere more so than in their public appearances at opera and concerts, which formed an important opportunity to see and be seen, as much as to hear the music (Weber, 2002; 2004b):

Musick is so generally approv'd of in England, that it is look'd up as a want of Breeding not to be affected by it, insomuch that every Member of the Beau-Monde at this Time either do, or, at least, think it necessary to appear as if they understand it; and, in order to carry on this Deceit it is requisite every one, who has the Pleasure of thinking himself a fine Gentleman, should, being first laden with a Competency of Powder and Essence, make his personal Appearance every Opera Night at the Haymarket...
(*Weekly Journal; or, Saturday's Post* 18 December 1725 quoted in (Gibson, 1989: 388))

This growth in the demand for music was matched by a growth in supply, in the availability of professional musicians to perform in public, rather than in the more private venues of court and church. Among the various elements which 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.

Chronological divisions are almost always somewhat artificial, but the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 provides a clear starting point for this study. One might have supposed that the return of the monarchy would also have produced a

restoration of the social and musical status quo; superficially, this was the case, but there were subtle changes that were to have a far-reaching effect. While domestic music had flourished during the Commonwealth period, the discontinuity in the music of court, church and theatre meant that many of the pre-Commonwealth musicians who had found employment in these institutions were either dead or growing old (Harley, 1968: 13). Charles II lost no time in re-establishing both the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal and the theatres were soon re-opened (Dearnley, 1970: 27-39; Holman, 1993: 282). However, the decline in standards in the provincial cathedrals (Dearnley, 1970: 71-6) and the close court control over theatrical affairs (Avery and Scouten, 1968: xxii-xxiv) increased the court and metropolitan emphasis that had always existed to some extent. Unfortunately, the parlous state of the royal finances and the effect of the English Reformation on church music and musicians had left what Brewer (1995) has termed a 'cultural vacuum' in post-Restoration England.

There was also a change in the pattern of patronage: aristocratic families who in times gone by would have supported a number of musicians in their establishments had lost a good deal of their wealth in the Civil War; even court musicians were seriously in want on account of considerable delays in receiving their wages from Charles II. On the continent, prominent musicians were more likely to work full-time for a single patron or institution, whereas in England the major performers and composers tended to work for a number of patrons or institutions at the same time and would still have had time left for freelance activity to supplement their income. These economic, political and religious conditions meant that fewer musicians could rely on a position at court or in a great household as a way of earning a living; increasingly they had to earn money by performing in public or by teaching; not surprisingly, the latter fed the former: who would not want to learn from 'the best masters' whom they had heard at the latest concert (Holman, 1993: 327, 331-4; Raynor, 1972: 256-7)? The lack of contact with the Continent during the interregnum and the increased emphasis on the court of a monarch with a marked predilection for all things foreign also left English music all the more susceptible to new musical influences from abroad (Holman, 1993: 289-91).

It was in this context that the public commercial concert emerged. 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 (salaried musicians),

or a private concert at court or in the house of a nobleman. 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 fellow professional musicians to perform, charged for admission and hoped to make a profit. It was during this period that the division between professional and amateur musicians began to become more clear-cut, in London at least. Here, the growing demand for music and the development of the commercial concert resulted in a gradual enlargement in the market for musicians and an increasing dominance of the professional musician in public performances. The widening gap between amateur and professional performers, between listeners and performers, was a concomitant of the rise in virtuosity and skill which served to both demonstrate and justify musicians' professional status (Ehrlich, 1985: 3–5; Rose, 2005).

1.2. Scope and Structure of the Study

1.2.1. Approach

Despite the significance of the public commercial concert in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a detailed study of its early development is still lacking. McVeigh's (1993) study starts from 1750, a point when the public concert was already fairly well established in the fashionable calendar of high society. However the development from amateur music-making to professional concerts, from music in taverns and private music meetings, through the earliest public concerts, to the subscription series of the 1740s and 1750s, from English initiative and control to foreign domination, from informality to formality, and from domestic or corporate musical recreation to music as a lucrative leisure commodity, has only been sketched in outline in short articles or general histories of the period (Scott, 1936: 446-57; 1937: 379-90; 1938: 194-209; Tilmouth, 1957–8). The valuable evidence gathered together by Tilmouth (1961a; 1961b) from advertisements in newspapers published in London and the provinces for the period from 1660 up to the end of 1719 provides the bare bones in the form of a calendar of references to music, including concerts. In addition to references to musical publications and opera, it includes information about the place and date of each concert advertised, together with details of music and performers, if specified. Although many advertisements appeared in several newspapers, Tilmouth

quotes only one source and repeat advertisements are not given unless they add further details of significance. Similar, though briefer information, is given in the relevant volumes of *The London Stage* (Avery, 1960; Scouten, 1960; Stone, 1962; Van Lennep, 1965).¹ However, more is needed to enable the full story to be told. In particular, not only is a more comprehensive coverage of the newspaper material required, but also a detailed analysis of the information contained therein.

The research takes as its starting point the almost 50,000 references to music recorded in the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750*, held on a database at Royal Holloway, University of London. From this data, a supplementary database has been designed and built to record detailed information extracted from over 12,000 advertisements, puffs and news items related to commercial concert giving in London between 1660 and 1750. It is the gradual evolution and cross-fertilisation of various strands of musical endeavour into what we would now recognise as a public commercial concert which form the basis of this study. To trace the development of this new phenomenon many events that were not public concerts in the strictest sense must be considered; some of them cannot even be considered as concerts themselves but are still remote ancestors of our modern day public commercial concert. Thus public subscription concert series, benefits, oratorios and the performances to be heard at the pleasure gardens and spas have been included, as well as the music meetings in taverns, meetings of music societies and concert music in the theatre which do not perhaps fall into the net of the ‘public concert’ strictly defined. The database allows concert advertisements and other material to be studied longitudinally in relation to each other and provides a valuable source of data for the growth of concert giving in London over a long and important period of its development. Thus in addition to covering the period from 1720 to 1750 which falls between the periods covered by Tilmouth (1961a; 1961b) and McVeigh (1993), the novel aspect here is that every relevant advertisement has been recorded in detail to provide much more than a calendar. The wealth of information has allowed analysis of details relevant not just to the more purely musical aspects of concerts such as performers and repertoire, but also to the business or organisational development of concerts, the way in which they were marketed and

¹ A revised and more comprehensive version of Part 2 edited by Milhous and Hume is in progress; information for the 1700–1711 seasons is available at <http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/h/b/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/>.

advertised, the audience which they hoped to attract, and the effect which they had on the music profession. In sum, to study concerts not just as musical events but to investigate them as manifestations of the embryonic music business.

1.2.2. Research aims

As a case study in cultural production and consumption and of the commodification of culture in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, this study aims to examine how musicians began to emerge from their dependence on the patronage of court, aristocracy and church into a more public sphere during this period, moving from positions as salaried employees to a more freelance existence where they contributed to their income by putting on public concerts for which tickets were sold.

The data extracted from concert advertisements and other material will be used to aid an exploration of concert giving in London between 1660 and 1750 by considering the following questions:

- Were musicians who organised concerts motivated principally by the need to express themselves and find recognition with their peers, or was their primary purpose to earn money from the public at large? From a theoretical viewpoint, where did they fit on Hirschman's (1983: 46–9) self-oriented/peer-oriented/commercialised creativity spectrum or Colbert's (2003; 2007: 8–10) product/market focus continuum?
- What types of concerts were developed in the period under study? Were extra features and benefits added to the core concert product in addition to the music itself in order to strengthen its appeal to different segments of the potential audience (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 192–3)?
- What can the decisions of early concert promoters concerning concert design and programming — two of the attributes of the core concert product which can be used to position it in its market — reveal about their attitude to both their product and their customers? What importance did they give to informing their potential audience about the product offer and were they prepared to design or modify their concert repertoire in order to strengthen the appeal to an audience? Did concert promoters develop structures for their entertainments to interest and attract potential concert-goers? What does the repertoire of musical

compositions programmed in London commercial concerts in terms of its contemporaneity and geographical origin indicate as to the nature of the market for music and its performance?

- How was the gradual shift of formal music making into the public sphere effected in terms of concert venues? What types of venues were built or adapted to provide a wider variety of venues for concerts? How did the number and locations of concert venues and ticket-selling outlets change over time? How did those locations and the facilities provided relate to the accessibility of concerts to various ‘qualities’ of consumers?
- What does the range of pricing strategies used for concerts reveal about the value of the product to the marketplace, possible consumer perceptions and the level of product consumption?
- How did musicians make use of the relatively new and increasingly pervasive channel of newspaper advertising to promote their concerts? To what extent do the present-day characteristics of advertising — pervasive coverage through the use of a wide variety of media and a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption — apply to advertisements for concerts in the period under study? What persuasive techniques were used?
- What effect did the development and growth of concert giving have on the social and financial status of musicians? Could a musician make a living solely by playing in concerts, or was it only one of many possible sources of income? How much of a competitive threat were foreign musicians to indigenous performers and from what countries did foreign musicians come?

By examining musical, commercial and organisational dimensions, this study considers whether the development of public commercial concerts in London between 1660 and 1750 provides evidence for the birth of music as a business.

1.2.3. Structure

The scope of the study necessitates a review of literature in a number of disciplines and uses primary and secondary sources to examine both current theory on music as a business and the marketing of the arts and cultural events (Chapter 2) and the musical background to the development of the public concert in London (Chapter 4). A

brief history of the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750* project will be followed by a description of the supplementary database designed and built to record detailed information on concerts in London, and a discussion of ways in which both databases may be interrogated (Chapter 3). Using evidence taken from these two databases commercial and organisational dimensions of the public concert will then be considered, investigating precursors to the public concert proper and looking at ways in which concerts were financed, organised and promoted.

Discussion will focus first on the development of different types of public commercial concert as well as the extra features which might be included to add to the appeal to different segments of the market (Chapter 5). A comprehensive analysis of concert repertoire is only possible as advertisements became progressively more detailed during the course of the eighteenth century, but general trends in repertory and concert design will be examined for the entire period (Chapter 6). The growth of commercial concert giving in London helped to move formal music making further into the public sphere and this was accompanied by an increase in the number and type of public venues at which concerts were held. The nature and size of these venues will be investigated, in addition to their location within London and the type and location of ticket-selling outlets (Chapter 7).

Setting a price for a cultural event sends out a signal about the value of the product to the marketplace which influences consumer perceptions and the level of product consumption. The range of different pricing strategies adopted will be investigated and conclusions drawn about the types of cultural consumer to which they would have appealed (Chapter 8 section 8.2). In an effort to promote their concerts, musicians made use of tried and tested methods such as word of mouth, handbills and posters; they sometimes also carried out personal selling by offering tickets for sale at their places of residence. However, the great growth in the printing industry in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the concomitant increase in the number of newspapers provided a new channel by which the fledgling public commercial concerts could be advertised, a method which had not been available to older established commercial entertainments, such as theatrical performances and opera. The advertising techniques used for public concerts in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will

thus be investigated to show how increasing pervasiveness and the use of persuasive techniques can be found even at this early date (Chapter 8 section 8.3).

Changes in the rôle and status of the musician prompted by the development of the public concert will be examined as the musician evolves from salaried employee under the patronage of court and aristocracy to independent professional earning a living by his/her own efforts (Chapter 9). Summarising the development of the commercial concert in London over the period, it will then examine the claim that the early public commercial concerts in London can be considered as evidence for the birth of music as a business (Chapter 10).

The first commercial concerts in London were organised by individuals, almost certainly musicians themselves, who engaged other professional performers, decided on the venue, pieces to be performed, admission to be charged, and methods of promotion. While not businessmen, they had to make business-like decisions and had no such thing as a business or marketing manager to oversee the whole process. The decisions they made in organising and promoting their concerts are an interesting topic for study at such an early stage in the history of what may well be thought of as a new business — the music business.

But how and by what stepps Musick shot up in to such request, as to croud out from the stage even comedy itself, and to sit downe in her place and become of such mighty value and price as wee now know it to be, is worth inquiring after.

(Roger North, *The Musical Grammarian* (c1728) in Wilson (1959: 302))

Chapter 2. Marketing the Arts

2.1. Music as a Business

There is no doubt that the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw the beginnings of public concert life in London, but was this the birth of the music business? Indeed, what is the music business? Nowadays, reference is frequently made to the music business or music industry as if it were 'a homogenous unit with shared objectives and interests'. However, reacting against the modern-day tendency to equate the 'music industry' with the 'recorded music industry', Williamson and Cloonan (2007) argue forcefully that there is no such thing as a single 'music industry', but rather there are multiple music industries, there are 'people working in a range of industries centred around music'. Indeed, we can see the range of cultural actors participating in cultural production, the process by which cultural products are created, transformed and disseminated, as belonging to three categories: producers of cultural products, cultural intermediaries who communicate and distribute the cultural product to consumers, and the consumers themselves who transform cultural products into objects of meaningful consumption experiences (Venkatesh and Meamber, 2006). The process of cultural production involves the ways in which cultural producers, cultural intermediaries and consumers of culture interact and collaborate in the production of symbolic meaning.

Working from a broad historical perspective, Attali (1985: 31–2) sees the economy of music as operating through a series of networks each of which relates 'to a technology and a different level of social structuring'; while they succeeded each other there was also the possibility of some intermingling. Within the first network, that of sacrificial ritual, music was produced for largely ceremonial purposes within non-capitalist, traditional societies, with musicians working under the patronage of the aristocracy or court. With the emergence of capitalism, the second musical network, that of representation, sees music beginning to move towards the market, no longer produced under patronage but becoming involved with money. Concert hall performance, with its widening of the gulf between musicians and audience 'replaced the popular festival and the private concert at court'. Music started to emerge as a commodity when merchants began to gain control of its production, that is to publish

and sell it, and when there were sufficient customers outside the courts which had previously been its preserve (Attali, 1985: 52). The third network, that of repetition, appeared at the end of the nineteenth century with the introduction of recording technology. Attali's fourth and final network, which functions beyond market-type exchange, sees music solely as composition, performed for the musician's own enjoyment.

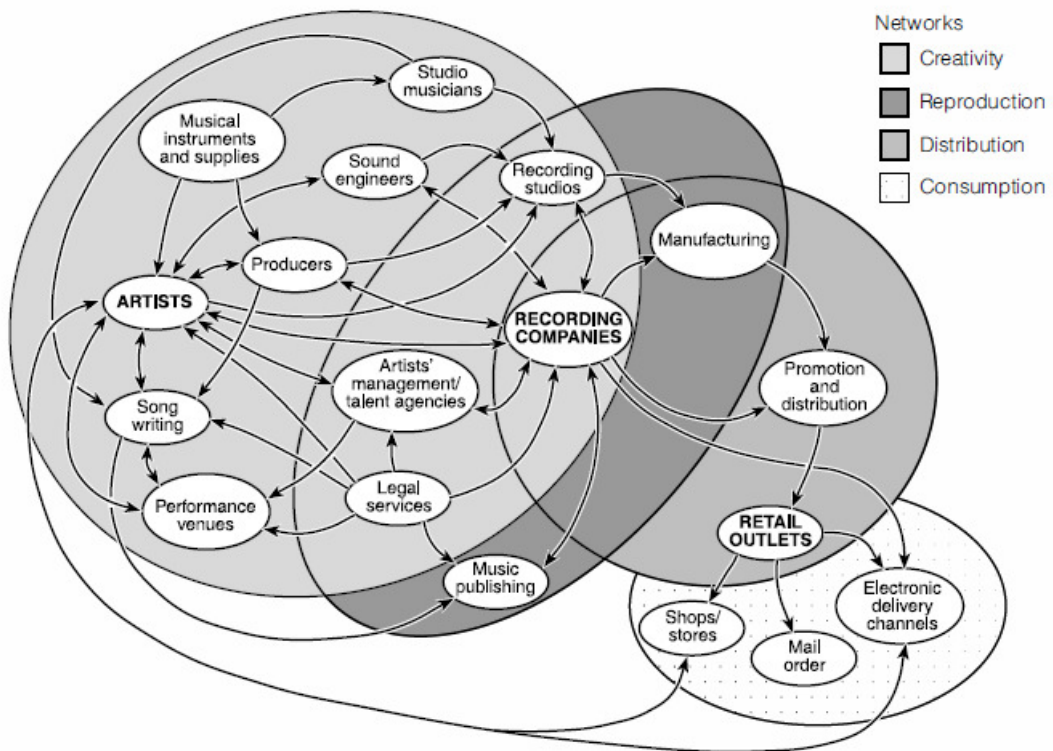
Scholars hold differing views on the question of how and when music made the transition from Attali's sacrificial or court- and church-based network to the market-oriented system of his network of representation. There has been something of a concentration on Mozart as the first 'free' composer in a sociological sense (Elias, 1993; Hildesheimer, 1982). However, Baumol and Baumol (1994) place Mozart within a broader tendency and characterise the second half of the eighteenth century as a time of transition 'from the universal system of private patronage to the beginnings of a market mechanism under which the product of the composer and the performer became a commodity that could be bought and sold', a view with which others concur (Gardner, 1994). Pohlmann (1962) sees the trend towards freelance composition as spanning the entire eighteenth century with Mozart playing an intermediate rôle and Beethoven being the 'culmination of a long developmental process... in the attempt to escape positions of dependence under employment relationships'. In a series of publications, Scherer (2001a; 2001b; 2002; 2004) discusses how the rôle of the church and noble courts as employers diminished between the early eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century and was replaced by 'opportunities for composers to work as freelance artists performing, teaching, and selling their creations through private market transactions'. He sees this as having been caused by economic and political developments which acted together to strengthen middle-class demand for music and weaken the feudal foundations of European noble courts and religious establishments. He finds traces of freelance activity from as early second half of the seventeenth century onwards but notes that the patronage of aristocrats and the church still continued, though at a reduced level, during the first half of the nineteenth century (Scherer, 2004).

Drawing on and updating the work of Attali (1985), Leyshon (2001; 2005) sees the range of present-day industries centred around music as forming a set of

‘overlapping and interconnecting networks... through which cultural material flows and undergoes a process of commodification’:

- Network of creativity, combining composition, performance and recording, in which music is created through multiple acts of performance
- Network of reproduction, which includes the manufacture of multiple copies of audio recordings
- Network of distribution, acting as a bridge between the networks of creativity and reproduction and the network of consumption, ensuring that the musical product is delivered to final markets
- Network of consumption, incorporating locations in which musical products created in other networks are purchased

Figure 2-1: Modern Musical Networks



Source: (Leyshon, 2001)

The ideas of Williamson and Cloonan (2007) and Leyshon (2001; 2005) are obviously based on present-day realities, but they are, nevertheless, relevant to a certain extent to the situation arising from the growth of public commercial concerts in the

period under study. Here we also have a collection of different people working in a range of admittedly small-scale industries centred around music, a set of ‘overlapping and interconnecting networks’ through which music flowed and underwent a process of commodification. In Leyshon’s networks, some of the entities are too strongly related to present-day recording technology and intellectual property rights legislation to be relevant; nevertheless, each network has something to contribute to a consideration of the musical scene in the period under study. Musicians performing in London’s new public commercial concerts were not acting alone in creating this new business; they were part of a network of creativity in which music was composed and performed: composers, performance venues and sellers of musical instruments and musical supplies also formed part of this network. Theatres also formed part of this network of musical creativity, not only in their rôle as occasional venues for concerts themselves, but also because music formed an important part of theatrical performances at the time. The same composers, singers and instrumentalists were to be found composing and performing the musical items in straight plays, in performances of opera, in public concerts and in the pleasure gardens. What we might term ‘concert music’ was sometimes performed within theatrical performances, just as theatre songs, and even more frequently, operatic arias were performed in concerts of all sorts. The distinctions between different types of musical composition/performance by professional musicians were not so clear at this period; the real distinction was between professional and amateur performance. The networks of reproduction and distribution are, as might be predicted, not as relevant to the period under discussion as the only technology of reproduction available at the time was that of music publishing and most music publishers sold directly in their own shops rather than having any distribution network.

Like modern music distributors, music publishers did, however, ensure that their products were promoted and marketed through the limited channels available at the time. The networks of consumption were also restricted to those locations in which musical products were purchased, that is music shops, and the consumers who bought them. Consumers can also be considered to bring the networks full circle; they form part of the network of creativity co-creating music by their presence at concerts and the other ways in which they supported performers and composers.

2.2. 'Marketing Activity' versus 'Marketing Thought'

It is a commonly held belief that marketing as we know it now is a relatively recent phenomenon with roots which reach back only as far as the nineteenth century. In an article which has inspired many textbook descriptions of marketing history, Keith (1960) described the 'typical' evolution of marketing as seen at the Pillsbury Company and divided it into four eras:

- production-oriented era — late 1860s into 1930s, post-Industrial Revolution, emphasis on production rather than distribution
- sales-oriented era — 1930s to 1950, energetic personal selling backed by research and advertising
- marketing-oriented era — 1950s, sophisticated customer orientation
- marketing control era — 1960 onwards, corporate-wide marketing managerial philosophy

Prior to the 'production era' it is usually assumed that subsistence economies or those with a predominance of small enterprises did not require marketing to facilitate exchanges; this has been labelled by some as the 'simple trade' era (McCarthy, 1960; Shapiro et al., 2002). Basing his argument on his familiarity with Pillsbury's history, Keith (1960) claimed that this 'pattern was typical of American business in general' and that it was a 'classic pattern of development in the marketing revolution'. Despite the fact that a number of authors have refuted it (Fullerton, 1988a; 1988b; Hollander, 1986; Jones and Richardson, 2007; Olsen and Hadjicharalambous, 2011), the 'received doctrine', as Hollander (1986) termed it, still continues to feature in many introductory marketing textbooks.

However, the work of scholars such as Hollander (as listed in (Fullerton and Nevett, 1988)), Fullerton (1977) Nevett (1991; 1987), and Rassuli (1988) has shown that while the word 'marketing' and research into marketing may be relatively recent phenomena, marketing-type activities are not. Specific forms of marketing-type activity are historical phenomena and have been traced as far back as the ancient civilisations of Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece and Rome (Aubert, 1987; Dixon, 1998; Larsen, 1976; Nevett and Nevett, 1987; Orlin, 1970; Twede, 2002; Walle, 1987).

Moreover, discussing the work of McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb (1982) on the advances in manufacturing and related marketing efforts of English entrepreneurs such as Josiah Wedgwood and Matthew Boulton, Fullerton (1988b) ascribes the full emergence of ‘modern western marketing’ to England during the second half of the eighteenth century. Here, vigorous marketing efforts involving an increase in advertising, development and acceleration of fashion cycles and shaping and acceleration of demand, brought about the commercialisation of English life, a process which extended even to leisure pursuits. It is in this context that the marketing techniques used by early concert promoters in London from the late seventeenth century onwards will be investigated. By showing that early concert promoters in London were engaged in practices similar to those of present-day marketers, it is hoped to provide a further case study illustrating that marketing-type activities predate the 1860s and furthermore that they were carried out in a service-based rather than a purely manufacturing/trading industry.

Having established, despite Keith’s (1960) arguments, that marketing-type activities began well before the late 1860s, this chapter will continue by outlining some of the schools of marketing thought which arose during the twentieth century with the aim of identifying appropriate theoretical bases from which to analyse the marketing of concerts in the period under investigation. Contemporary thought and practice in the marketing of the arts will then be investigated to provide a comparison with the ways in which early concert promoters conceptualised and marketed their events.

2.3. Marketing Thought

One can find comments on issues which one might consider to be included in the concept of marketing dating back to the ancient Greece of Plato and Aristotle, they continued throughout the Middle Ages in the work of schoolmen such as St Augustine of Hippo, St Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus, and on into the modern period in the work of the great economists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill (Cassels, 1936; Dixon, 1998; Dixon, 2002; Jones and Shaw, 2002; Kelley, 1956; Mochrie, 2006; Shaw, 1995; Wilkie and Moore, 2003). However, marketing as an academic discipline is considered to have emerged from the study of applied economics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and is

thus a much later development (Shaw and Jones, 2005). ‘Marketing’ as a term began to mean something more than distribution or trade by the early twentieth century: the first marketing courses in American universities were not offered until 1902 and the first marketing studies and textbooks appeared in the 1920s (Bartels, 1988; Jones and Monieson, 1990). The early so-called ‘traditional’ schools of marketing thought which developed during the first half of the twentieth century focused on three ways of studying marketing phenomena: cataloguing functions; classifying commodities; and categorising institutions (Shaw and Jones, 2005; Shaw et al., 2009). A paradigm shift in the mid-twentieth century saw the emergence of new schools of thought — marketing management, marketing systems, consumer behaviour, macromarketing, exchange and marketing history — many of them influenced by the work of Wroe Alderson, the dominant scholar of his time (Jones et al., 2009; Shaw and Jones, 2005; Wright, 2002).

The aim of the marketing management school is to focus on how organisations market their products and services and it therefore concentrates on the sellers’ perspective. Among concepts such as ‘marketing myopia’, ‘market segmentation’ and ‘product positioning’, one of the most influential concepts which arose in this school is that of the ‘marketing mix’. This is represented by the four P’s mnemonic which stands for ‘product’, ‘price’, ‘promotion’, and ‘place’ and has become the standard for marketing management textbooks (Borden, 1964; Jones et al., 2009; Kotler et al., 2009; Perreault et al., 2009; Shaw and Jones, 2005). In the context of services marketing, an extra 3 P’s have been suggested: ‘people’, ‘physical evidence’ and ‘process’ (Booms and Bitner, 1981).

Consumer behaviour integrates concepts taken from psychology and sociology into comprehensive models of buyer behaviour which progress from the inputs of environmental and marketing stimuli, through affective and cognitive mental processing, to behavioural outputs leading to purchase, and conclude with the feedback provided by learning. Its boundaries have now broadened beyond ‘purchase, consumption or usage’ to encompass virtually any human behaviour, such that it has become almost an academic discipline in its own right, rather than a school of marketing thought (Jones et al., 2009).

The marketing history school of thought considers when and how practices and techniques, concepts and theories were introduced and developed over time. It also

recognises that marketing thinking has not only been shaped by academics, but is also affected by practitioners, critics and regulators (Jones et al., 2009). Shaw and Jones (2005) consider that it was not until the early 1980s, under the leadership of Stan Hollander that historical research in marketing developed the numbers and quality to merit recognition as a school of thought. While methodology in historical research in marketing has matured (Brown et al., 2001; Golder, 2000; Nevett, 1991; Savitt, 1980; Smith and Lux, 1993; Witkowski and Jones, 2006), the discipline has also broadened to take in a wide range of marketing thought and practices in many countries, and from ancient civilizations to the present. The present study is clearly based in the area of marketing history but incorporates ideas from marketing management and consumer behaviour to discuss the actions of early London concert promoters.

2.4. Marketing and the Arts

After a long period of somewhat haphazard administration, management of the arts has become increasingly professionalised since the last quarter of the twentieth century, and nowhere is this more obvious than in the practice of arts marketing. The majority of arts managers are now well versed in current marketing theory and its implications for arts organisations, having obtained their knowledge by reading either standard marketing textbooks or specialised publications on arts marketing, or by taking courses (Boorsma, 1998; 2006). Arts marketing itself is now a ‘mature’ academic discipline as is witnessed by the increasing number of publications on the subject, both more general books (Boorsma, 1998; Colbert, 2007; Klein, 2001; Kolb, 2005; Kotler and Kotler, 2000; Kotler and Scheff, 1997; Mokwa et al., 1980) and articles on specialised areas of research, both those surveyed by Rentschler (1998; 2002) and more recent publications. Rather than being a minority interest area focusing narrowly on the marketing management of artistic offerings, it can be seen as a broad discourse about the relationship between the arts and the market, an area whose history has been outlined by Fillis (2011) and whose many strands have been mapped by O’Reilly (2011). It forms part of the wider field of arts management which Rentschler and Shilbury (2008) consider as not fitting ‘neatly within management, marketing, sociology, aesthetics, economics or law, but [as] a multidisciplinary profession drawing on these and other fields as its platform for scholarship’.

Can modern theory and practice of arts marketing throw any light on the marketing of concerts in London in the period under consideration and how this new business was organised? Individual musicians of the period acted as entrepreneurs, 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 attend. Concert promoters did not have the benefit of modern marketing theory; concepts such as the marketing mix (Booms and Bitner, 1981; McCarthy, 1960), constructing a customer value proposition (Anderson et al., 2006; Holbrook, 1999a; Zeithaml, 1988), or marketing specifically aimed at cultural events (Bernstein, 2007; Diggle, 1994; Heaney and Heaney, 2003; Hill et al., 2003; Kerrigan et al., 2004; Kolb, 2005; Kotler and Scheff, 1997) were unknown to them. Yet their behaviour may perhaps be interpreted in terms of such concepts: they produced sophisticated advertising material to promote their events (Harbor, 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; McGuinness, 2004a; 2004b) 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, 1979; Holbrook et al., 2002; McVeigh, 1993).

2.4.1. The Art versus Commerce Debate

A theme of great importance to macromarketing concerns the contrast between art and entertainment — that is, between cultural forms aspiring to creative integrity and those seeking commercial success through popular appeal.
(Holbrook, 2005)

In practice, not many producers of high culture today can completely ignore the financial aspect. In the field of fine arts, a survey of German artists and gallery owners carried out by Meyer and Even (1998) found that while artists were not interested in financial success at the expense of self-expression, both artists and galleries were involved in marketing in some form. Artists would not admit any influence by the market on what they created, except when accepting a commission for an individual work; however, they were interested in certain aspects of marketing, such as distribution and communication. The artistic producer thus has to establish a balance between the

pecuniary benefits of selling to the market and the non-pecuniary benefits of creating what one pleases and the pursuit of approval and fame. The artist who seeks an outstanding reputation as a creator will thus work in artistic styles that find favour with the most prestigious critics: he will pursue high art and eschew the low art which receives little critical acclaim (Cowen and Tabarrok, 2000). While some high art can also be popular art — Picasso or Mozart were both popular in their own life-time and their fame has lasted — in general there is usually some trade-off between pursuing critical acclaim and money, between practicing high and low art.

The traditional view of cultural production situates marketing mainly in the sphere of cultural intermediaries, who communicate and distribute the cultural product to consumers. Marketing is thus presumed to take the cultural product and add to it symbolic meaning which is passed on to the consumer (Schroeder, 2002). However Venkatesh and Meamber (2006) describe a much broader rôle for marketing in cultural production, in which production, meaning transfer and consumption are co-dependent: ‘marketing is integral to all phases of the cultural production process, influencing or shaping the production of the cultural product, its distribution, and its consumption through mediation within the symbolic system’. A number of approaches can be taken to the marketing and consumption of arts/aesthetics; among these the managerial orientation focuses on the principles of arts marketing, while the consumption orientation focuses on the experiential, symbolic, hedonic, and spectacular aspects of arts/aesthetic consumption (Venkatesh and Meamber, 2006). Neither approach is individually self-sufficient but each complements the other.

2.4.1.1. Managerial Orientation: Product Focus

To most people the term ‘marketing’ signifies a function which is characteristic of business exchanges and business firms. However, Kotler and Levy (1969) proposed that the concept of marketing should be broadened from its concentration on businesses to include ‘marketing of organisations, persons, and ideas’, commenting that all of the latter are also ‘concerned about their “product” in the eyes of certain “consumers” and are seeking to find “tools” for furthering their acceptance’. The first edition of Kotler’s (1967) introductory marketing textbook pointed out that cultural organisations such as museums, concert halls or libraries, produce cultural goods which can be marketed.

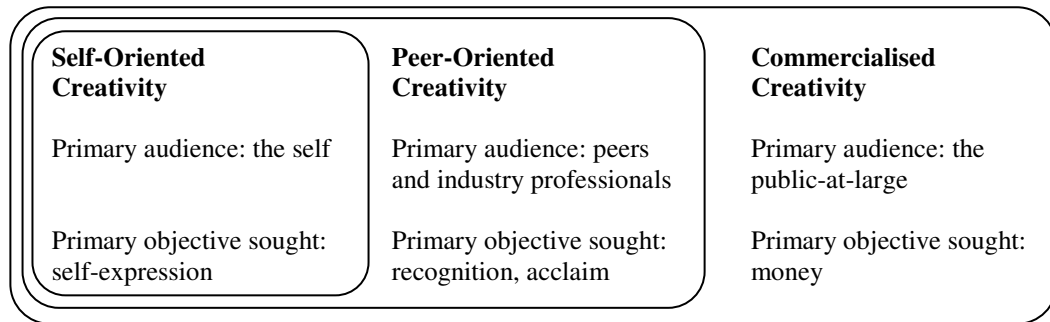
This broadening of the concept of marketing was carried still further by Kotler (1972) when he outlined a generic concept of marketing focused on the transaction, ‘an exchange of values between two parties’, where the transaction could involve not only the customary business elements of goods, services and money, but also other resources, such as time, energy and feelings. Subsequent work by Kotler and others illustrated how this broadened concept of marketing could be applied to the arts and wider non-profit sectors (Diggle, 1994; Kotler and Kotler, 2000; Kotler and Scheff, 1997; Melillo, 1983; Mokwa et al., 1980; Scheff and Kotler, 1996a; 1996b; Kotler and Andreasen, 1996). The emphasis in these works tends to be on the artist and the artistic product as the focus of any marketing strategy, but not in terms of the actual production of the artistic product. The artist’s task is to create a product without any particular reference to satisfying customer need, and the goal of marketing culture and the arts is then to bring the work to the notice of as many people as possible so as to disseminate the work widely and possibly generate a profit (Diggle, 1994). This is what Evrard (1991) describes as ‘marketing the supply’.

Hirschman (1983: 46–7), however, suggests that the broadening of the marketing concept is not applicable to artists whom she defines as ‘those who create primarily to express their subjective conceptions of beauty, emotion or some other aesthetic ideal’.² She emphasises the idea that the artist or musician does not follow the marketing concept by producing a product as a response to the desires or interests of the consuming public: ‘An artist ... may first create a product that flows from their own internal desires and needs and then present this product to consumers who choose to either accept or reject it’. Artists and musicians are thus motivated primarily by the need to express themselves (self-oriented creativity) and find recognition within an audience of their peers and industry professionals (peer-oriented creativity) as shown by the two inner sections in Figure 2-2. In self-oriented creativity the artist is the creator and first consumer of his or her own work; the exchange process which lies at the heart of marketing takes place before the product is released to any third party. Peer-oriented creativity represents the exchanges in Kotler’s broadened view of the marketing concept. Commercialised creativity, whose primary purpose is to earn money from the public at large, is not valid for artists and is often treated with disdain because it does

² Musicians are thus included in Hirschman’s definition of ‘artist’.

not accord with the idea of pursuing art as an end in itself (Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985). Thus, Hirschman (1983) reasons, the standard methods of the marketing concept cannot be simply transferred to the arts and applied to the artistic product.

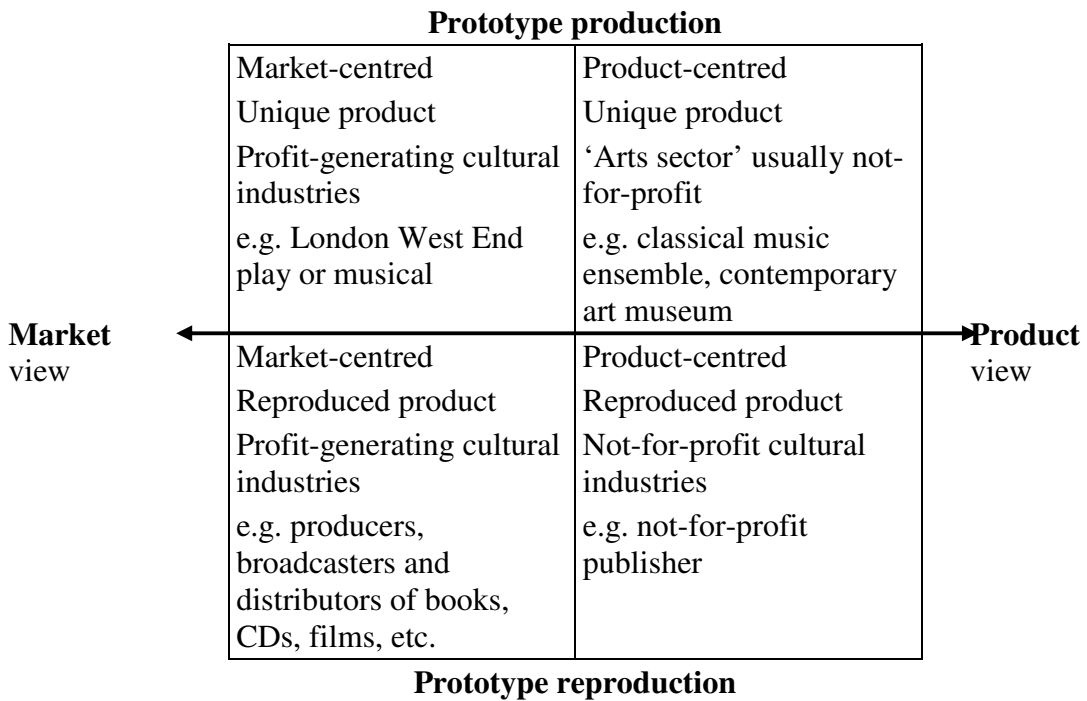
Figure 2-2: Creativity according to audience and objective



Source: (Hirschman, 1983: 49)

A similar way of categorising cultural enterprises is by consideration of the orientation of the enterprise's mission, which can be positioned on a continuum with product focus and market focus at the two extremes and with a vast range of different possibilities positioned in between. This orientation criterion can be considered in combination with the way in which a work of art is produced as either a unique product not designed to be reproduced, or as a prototype designed to be reproduced in large quantities, to help in distinguishing between cultural industries and enterprises in the so-called 'arts sector' (see Figure 2-3) (Colbert, 2003; Colbert, 2007: 8–10). Colbert (2007: 15) also uses this categorisation by product/market focus and product production/reproduction to decide what type of marketing might be most appropriate. For market-centred organisations, the marketing approach would be essentially traditional, whereas product-centred organisations would use a marketing model for culture and the arts. He also distinguishes a third category of organisation which might be on the borderline between the quadrants identified, perhaps having a product or market orientation which is not clear-cut as with other organisations. Here a mixed marketing approach would allow 'for some compromises on product or adjustments to the product according to consumer preferences'.

Figure 2-3: Marketing and cultural enterprises



Source: Based on (Colbert, 2007: 9)

The distinction between high and low art focuses on the artistic product itself and is only one of a number of ways of grouping artistic products into subcategories on the basis of their attributes which may facilitate investigation of each market. As we have seen, high art, including painting, sculpture and classical music, is thought of as being pursued by the artist as an end in itself with no overt attempt to satisfy the needs of its market. On the other hand low, popular or ‘liberal’ art, including rock music, cinema and fashion design, is the domain of the professional who seeks commercial success (Bourdieu, 1984; Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985). Another distinction, that between the performing and visual arts, is based on how the work is presented and how the audience interacts with the artistic product. In the performing arts (dance, theatre, opera) the message of the artist is mediated through the performers, whereas the visual arts (painting, sculpture, photography) are presented by the artist with the viewers interpreting the artistic product according to their sensitivity and experience (Scheff and Kotler, 1996a). One can also distinguish between goods and services within the artistic realm. If the artistic product is tangible, such as a book or painting, then it is considered to be a good; services, such as live performances, are intangible. However, Shostack’s (1977) concept of a product-service continuum which depends on the degree of

tangibility of the product blurs the distinction between goods and services and may also be applied to the artistic realm. Botti (2000) presents a three-dimensional matrix to illustrate a product-oriented classification which can be used to analyse the differences and similarities between a range of artistic products (see Figure 2-4). However, she stresses its limitations: the fact that it leads to a sectorial approach to the art market where the analytical dimensions used to distinguish between the sub-sectors are highly subjective.

Figure 2-4: Product-oriented classification of artistic products

		Kind of Product	
		Goods	Services
Kind of Interaction	Performing Arts	CD – classical music (high culture)	Classical concerts and classical theatre (high culture)
		CD – pop music (popular culture)	Pop concerts and cinema (popular culture)
	Visual Arts	Sculpture and painting (high culture)	Museums, art galleries (high culture)
		Fashion (popular culture)	Exhibition of cartoons (popular culture)

Source: Adapted from (Botti, 2000: 16)

What light can this theorising about the artistic product and how it should be marketed throw on the marketing of early concerts in London? The first problem is that some of these ideas are based on a romantic ideal of the artist and art which is anachronistic to the period under study. The high-minded approach attributed by Hirschman and others to producers of artistic products seems to be based on a somewhat romantic and comparatively recent ideal of high art as being something created from the artist’s internal vision, producing an artwork with a unique and personal meaning. Buelow (1990) describes this romanticized view of the creative act as one which sees ‘the writer, the artist, the composer in a state of suspended animation until he is mysteriously infused with the inspired idea, the original invention’; genius implies originality and inspiration. Cultural consumers — readers, viewers and listeners — would act in a similar fashion, expecting a profound aesthetic and emotional experience (Bradshaw et al., 2006).

However, this concept of non-utilitarian art produced by the professional artist exclusively for contemplation, of art as a special domain of creativity, spontaneity, of refined sensibility and expressive ‘genius’, only developed during the course of the eighteenth century. 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: 233–234; Lowinsky, 1964; Staniszewski, 1995: 111–116). Indeed imitation, the very antithesis of the originality that came to be required of the genius, was an accepted method by which composers learned their craft throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods. It was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that imitation came to be criticised and ‘originality was seen as the distinguished feature of the now most popular definition of creative talent — genius’ (Buelow, 1990).

Also pertinent is the fact that distinctions between high culture and popular culture became embedded in different countries at different periods. The founding of the ‘Concert of Antient Music’ in London in 1776 emphasised ‘old’ music (composed at least 20 years previously) as a means of excluding the more vulgar entertainment that was contemporary Italian *opera buffa* (Weber, 1992). Weber (1977) sees the mid-nineteenth century as the period during which the modern categories of popular and classical music were gradually formed in Europe with the rise of the classical masters: ‘Popular music was whatever people said you did not need to know much to enjoy; classical music was whatever they said you did need a serious acquired taste to appreciate’. In America, the distinction between high and popular culture did not emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century and was effected by means of a conscious process of isolation and differentiation of high culture by urban elites, partly as a reaction to the industrial revolution which resulted in the mass production of goods and the rise of the new middle class (Dimaggio, 1982; Kolb, 2005: 26; Levine, 1988; Shrum, 1996; Waksman, 2011). Colbert’s (2003; 2007: 8–10) distinction between a not-for-profit arts sector which produces unique products not designed to be reproduced, and profit-generating cultural industries whose unique products are designed to be reproduced in large quantities falls at the technological hurdle: while

individual pieces of music could be published and sold (probably not in particularly large numbers), concerts could not be reproduced in any way in the eighteenth century except by putting on a second performance. Lastly, audiences of the time were not accustomed to sit in rapt silence in opera house or concert room as they are today; it was accepted that people would socialise during a performance, that they might move between boxes or parts of the hall, or even move from one performance to another (Knif, 1995; Weber, 1997; Johnson, 1995).

Thus if the concepts of high culture and the creative genius who creates primarily to express subjective conceptions of beauty, emotion or some other aesthetic ideal are not relevant to composers and musical performers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, should we expect concert organisers to be constrained by our modern disdain for commercialised creativity and our idealisation of art as an end in itself? Should we not allow concert promoters to use some of the standard methods of the marketing concept and expect to see ‘some compromises on product or adjustments to the product according to consumer preferences’ as allowed by Colbert (2007: 15) for organisations which do not have a clear-cut product or market orientation? Chapters 5 and 6 will show that concert promoters in London in the period under study are more akin to contemporary promoters of West End plays or musicals; they were not just marketing the supply but were willing to use a variety of marketing tactics and to create and make adjustments to a product, the concert, which aimed to satisfy customer needs as a way of ensuring that they themselves could earn a living.

2.4.1.2. Consumption Orientation: Consumer Focus

A major flaw of the product-centred approach to marketing the arts and culture is that it disregards the consumer perspective and the benefits which the purchaser seeks when consuming a cultural product; it fails to acknowledge the important part which the cultural consumer plays in the co-creation of artistic products. It is to this consumer perspective which we shall now turn.

Design of the artistic product itself is excluded from the arts marketing task in most leading textbooks in the field of arts marketing (Colbert, 2007; Klein, 2001; Kolb, 2005; Kotler et al., 2008; Kotler and Scheff, 1997). Kotler and Scheff (1997: 34) are of the opinion that the customer-centred approach should have no effect on the selection of

works a cultural organisation performs or presents, but instead it should be applied to the way in which the works are described, priced, packaged, enhanced and delivered. The role of arts marketing is considered to be one of indirect support for the cultural organisation's artistic mission by increasing attendance and generating funds, but not one that defines the mission itself (Kotler et al., 2008). Colbert (2003) states: "The artistic product does not exist to fulfil a market need ... Instead of seeking to meet consumers' needs by offering them a product they desire, the arts manager seeks consumers who are attracted to the product". However, as we have seen, the reasons for this insistence on the sacrosanct nature of the artistic product do not apply to the early London concert.

An understanding of consumer behaviour is considered an essential component of modern marketing and this is no less true for the marketing of cultural products. To attract consumers, the audience or fans, the manager of a cultural organisation needs to know who they are, why they are making a purchase and how they make their purchase decisions (Boorsma, 2002; Colbert, 2003). Work has been done on the first of these questions with regard to the typical cultural consumer in contemporary society (Andreasen and Belk, 1980; Chuu et al., 2009; Colbert, 2003; Colbert, 2007; Gainer, 1993b; Keaney, 2008; Kottasz and Bennett, 2006; Fisher and Preece, 2003), as well as on eighteenth-, nineteenth and early twentieth-century music and theatre audiences (Blanning, 2008; Bruhn, 2003; Gras and Vliet, 2004; Hughes, 1971; Hunter, 2000; Pedicord, 1980; Shera, 1947-1948; Weber, 1997). Colbert (2003) summarises forty years of research in describing the typical cultural consumer in contemporary society as female, well educated, earning a relatively high income and holding a white-collar job. As regards the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the audience for music was restricted almost entirely to the wealthy elite. Roger North, whose *Memoires of Musick* were published in 1728, described the changes in musical life he had witnessed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century: 'now the lovers and patrons of musick, and who by strength of purse and flattery have introduced a kind of idolatry of it, are the grandees, nobles, and polites of the age' (Wilson, 1959: 251). Hunter (2000) quotes a letter from *Common Sense*, 1738, probably written by Henry Fielding, which states that 'every Body knows that his [Handel's] Entertainments [oratorios] are

calculated for the Quality only, and that People of moderate Fortunes cannot pretend to them’.

The second question as to why consumers attend the arts is of paramount interest to marketing experts in the arts. Part of the answer appears to lie in childhood, at least for today’s audiences. Four factors are acknowledged to affect adult cultural preferences: values communicated within the family, values communicated at school, introduction to the arts in childhood and practising an art form as an amateur; preferences and tastes in the cultural area are believed to be established by the age of 20 (Andreasen and Belk, 1980; Gainer, 1993a; Holbrook and Schindler, 1989; Kolb, 2001). For those without a preference formed during childhood, Carù and Cova (2005) use appropriation theory to argue that repeat ‘immersion’ in artistic events is not caused only by the object of the experience (the music) and the servicescape (the design of the environment), but is also facilitated by service elements such as referents, a conductor or guide and ritual. It is likely that childhood experience would have encouraged attendance at concerts and other musical events in the period under study, as music formed an integral part of family life for most wealthy families of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As described in section 4.4.2 below, music of all kinds was played at home as is evidenced both by the type and quantity of music that was published in the period (Arber, 1903; Smith, 1948; Smith and Humphries, 1968) and by the number of advertisements for the sale of instruments appearing in newspapers. Thus, the élite who attended concerts would already have built up a series of referents which would facilitate their attendance at musical events and other members of their family or social network could function as guides to the rituals which formed part of attendance. However, this childhood experience only gives the baseline preference; the motivation to attend a particular musical event requires further investigation.

Citing Kotler’s (1991) view of marketing as a process concerned with the facilitation of exchanges in which each party to the exchange gives up something of value in return for something of greater value, Holbrook (1999b) stresses the importance of consumer value to all marketing activity. He defines consumer value as an ‘interactive relativistic preference experience’ in which these four facets of consumer value compose an ‘interconnected system of related aspects that overlap and combine to constitute the emergent phenomenon known as consumer value’. Consumer value is:

- interactive since it involves interaction between a subject (a consumer or customer) and an object (a product or service)
- relativistic since it is comparative (involving preferences among objects), personal (varying across people) and situational (specific to the context)
- preferential since it represents a preference judgement
- experiential since it derives from the consumption experience, rather than from merely purchasing or possessing a product

Holbrook goes on to provide a typology of consumer value which categorises the types of value in the consumption experience, reflecting three key dimensions: extrinsic versus intrinsic value, self-oriented versus other-oriented value, and active versus reactive value (see Table 2-1).

Table 2-1: Typology of Consumer Value

		Extrinsic	Intrinsic
Self-oriented	Active	EFFICIENCY (Output/Input, Convenience)	PLAY (Fun)
	Reactive	EXCELLENCE (Quality)	AESTHETICS (Beauty)
Other-oriented	Active	STATUS (Success, Impression Management)	ETHICS (Virtue, Justice, Morality)
	Reactive	ESTEEM (Reputation, Materialism, Possessions)	SPIRITUALITY (Faith, Ecstasy, Sacredness, Magic)

Source: (Holbrook, 1999b)

Returning to arts marketing specifically, a number of reasons have been proposed for what motivates attendance at a cultural arts event, all based on an investigation into what the consumer values, the different needs which are fulfilled and the various benefits of attendance. Recent work in the area of classifying motives for arts attendance has resulted in the following taxonomy of arts consumption benefits (Boorsma, 2006; Botti, 2000; Colbert, 2003):

- Functional, cultural or educational benefits linked to a thirst for cultural knowledge.

- Symbolic benefits linked to the need to demonstrate one's social position or personality.
- Social benefits linked to the need for social contact and interaction with others.
- Emotional or hedonistic benefits linked to the desire for pleasurable experiences, which can be either stimulating or relaxing, and to the need to escape from daily problems and routine.
- Artistic benefits linked to the experience to complete a work of art.

A consumer seeks functional, cultural or educational benefits when he or she becomes aware of a cultural need, such as the thirst for knowledge. Cultural products may fulfil a functional need when they have an educational benefit and enhance culture. For instance, it is held that one of the primary motivations for people to visit a museum is to acquire knowledge (McLean, 1995; Paswan and Troy, 2004; Slater, 2007; Slater and Armstrong, 2010).

Symbolic benefits are linked to the product's significance at the psychological or social level and are related to semiotic aspects such as communicating one's personality and values via consumption choices (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Lury, 2011). In consuming artistic products the consumer reveals aspects of his or her personality and culture or subculture (Gainer, 1995; Lury, 2011). Bourdieu (1979) asserts that art and cultural consumption are predisposed to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences. Social subjects 'classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make between ... the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed' (Bourdieu, 1979: 7). Social life is thus a way of drawing on economic capital (financial resources), social capital (relationships and networks) and cultural capital (socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices) to compete for symbolic capital or status (Bourdieu, 1979; Holt, 1998). Following on from this it can be argued that arts attendance serves as a social symbol, as a way of expressing one's personality or social position (Botti, 2000; Colbert, 2003; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000; Gainer, 1993b; 1997; Kelly, 1987).

The social benefits of arts consumption fulfil a need for social contact and interaction. Attendance at an arts event provides both the opportunity to meet with like-minded individuals and a common experience about which to converse (Bouder-Pailler, 1999; Thyne, 2001). Attendance at an arts event is for many a consumption ritual which focuses on social relationships (Gainer, 1995); indeed people attend cultural events more often if they attend with partners or friends (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 72–4).

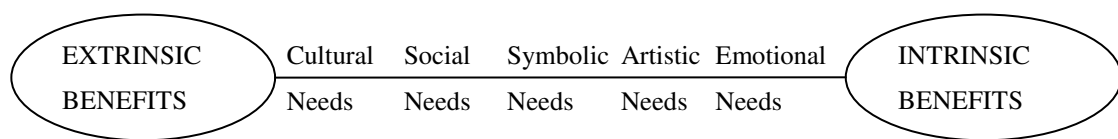
Developments in behavioural research which led to the conceptualisation of hedonistic or experiential consumption (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982) have been a fertile area for explorations of motivation to attend cultural events. Using the hedonistic perspective, consumer choices are examined in terms of the pleasure, hedonistic fulfilment, emotional arousal, amusement, and imaginary and sensory stimulation experienced by the consumer, rather than the product's utility. With its focus on the experiential aspects of consumption, the hedonistic perspective emphasises the dynamic interaction between consumer and product, a feature which is to the fore in arts and other leisure activities (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982). Thus, the hedonistic perspective has proved an inspiration for the investigation of emotion as one of the major benefits of arts consumption (Botti, 2000; Bouder-Pailler, 1999; Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Colbert, 2003; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000; Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985; Woods, 1987). The uniqueness of the work of art means that it will not give rise to the same emotional reaction in each member of the audience; nor, indeed, will an individual necessarily feel the same emotional reaction to the same artwork on different occasions (Botti, 2000; Evrard, 1997).

Last but not least, attendance at a cultural event brings to the consumer the benefit of the artistic experience itself. For Boorsma (2006), the production of artworks is understood as a 'specific form of language construction – the creation of new, authentic metaphors which break down existing aesthetic symbol systems and create new ones'. She underlines the crucial rôle of the art consumer in the final stage of this process, that of completing the work of art by taking meaning from the new metaphor and by acknowledging its artistic value. Although not clear-cut in their findings, several empirical studies back up the importance of the artistic experience itself as a motivation for attending cultural events (Boorsma, 2006; Boorsma and van Maanen, 1982a; 1982b;

Cooper and Tower, 1992; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000). Botti (2000: 21) describes artistic value as the artistic potential designed into artworks by an artist and which is ‘drawn out by means of the relationship established between the products themselves and their consumers (public or audience)’. She opines that the object of arts marketing is to increase or enhance the emergent or emerged artistic potential and thus facilitate the diffusion of the artistic value to society.

It is important to stress that a single artistic consumption experience may fulfil a range of different needs; even if a single benefit becomes the main motivation for attendance at an artistic event at a particular moment in time during that experience, more than one benefit can result from the experience as a whole. This is highlighted by Botti (2000) who places the benefits along a continuum from extrinsic (utilitarian) to intrinsic (emotional) benefits (Figure 2-5). Where arts consumption is concerned, the needs at the emotional end of the continuum may have a more dominant position than those at the utilitarian end (Becker, 1982; Botti, 2000; Holbrook, 1980).

Figure 2-5: Needs satisfied through arts consumption



Source: Adapted from (Botti, 2000: 18)

The decision to attend a cultural event is made by weighing up the benefits the audience member may receive against the cost (Kolb, 2005: 91–5). A potential attendee must decide whether attendance provides good value in terms of the relationship between the satisfaction that benefits provide and the cost to be paid, which will include not just the price of the ticket, but also transportation, and any other related expenses. In addition, as attendance at a live cultural event is highly time-intensive, a potential attendee will also weigh up the opportunity cost of the time taken up by attendance at a particular cultural event which is then not available for alternative activities (Throsby, 1994; Frey and Meier, 2006). Although it is difficult to measure the quality of performances, it has been shown that the expected quality of a cultural event will have a strong effect on the decision to attend (Throsby, 1983). Moreover, it is the expected

quality of the entire experience, not just of the performance itself, which will affect the decision to attend; this will include expectations with regard to such factors as the ambience of the venue, the convenience of the location and additional amenities provided (Kolb, 2005: 91–5).

Marketing managers are interested in knowing how and why attendees make the decision to attend a cultural event because it has an effect on the types of events which they arrange and how they are promoted. This holds good for musicians who organised concerts in London in the period under investigation. Thus, we will see in Chapter 5 how different types of concerts were developed which satisfied different motivations to attend such an event. Section 8.3.3 will discuss how concerts were promoted, and will show how different motivations to attend and the benefits of attending were considered by some concert promoters when drawing up their advertisement copy.

2.4.2. The Marketing Mix for the Arts

Kotler and Scheff (1997: 40–3) characterise a customer-centred cultural organisation as follows: it relies heavily on research; it creatively and strategically segments the audience into target groups; it defines competition broadly; and it develops strategies using all elements of the ‘marketing mix’, which they identify as one of the key concepts in modern marketing theory. Kotler *et al.* (2001: 97) define the marketing mix as being ‘the set of controllable tactical marketing tools... that the firm blends to produce the response it wants in the target market’. E. Jerome McCarthy (1960) proposed a classification of the elements of the marketing mix into what is now commonly known as the ‘four Ps’: product, price, place and promotion. In the context of services marketing, an additional 3 P’s are considered: ‘people’, ‘physical evidence’ and ‘process’ (Booms and Bitner, 1981). The product consists of ‘anything that can be offered in a market for attention, acquisition, use or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. It includes physical objects, services, persons, places, organisations and ideas’. Price is the amount charged for a product or service; place is ‘all the company activities that make the product or service available to target consumers’; promotion consists of ‘activities that communicate the product or service and its merits to target consumers and persuade them to buy’ (Kotler *et al.*, 2001: 97–8); people are ‘all actors who play a part in service delivery and thus influence the buyer’s perceptions: namely

the firm’s personnel, the customer, and other customers in the service environment’; physical evidence is ‘the environment in which the service is delivered and where the firm and customer interact, and any tangible components that facilitate performance or communication of the service’; while process is ‘the actual procedures, mechanisms and flow of activities by which the service is delivered’ (Wilson et al., 2012) (see Table 2-2).

Table 2-2: The Marketing Mix

Product	Price	Place	Promotion
Variety	List price	Locations	Advertising
Quality	Discounts	Transport	Promotions
Design	Allowances	Exposure	Personal selling
Features	Payment period	Intermediaries	Publicity
Services	Flexibility	Outlet locations	Promotion blend
Accessories	Terms	Storage	Salespeople
Packaging	Differentiation	Channel type	Incentives
Warranties		Managing channels	Media types
Product Lines			Sales promotion
Branding			

People	Physical Evidence	Process
Employees	Facility design	Flow of activities
Recruiting	Equipment	Standardised
Training	Signage	Customised
Motivation	Employee dress	Number of steps
Rewards	Other tangibles	Simple
Teamwork	Reports	Complex
Customers	Business cards	Customer involvement
Education	Statements	

Source: (Kotler et al., 2001: 98; Wilson et al., 2012)

For contemporary popular music, O’Reilly (2004) suggests the following adaptations:

- Product: music genre, sound and lyrics
- Place: physical or electronic distribution of the product
- Promotion: all forms of promotional communication
- Price: the money charged for the recorded product or for entrance to see a live performance
- People: the singer(s) and/or musician(s)
- Performance: the live performance process, including the physical performance space

- Physical evidence: technical format (e.g. CD, MP3), and release format (e.g. album, single)

Some of this is obviously very much related to the technology in use today and would thus be irrelevant for music in the period under study. However, the following further adaptation seems appropriate:

- Product: concert type; music genre, words and music, programming
- Place/Performance: physical performance space and ticket selling locations
- Price: the money charged for entrance to see a live performance
- Promotion: all forms of promotional communication
- People: composers and performers

The marketing mix is not without its shortcomings — internal orientation, lack of strategic dimensions and lack of personalisation, to name but three — but it does provide a straightforward conceptual framework whose essential features of simplicity, applicability and richness have encouraged its widespread use by marketing practitioners (Constantinides, 2006; O'Reilly, 2004). This slight adaptation makes it a useful way of discussing the various aspects of London's public commercial concerts in the period under study.

It is unlikely that concert promoters in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London relied heavily on formal research, nor did they creatively and strategically segment their audience into target groups. We can be almost certain that they did not think about developing strategies using all elements of the 'marketing mix'. However, they probably had a good knowledge of those who made up their potential audience as they often lived in close proximity to their audience (see section 9.3.1) and interacted with them closely when performing in private events at their houses or visiting to give instrumental lessons. They used this knowledge and experience of the upper echelons of London society to develop different types of concerts with repertoire which they thought would appeal to them (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), held in venues which were convenient and attractive (see Chapter 7), at prices which would attract them but exclude others lower down the social scale (see section 8.2), and promoted their concerts in ways calculated to catch their attention (see section 8.3). While they had no knowledge of the relevant theory, musicians who organised concerts were unconsciously developing strategies using all elements of the 'marketing mix' in their efforts to attract an audience and make a living.

2.4.2.1. Product

The product is the focus for any type of organisation, and can be a tangible good, a service or an idea. Cultural products can be a combination of all of these: the cultural organisation provides a service when it presents a cultural event, but it may also provide tangible products for purchase at the event, such as refreshments or programmes, and it also markets the idea of supporting the arts when it attracts sponsorship (Kolb, 2005: 161). In the view of a marketing specialist, a product might be defined as ‘the set of benefits as they are perceived by the consumer’ (Colbert, 2007: 30).³ Even though a product may be described in terms of its technical features or symbolic value, what the consumer buys is a set of benefits, be they real or imaginary. In general, a product consists of the core product itself as well as related services, and the value which consumers attach to the product. When considering cultural products, much of this description of the product holds good, but with subtle changes. In the contemporary cultural sector, the artistic product is still the core product even though the choice of works to be displayed or performed is not usually determined by the marketing function, but by someone on the artistic side. At a concert, the core offering may be a single piece of music to be performed, the programme for an entire concert, the collection of programmes for a subscription series or an entire season; it may also be considered in terms of the specific performers (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 192).

However, a cultural event is more than just the music or performer, it is a complete emotional experience, and for occasional attendees especially, intangible and atmospheric factors are just as important as the core product itself (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 42). The core product may also be accompanied by what Kotler and Scheff (1997: 192–3) term the ‘expected’ and the ‘augmented’ product. The expected product includes the customer’s normal expectations regarding the purchase and consumption of the product, while the augmented product includes features and benefits which exceed what the target audience normally expect.

Products have been classified according to the amount of effort required by the consumer to purchase the product as being one of three categories: convenience products, shopping/comparison products or specialty products (Bucklin, 1963; Copeland, 1923; Holton, 1958; Luck, 1959); a fourth category, that of preference goods

³ See p. 42ff. for a description of the various benefits which may be conferred by attendance at cultural events.

has also been posited (Enis and Roering, 1980; Holbrook and Howard, 1977; Murphy and Enis, 1986). Like products, services may also be divided into groups or classifications which share certain marketing characteristics so as to facilitate an examination of the implications for marketing action (Lovelock, 1983). Judd (1964) proposes a division into rented goods services, owned goods services and non-goods services; this last, which comprised personal experiences or 'experiential possession', would presumably include cultural events. Some cultural products comprise both physical goods and intangible services within a single product 'package', and the relative proportion of each may be used as a method of classification (Shostack, 1977).

Cultural products may also be categorised depending on the type of art form, whether it is considered high or popular culture and the segment of the market which is being targeted. To be classified as a convenience product, with wide distribution and low cost, the cultural product will usually be at the popular end of the culture spectrum. Consumers may consider culture to be a comparison product if they have limited knowledge of art and culture and will thus be happy to attend any of a range of cultural events which they consider to have similar features and benefits. Culture enthusiasts view culture as a specialty product, have a specific preference for a certain type of cultural product for which they are not willing to accept a substitute, and they tend to fall at the high end of the culture spectrum (Kolb, 2005: 168–71). Rather than being pure goods, many cultural 'products' are more akin to services in Berry's (1980) definition as a 'deed, act or performance'. Other characteristics of services are also shared by cultural products in that they are intangible, perishable, consumption is simultaneous with purchase and they possess a circumstantial dimension (Colbert, 2007: 35–6; Kolb, 2005: 162–3; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 193–6).

Once the core product has been selected, it is the marketer's task to decide how to position and present the product offering to the public. As a cultural product or organisation may evoke a variety of associations, positioning involves deciding on which of these associations should be emphasised and which removed. Choosing the right positioning can have a pronounced effect on customers' perceptions and choice decisions. A cultural organisation can base its positioning on a single attribute or on a set of attributes, but the most common practice is to choose one or two attributes which appear to be the most attractive to the target audience. The types of attributes which

might be used to position the product include, among others: programming (Chapter 6), performers (Chapter 9), venue location and facilities (Chapter 7), price (section 8.2), quality, and benefits sought by the consumer. As an alternative to choosing a competitive positioning which seeks to differentiate the product, cultural organisations can try to associate their product with an existing product in order to benefit from the competitor's image (Colbert, 2007: 162–6; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 205–9; Nantel and Colbert, 1992). This was frequently done by London concert promoters in the first half of the eighteenth century when they advertised that arias taken from popular operas of the day would be performed.

2.4.2.2. Place/Performance

Place refers both to the distribution channels and the location at which the product is made available to the public. For the performing arts, this will mean the performing venues and places or methods of ticket distribution; the location of these can have an important effect on the success or failure of an artistic event since there is a limit to the amount of effort a consumer is prepared to make to purchase a ticket or travel to a venue. If the physical location is difficult to reach or if the time at which the product is offered is inconvenient, the potential consumer is less likely to make the effort to attend. For any point of sale, the further away the consumer is located, the less likely they are to attend. As with retail outlets, the best location for cultural venues is one that is in close proximity both to its potential consumers and to other venues of the same kind, as the synergising effect increases attendance

2.4.2.3. Price

It might seem that price is one of the simpler parts of the marketing mix. However, the price paid by the consumer to purchase a cultural product is only one element of the various expenses which are related to its consumption. In addition, the consumer must also take into account other expenses, such as cost of transport, the opportunity cost of the leisure time invested, the risk associated with the purchase, and the physical effort expended by the consumer in attending an event. The risk associated with a purchase is the lack of certainty that needs or expectations will be met. It includes such factors as the social risk of being associated with a particular group, the risk of not understanding or liking the product and the risk of being upset. The greater a

consumer's experience with a particular product, the less will be the perceived risk (Colbert, 2007: 172–3; Kolb, 2005: 166–7; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 225–6). In addition to these real and perceived costs, the concept of perceived value is another factor in setting prices. Perceived value is determined by the consumer and represents the difference between the producer value (cost of production, distribution, and marketing plus a profit factor) and what a consumer feels the offering is worth regardless of its production costs. A high perceived value may allow a cultural organisation to charge high prices without affecting attendance adversely (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 226–7). For instance, for the 1850 United States concert tour of Swedish concert singer Jenny Lind, her manager P.T. Barnum charged a very high US\$3 for tickets and even sold many of the prime tickets at auction at an average of above \$US6, 'turning the privilege of purchasing the first ticket to any segment of Lind's tour in to an occasion to bid for status and recognition; crowds still flocked to the concerts (Waksman, 2011).

Setting a price for a cultural event sends a signal about the value of the product to the marketplace and will thus influence consumer perceptions and the level of product consumption. A range of different pricing strategies can be employed (Colbert, 2007: 186–192; Kolb, 2005: 188–90; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 231–6):

- Competition-oriented pricing strategy — the price for the product is based on what its competitors are charging, rather than on its own cost or demand. The organisation may charge either the same as the competition, a higher price, or a lower price. Where products are very similar, then charging the 'going rate' is likely to be a good choice, where there is more differentiation, it is possible to charge more or less as appropriate.
- Skimming strategy — the product is introduced at a high price so as to earn the maximum profit per unit sold; the price may be lowered later to reach more price-sensitive consumers. This strategy is suitable if the product is unique or has unique attributes, projects prestige or enjoys a near monopoly.
- Market-penetration strategy — the product is sold at the lowest possible price so as to sell as many units as possible. This strategy targets a large market of more price-sensitive consumers.

- Prestige pricing — a high price is set so as to highlight the prestige associated with the consumption of a product, thus lending it an ‘added value’ by offering real psychological or physical advantages which are sought by the targeted clientele.
- Dynamic or discriminatory pricing — demand for a cultural product can vary depending on the consumer segment attending or from one time period to another. Cultural organisations can take advantage of these variations by using a dynamic pricing policy which sets different prices for the same product, according to each consumer segment, consumer behaviour, or time of consumption.

2.4.2.4. Promotion

Promotion refers to the methods which are made to communicate with the public in order to get a message across and to produce a change in the consumer. Promotion of a cultural event performs three different tasks (Kolb, 2005: 91–5):

- Informative promotion informs the consumer of the features of the event — performer, time and date of concert, music programming, physical attributes of the venue and additional services provided. Informative promotion is not usually sufficient on its own to persuade new audiences to attend; however, it is necessary when a new cultural product is being introduced to provide information about the venue and the performer.
- Persuasive promotion tries to encourage consumers to attend by outlining the various benefits provided by the event. This type of promotion may be needed to encourage attendance by culture consumers who are unfamiliar with the cultural product.
- Reminder promotion focuses on reminding consumers of when and where the product is available, and is most suitable for culture enthusiasts who are already familiar with the product’s features and benefits.

Four main promotional tools are available: personal selling, public relations, sales promotion and advertising (Colbert, 2007: 227). These different forms of promotion can be combined in different ways and amounts to suit the cultural organisation’s budget and aims in what is known as the promotion mix.

Personal selling is carried out by transmitting a message from one person to the next through direct contact; it is the preferred option for selling an idea or spreading a complicated message and at the earlier stages of the consumer decision process. Unlike advertising, personal selling involves a dialogue, an interactive relationship between two or more persons; it also permits the cultivation of relationships over time (Colbert, 2007: 228–9; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 301–2). Musicians who promoted or took part in early London concerts would have had opportunities for personal selling as many lived in close proximity to their potential audience, and might visit their houses to give private concerts or in a teaching rôle; however direct evidence of such personal selling activities is rare.

The main public relations tool for the cultural organisation is publicity, whereby the organisation is promoted in the media without paying to advertise. News stories and features have a higher credibility than advertisements; moreover, they still present the same opportunities to add drama and to build the image of a cultural organisation or event but at a lower cost (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 302–3). Occasions for public relations were more limited in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than they are today, but some publicity was still sought through very occasional use of what were known as ‘puffs’ which usually appeared in the news section of a newspaper and might contain a report of the arrival of a particularly famous instrumentalist or singer from foreign parts, or a discussion of a planned new musical enterprise.

Sales promotion is the effort to keep the product fresh in the consumer’s mind after the consumption experience has finished. This can take the form of some kind of money-saving incentive, a competition, a give-away object which contains a logo or short message, or a spin-off product which earns more revenue while prolonging the consumption experience. Cross-promotions are another form of sales promotion which take the form of collaboration between two or more organisations, thus encouraging customers of one organisation to patronise another related organisation. (Colbert, 2007: 229–31; Kolb, 2005: 218–22; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 302). Sales promotions of various types were used by early London concert promoters, in the form of money-saving incentives (see section 8.2), free gifts given away at concerts (usually the words for the music being performed), and cross-promotions with music publishers.

Advertising is any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 301). In its many forms and uses, advertising shares the following characteristics:

- Public presentation — as a highly public mode of communication, advertising can confer a legitimacy on the product and suggest a standardised offering.
- Pervasiveness — as a pervasive medium, advertising allows the seller to repeat their message many times. However, the buyer will also receive and compare the messages of various competitors.
- Amplified expressiveness — advertising can be used to dramatise the organisation and its offering through the clever use of print, sound, image and colour.
- Impersonality — the audience does not have to respond to advertising as it is a one-way form of communication.

Two characteristics are held to typify present-day advertising: pervasive coverage through the use of a wide variety of media, and a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption (Leiss et al., 2005, Goldman, 1992). Today there is a wide range of different electronic and print media which may facilitate the communication of an effective advertising message, but in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a more restricted selection was available. In a series of publications, McFall (2000; 2002b; 2002a; 2004a; 2004b) refutes the idea that pervasiveness and persuasion in advertising are contemporary inventions. 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. Cultural events could be promoted by means of newspaper advertising, posters and handbills, as well as by word of mouth. Of these, newspaper advertising was the latest to develop, when the occasional broadsides and newsbooks of the Elizabethan era began to be supplemented by the development of newspapers, sometimes called news-sheets or ‘mercuries’, which began to appear more regularly later in the seventeenth century. While early London concert promoters could not attain the extensive coverage which our wide variety of media make possible for contemporary cultural events, a growth in

the printing industry and the concomitant increase in the number of newspapers provided a new channel by which the fledgling public commercial concert could be advertised, a method that had not been available to older established commercial entertainments such as theatrical performances and opera, thus increasing the pervasiveness of entertainment advertising (see section 8.3.1).

In contrast to present-day advertising techniques, earlier practice is 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, Goldman, 1992). The 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 (1929: 259) comments: 'Each generation wonders if advertising has not reached its zenith'. Yet McKendrick (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; and McFall (2000) 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'. 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.

A range of different models seek to explain how a consumer responds to advertising communications (see Figure 2-6). 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: 92–3). 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'. This 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: 92–3; Moore, 2005: 253–259). Section 8.3.2 will show how the attention of the reader of the newspaper was first attracted to the

advertisement by use of the range of typographical devices that were available in newspapers of the day; the wording of the advertisement was then used to arouse interest in the concert and create the desire to purchase a ticket and attend (section 8.3.3).

Figure 2-6: Consumer Response Hierarchy Models

Stages	AIDA model	Hierarchy-of-effects model	Innovation-adoption model	Communications model
Cognitive Stage	Attention ↓	Awareness ↓ Knowledge ↓	Awareness ↓	Exposure ↓ Reception ↓ Cognitive Response ↓
Affective Stage	Interest ↓ Desire ↓	Liking ↓ Preference ↓ Conviction ↓	Interest ↓ Evaluation ↓	Attitude ↓ Intention ↓
Behaviour Stage	Action	Purchase	Trial ↓ Adoption	Behaviour

Source: (Kotler et al., 2009: 695)

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. However, this complex web of 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, 2004a; 2004b) (see section 8.3.3). This finds resonance with the promotion of contemporary cultural events (Kolb, 2005: 215).

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 (see Table 2-3).

Table 2-3: Shields against Persuasive Overtures

External: social attachments	Internal: overall perspective
Culture Reference groups Social class Emotionally grounded experiences	Current beliefs Values

Source: (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 9)

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 and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 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 and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 145–49).

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 et al., 2006, Holbrook, 1986, Holbrook, 1994, Holbrook, 1996, Holbrook, 1999, Holbrook and 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’. While this idea of

a customer value proposition was not one which was articulated at the time, concert promoters were unconsciously building up a customer value proposition in their advertisements which would persuade potential attendees to purchase tickets for their concert rather than to attend a different concert or some other type of leisure event.

Many London concert advertisements in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appear to function as reminders as they only give information about when and where the concert will take place. However, some concert advertisements appear to be more informative, notifying potential attendees of performer(s), time and date of concert, music programming, physical attributes of the venue and additional services provided. Advertisements in early newspapers began to become more direct and less restrained from about the middle of the seventeenth century, showing the beginnings of a process of development from conventional recommendation to the persuasion and propaganda which are held to characterise contemporary advertising. While not having access to the wide range of media available today, some promoters of London concerts nevertheless endeavoured to produce advertisements which were persuasive. It is in the area of functional or psychosocial benefits and values associated with the event that McGuinness's (2004a; 2004b) idea of the rhetoric of persuasion comes into play, with advertisements using allusions and hints to help the reader decide whether they will derive value from attendance at the concert. Even a seemingly purely informative advertisement for a concert could be persuasive if the rhetoric of the description used to describe the event was devised in such a way as to appeal to the potential audience. Thus, advertisements for some early London concerts also show persuasive elements (see section 8.3.3) and these early examples of advertising rhetoric give the lie to the often-held belief that persuasive rather than informative advertisements did not develop before the twentieth century (Dyer, 1982: 15–17).

2.4.2.5. People

The last P, People, refers to the personnel who will come into contact with those who are buying a product, as well as those customers themselves. Anyone who is exposed to customers, in this case the concert audience, makes an impression which can have a profound positive or negative effect on customer satisfaction. People are thus a defining factor in a service delivery process, since a service is inseparable from the

person providing it. In the conventional service industry, one would expect customer-facing personnel to be appropriately trained, well motivated and to have the right attitude. In the period under study, one would expect musicians who organised concerts to choose as fellow performers those with whom they were acquainted and whom they judged to be of similar abilities, those who had received sufficient and appropriate training in performance. In addition to this, a successful musician also had to be able to mix with the audience socially, possibly not so much at public concerts themselves, but when selling tickets for their own benefit concerts, when performing at private concerts, as teachers of music to the families of those who attended concerts and also when seeking other forms of patronage, such as the purchase of published music.

This was a period when at least some musicians were starting to move from a position where they acted as live-in servants to a status more akin to that of freelance professionals, from ‘musician-valet’ to ‘musician-entrepreneur’ (Attali, 1985: 47). Basing his work on that of Williams (1981), Hesmondhalgh (2007: 53–4) sees this as a shift from the first to the second of three eras in the development of cultural production in Europe: from the ‘patronage and artisanal’ era which he sees as prevalent in the West from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century, to that of the ‘market professional’ when symbolic creativity was coming to be organised as a market, with more work sold to the public indirectly via intermediaries, either directly via distributors such as booksellers, or by ‘productive intermediaries’ such as publishers. In London in the field of music, this development to a market era, with music being seen more as a commodity, was surely starting at a somewhat earlier date than the nineteenth century. However, musicians were in almost all cases their own ‘productive intermediaries’ as musical entrepreneurship was almost entirely based upon personal self-management. The independent concert agent who acted as an intermediary between the musician and the public, who arranged local concerts and made the arrangements for concert tours, did not begin to emerge until the first half of the nineteenth century, early examples being the violinist Niccolò Paganini who hired a number of managers to assist with his concert tours in the 1830s or the pianist Herz with his manager Bernard Ullman on his tours in America 1846–9 (McVeigh, 2004; Schnapper, 2004; Weber, 2004a).

In addition to the performers, the consumers of the musical product are also an important part of the equation. Although musicians in the period under study would not

have been carrying out the type of consumer-based research which is common today, they would already have had knowledge of their audience, their customers. As we shall see, many musicians lived in close proximity to their audience and also maintained contact by means of personal selling of benefit tickets, giving music lessons to their family members and performing in private concerts in their homes (see Chapter 9).

2.5. Conclusion

The first commercial concerts in London were organised by individuals, usually musicians themselves, who engaged other professional performers, decided on the venue, pieces to be performed, admission to be charged, and methods of promotion. At a period long before the establishment of a body of theory in marketing, or its establishment as an academic discipline or profession, musical entrepreneurs may not have realised that they were carrying out marketing as such, but they instigated a range of marketing strategies in an effort to attract an audience. These strategies bear a close relationship to some of those used in arts marketing today and thus form an interesting topic for comparative study at such an early stage in the history of this new business — the music business.

Chapter 3. Sources and Methods

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will describe the sources and methods which have been used in this research to investigate the early development of the music business in London. It will first outline the importance of newspapers as a source for historical research, and will continue by considering the work of Professor Rosamond McGuinness in creating the database *Register of Music in London Newspapers, 1660–1750*. The limitations of the *Register* as a source for the study of the early music business will then be discussed, followed by a description of the methods that were used to make such a study more feasible. Included in this description will be an explanation of the different ways in which the newspaper texts were analysed so as to provide rich and substantial data enabling an investigation of the rôle of concerts both as musical events and as evidence for how musicians marketed their concerts and began to develop music as a commercial venture.

The main analytical tool used in this study is that of qualitative data analysis, a broad area which does not predicate one standardised approach. Tesch (1990) groups the different strategies used to deal with qualitative data into four main categories according to their research interest in:

- the characteristics of language;
- the discovery of regularities;
- the comprehension of the meaning of text/action;
- reflection.

This study involves elements of all four categories and thus uses a dual approach to analyse the rich data available involving textual decomposition/relational data analysis and content analysis.

3.2. Sources for the History of the Music Business 1660–1750

In building up a picture of the music business in London in the period 1660 to 1750, researchers can draw on evidence to be found in contemporary documents of many different types, from the most public to the most personal, including the following (Witkowski and Jones, 2006):

- Public records such as legal documents, governmental records and other institutional records
- Articles and letters in newspapers, magazines and trade publications
- Print advertising, posted bills and handbills, concert programmes and tickets
- Nonfiction travel accounts and histories of music
- Novels, poetry and plays
- Private business records such as account books
- Personal writing in the form of letters and diaries

Each individual source may supply only one or two facts, but gradually a fuller picture may be established, so that trends and patterns can be identified. Single-authored sources such as diaries, journals, letters, histories of music, contemporary plays, and the prefaces to published music provide only a few details of real-life concerts, and, while they may reflect contemporary attitudes to concerts and concert-giving, there is always a danger in assuming that the views expressed by the author were held more widely (Wilkinson, 1997: 214; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Other sources, such as posted bills, handbills and printed programmes, accounts and other archival material, unfortunately survive in only small numbers.⁴ The few bills and handbills which survive from theatrical performances show that these tended to contain the same kind of information as that to be found in newspaper advertisements; indeed early newspaper advertisements were probably based on the format of playbills (Avery, 1968: xc). It is more than likely that, as with theatrical performances, newspaper advertisements for musical events were also based on the format of bills and handbills. However, it seems that bills and handbills may at times have contained more detail than newspaper advertisements, as is indicated by the following concert advertisement:

At Mr. Goff's new Playhouse in Hampstead.
On Monday next, will be a Consort of Musick, Consisting of
several Celebrated Songs, and Comic Dialogues compos'd by the late

⁴ The few surviving concert programmes in collections held by leading libraries, archives and museums in the UK and Ireland are described in the online Concert Programmes database created as the result of a three-year project (2004–2007) funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and hosted by Cardiff University and the Royal College of Music (<http://www.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/>). It is unfortunate that the kind of detailed financial and management details that survive for plays and opera given in London's theatres (Hume, 1986; Langhans, 1962–3; Milhous, 1976; 1984; Milhous and Hume, 1990; Milhous and Hume, 1978; 1982; 1983; 1986; 1988b; 1988a; 1989a; 1989b; 1989c; 1993; 1999; Nalbach, 1973; Rosenfeld, 1961–2) do not seem to survive for concerts.

Mr. Henry Purcel, and other great English Masters, for 1, 2 and 3 Voices ; the whole, as it will be perform'd, and by whom, is in our great Bills to which we refer. This Consort will be perform'd with much better Decorum than before.

(Daily Courant, 17 September 1709)

Among the printed sources, it is newspapers, and more particularly advertisements in newspapers, which hold pride of place both for the number still surviving and for the wealth of detail they cumulatively provide on musical performances and the music business. The large numbers that are extant allow concert advertisements to be studied longitudinally in relation to each other and they thus provide a valuable source of data for the growth of music as a business over a long and important period of its development. Using newspaper advertisements it is possible to examine a range of variables including the formatting and scale of advertisements, their location within newspapers, the length of time for which an individual advertisement ran, and most importantly, the wording and content of advertisements (Chapter 8 section 8.3.3). The content of the advertisements permits one to determine the types of concerts which arose (Chapter 5), which venues were used for concerts and how these locations changed over time (Chapter 7), where tickets were sold (Chapter 7 section 7.7) and how much was charged for various types of concerts (Chapter 8 section 8.2), the names of performers (Chapter 9) and of pieces being performed (Chapter 6); in short, how this new business of music gradually developed.

3.3. Newspapers as a Source for Historical Research

Only a reading of the daily newspapers in the first thirty years of the [eighteenth] century can fully demonstrate the enormous appetite of the public for concerts and musical programmes, both within the theatres and in taverns, halls, dancing rooms, academies, and private rooms.
(Avery, 1968: cxli)

The rise of commercialised leisure in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England went hand in hand with a boom in the publishing industry (Plumb, 1982). The lapsing of the Licensing (Printing) Act in 1695 ended the control of the Stationers' Company over printers in England. There was an immediate and rapid increase in the number of printers leading to the foundation of new newspapers in London and elsewhere and a boom in publishing generally. The single official newspaper that had

been allowed previously under the Act, the bi-weekly *London Gazette*,⁵ was joined in 1695 by three new London newspapers: The *Flying Post*, *Post Boy*, and *Post Man*. These were published three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, to tie in with departures of the Penny Post from London. The first successful daily paper, the *Daily Courant*, began publication in London in March 1702 (Black, 1991: 12-22; 2001: 1-24; Goff, 2007b; Harris, 1978: 82-97). As the possibilities for publishing were exploited, the industry reached out and responded to an ever-widening market: in addition to the growth of newspapers, there was a concomitant increase in the number of magazines that were published. The publication of books in parts brought them within reach of a poorer section of the market; new interests, such as cookery, gardening and music were quickly recognised and catered for. A beneficent circle evolved: as more was published levels of literacy increased, and this in turn led to a growth in the demand for publications.

The great growth in the printing industry, shown in the huge increase in the number of newspapers, provided an opportunity for public commercial concerts to be advertised, and the ever-expanding number of publications both of music and of musical instruction manuals reflected and fed the mounting interest in music. Economic and political conditions meant that musicians could no longer rely so much on a position at court, in church employ or in a great household as a way of earning a living; more and more they had to rely on money earned by performing in public or by teaching (Holman, 1993; Hume, 2006; Lockett, 1983; McGuinness, 2004b). Not surprisingly, the latter fed the former: who would not want to learn from ‘the best masters’ whom they had heard at the latest concert?

A study of contemporary newspapers provides the raw material for research into almost all areas of society, and is thus indispensable in the process of constructing a picture of the music business in London in the period 1660 to 1750. From no other source can scholars fully appreciate the extent of the public’s enthusiasm for public commercial concerts nor gain such a wealth of detail about performances, performers and other details related to the music business (Avery, 1960: cxli; Peters, 1988). It is therefore fortunate that London newspapers have survived in relatively large numbers.

⁵ This first appeared as the *Oxford Gazette* in November 1665 and became the *London Gazette* in 1666 on the return of the court to London after the plague had died down.

Two collections are of particular note: the Burney Collection at the British Library and the Nichols Collection at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

These two collections of London newspapers themselves have a long and interesting history beginning with the annalist and book collector Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), who kept and annotated many of them (Horwitz, 2004). Following his death, Luttrell's collection was gradually dispersed by his descendents and many of the newspapers ended up in the collections of two men: the book collector Charles Burney (1757–1817),⁶ and John Nichols (1745–1826), printer, publisher and author (Pooley and Myers, 2004). These were subsequently acquired by the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, respectively (Burney, n.d.; Goff, 2007a; Milford and Sutherland, 1936). Bearing in mind the fragility and importance of these two large collections of newspapers as a source of information on all aspects of London, British and wider life and customs, it is fortunate that they are available in the microfilm collection *Early English Newspapers* (1978–), which brought these two collections and their subsequent additions together, with one filling in the gaps of the other (Cox and Budeit, 1983). The Burney collection has now also been digitised in a collaboration between the British Library and Gale Cengage Learning and is available online.⁷

3.3.1. Content of the Newspapers

In the period under study, morning newspapers were usually two-page papers printed on both sides of a folio half-sheet, issues consisting of four pages printed on a folded whole sheet were less frequent; evening newspapers usually consisted of four pages in quarto (Morison, 1932; Snyder, 1968). Information on concerts might be found in any part of a newspaper though, as might be expected, it was only rarely that the foreign news section contributed any information on London concerts. The home news, however, provided a more regular source for information on concerts, albeit mostly for those of a private nature. Frequent mention was made of concert performances at Court: an ode to celebrate New Year's Day, or for a royal birthday; there were private concerts given by members of the aristocracy or foreign ambassadors resident in London; or a concert at the 'opening' of a church's new organ (McGuinness,

⁶ The son of the music historian — also Dr Charles Burney (1726–1814) — and the brother of the novelist and diarist, Fanny Burney (1752–1840) (Troide, 2004).

⁷ <http://gdc.gale.com/products/17th-and-18th-century-burney-collection-newspapers/>.

1984–5: 30). As the period progressed, ‘puffs’ began to appear in the home news section; these were neither news proper nor advertisement, and their combination of gossip and information reflected the importance placed by newspapers owners on advertisements for stage and concert (Avery, 1960: xciii). A puff might contain a report of the arrival of a particularly famous instrumentalist or singer from foreign parts, or a discussion of a planned new musical enterprise.

However, it is the advertisements section of the newspaper which is the most prolific source of information concerning public concerts in London (McGuinness and Diack Johnstone, 1990: 31). Advertisements had been placed together in a separate section of newspapers since 1660, and although their number was small to start with, this section grew steadily until by the mid-eighteenth century advertisements regularly occupied up to three quarters of the space in some daily newspapers (Walker, 1973). Theatres, with their frequent changes of repertoire, were slow to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the use of newspaper advertising, not inserting regular notices before the appearance of the first daily paper, *The Daily Courant*, in 1702 (Avery, 1968: lxxix-xc; Walker, 1973). Public concerts, however, were advertised in newspapers from a much earlier date. It was in 1672 that what seems to have been the first advertisement for a public concert appeared in a London newspaper; this a single advertisement for a series of daily concerts to be given by John Banister at his house, the ‘Musick-School’ opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars from Monday 30 December (see Figure 4-1).

The nature of advertisements, just what information was thought important enough to be included and what was omitted, how the advertisements were worded and laid out, gives a direct insight into the attitudes of both promoters and audiences (McVeigh, 1993: xv; Wilkinson, 1997: 215). There were, of course, constraints on those placing an advertisement, such as the price charged to the advertiser or the amount of space available for each advertisement. Inevitably, as such constraints changed over the period, they influenced both the amount of detail and the layout of the advertisements. The complex web of links between concert promoters, music publishers and sellers, newspaper publishers, and coffee houses, chocolate houses, and taverns, is also revealed by a study of the newspapers in which specific concerts were advertised and the other advertisements which they contain. A comparison of the newspapers in which advertisements for concerts appeared, and those in which they did

not, enables the historian to draw some conclusions about the type of audience that these events might have attracted. Indeed, a study of the advertisements as a whole can be used to determine the nature of a newspaper's readership, and thus the intended audience for the concert advertisements (Wilkinson, 1997: 219).

3.3.2. Some Potential Problems with the Sources

Some caution must be exercised when drawing upon newspaper advertisements as a source of historical data because of the nature of newspapers and their relationship to the society in which they flourished. It cannot be assumed that the only concerts that took place were those for which advertisements appear in the newspapers. The series of concerts given by Thomas Britton, described as a 'small-coal man', in a room above his coal repository in Clerkenwell between 1678 and 1714 is well documented in other near contemporary sources (Hughes, 1735; Ward, 1745: 299-306; Hawkins, 1776: II 788-93). However, the only reference to these concerts in the newspapers is a series of advertisements for the auction of his library after his death, which appeared in the *Daily Courant* between 17 and 26 January 1715.⁸ Britton's concerts seem to have started as a non-commercial venture with no charge for entry and were held every Thursday. Newspaper advertisements were obviously not thought necessary and perhaps an announcement made at one concert sufficed to remind concert-goers as to the date of the next, or details of a forthcoming concert may have been delivered to his clients along with the coal, or in meetings with fellow bibliophiles (McGuinness, 1992; Price, 1978; Tilmouth and McVeigh, n.d.).

Another example of concerts that were not advertised is witnessed by the following advertisement from 1718 announcing the cancellation of a concert:

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of London, not being dispos'd to permit any Consorts of Musick to be perform'd in any Publick Hall in the City, those Persons who have any Tickets of Mr. Cuthbert's, dated March the 5th, (for a Consort at Stationer's Hall,) are desir'd to return them, and take their Money again, from their oblig'd humble Servant,
Tho. Cuthbert.
(*Daily Courant*, 3 March 1718)

⁸ 'The Library of Mr. Tho. Britton, Small-Coal-Man, deceased, who at his own Charge kept up a Consort of Musick 40 odd Years, at his little Cottage; being a curious Collection of very antient and uncommon Books...'

Earlier advertisements for this concert do not seem to have been placed. Other examples of this type, where the first traceable advertisement for a concert is one announcing its postponement or cancellation, indicate that not all concerts were advertised in the newspapers. Indeed, the account books of the Stationers' Company record lettings of their hall for more concerts than are advertised in the newspapers (Tilmouth, 1961a).

Nor can it be assumed that every concert took place as advertised. It is always possible that an advertisement was placed for a concert that was then subsequently cancelled. Such an outcome was even more likely for a series of subscription concerts that might have been abandoned before all the projected concerts had been accomplished. For instance, following the publication of an advertisement proposing a series of 12 concerts by subscription (*Daily Courant*, 9 January 1717), the first concert took place on Wednesday 27 February 1717, but no further advertisements appear. Did the series stop after this first concert? Or was there no further need to advertise the concerts in the newspapers because the subscription was full? Without further evidence, the historian can never be certain.

As is the case today, it is quite likely that there would have been late changes to the personnel or programme of an advertised concert. The following 1704 advertisement is an example about which information survives, but there must surely have been other concerts with last-minute changes that could not be advertised in the newspapers and were only announced on the night of the concert.

For the Benefit of Mr. *Corbett*.

IN *York-Buildings*, this present *Wednesday* being the 29th of *March*, will be perform'd a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick.... *Margaretta Gallia* mention'd in my former Bills, has since got a Cold, and is very much indispos'd, therefore will not venture to Sing; but in her room Mrs. *Lindsey*, Mrs. *Hudson*, Mr. *Hughes* and Mr. *Laroone*, will perform several pieces of the late Mr. *Henry Purcell's*.
(*Daily Courant* 29 March 1704)

Advertisements other than those for the concerts themselves can yield information about concerts and specifically about the sorts of people who attended them. The items of property advertised as having been lost or stolen at concerts are from the luxury end of the market and the names of the advertisers, where given, are from the upper echelons of society. One might expect that such advertisements would

only appear for valuable items, and one cannot conclude from this evidence alone that the aristocracy and wealthy were present while those lower down the social scale were not, but it is indicative that concert attendance had achieved a certain status in society. The following advertisement will illustrate:

Lost on Monday night last, being the 30th of December, at the Musick-meeting in York-Buildings, a dark Sable Muff, with a Scarlet black and white String. Whoever brings it to the Duke of Northumberland's House in Old Spring-Garden, shall have a Guinea Reward.

(London Gazette 2 January 1689/90)

3.3.3. The Advertisements as a Research Resource

While bearing in mind that not all concerts would have been advertised in the newspapers, it is possible to outline the development of the music business by tracing the incidence of advertised concerts over time: was there a steady growth in concert-giving, or were there peaks and troughs that might be explained by market or cultural factors? It is possible to determine whether concert-giving was restricted to particular times of the year and to particular days, and how these might have changed over time.

Commercial concerts were given in a large number of different venues during the period, some designed specifically for music making, others being used for a variety of different purposes in addition to hosting concerts. By examining newspaper advertisements historians can investigate how the incidence of concerts varied over space: how concert locations changed over time and how those locations related to the accessibility of concerts to various types of consumers. Moreover, it is possible to investigate whether particular venues were associated with particular types of concert, performers (native or foreign) and types of pieces performed. Certainly today, most concert-goers would have an immediate sense of the differences between the types of concert, performers and pieces on offer at the O2 Academy, Brixton compared with those at the Wigmore Hall. Section 9.6 will explore the question of whether such differentiation was already evident for individual concert venues early in the eighteenth-century, or if it only developed as the industry matured and diversified. As well as being sold at the door, tickets were often available in advance and at locations other than the concert venue; taverns, coffee houses or music shops were often stipulated. Again, it is of interest to see whether particular agents sold tickets for particular

performers or venues and indeed, where these ticket-sellers were located geographically (see Section 7.7).

Newspaper advertisements were the most important mode of communication used by the emerging music business, but what were the words and ideas that were used to attract the reader of an advertisement and persuade him or her to attend a particular concert? (McGuinness, 2004a). Detailed analysis of the text can be used to show how the advertising of concerts evolved over time. The earliest advertisements were short and gave little detail; but even in the early days, at the beginning of the use of newspaper advertisements to attract an audience, ideas of quality ('excellent Masters') were expounded and novelty ('new Musick') was stressed as a marketing ploy.

ON Friday October 3. instant, at the Musick-School in Whitefryars, will be new Musick, Vocal and Instrumental, performed by excellent Masters, beginning at three of the clock afternoon, and ending as formerly, and so will continue [every] day for the future.
(*London Gazette* 2 October 1673)

While the advertisements do not give detailed financial information, the price of tickets is often given and this allows one to trace whether prices changed over time, and also to determine whether there was a differential pricing regime, with different prices being charged at different venues for different types of concert, or for foreign as opposed to native performers (see Section 8.2). Very rarely was there any indication as to the number of tickets sold, but for some venues at least, one can identify the likely maximum number of tickets that could have been sold (see Section 7.5). For series of subscription concerts, a great amount of detail may be given about the number of concerts to be held, the maximum number of subscribers, and the price for subscribers and non-subscribers.

While newspapers on their own do not present all the material required to write a comprehensive history of the early music business in England 1660–1750, they provide superb evidence with which to make a start on the task. Systematic analysis of the rich and substantial data to be found in newspaper advertisements enables researchers to explore not only the role of concerts as musical events but also the advent of public concert-giving as evidence for the birth of music as a business.

3.4. *The Register of Music in London Newspapers*

It was as part of her research into concert life in London that Rosamond McGuinness of Royal Holloway, University of London, began to read through the newspapers of the British Library's Burney Collection looking for references to music (McGuinness and Diack Johnstone, 1990: 31-95). The quality and quantity of the material she found persuaded her of the need for a systematic investigation of references to music in London newspapers. Previous projects using newspapers as a source for the history of music and the theatre had extracted subsets of the relevant data and produced from it themed lists or calendars (Smith, 1948; Smith and Humphries, 1968; Tilmouth, 1961a; 1961b; Van Lennep et al., 1960–8); but McGuinness decided that she would record each reference to music in its entirety. In the spring of 1977, she began to work chronologically through the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers held in the British Library, extracting all references to music and transcribing each in full, together with sufficient information to indicate its location, on an ever-increasing pile of paper forms.

By the beginning of 1983, it had become obvious from the quality and diversity of information retrieved that the computer would be the most appropriate tool with which to organise the material and make it accessible to scholars. It was decided that a computer database, to be known as the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1800*,⁹ should be developed, and a project team was put together including specialists in music, the history of the newspaper, and computing (McGuinness, 1984–5; 1985; 1987; 1988).

The *Register of Music in London Newspapers* project initially aimed to collect items relating to music which appeared in newspapers published in London between 1660 and 1800. Provincial newspapers, newspapers outside the selected time span, and periodicals were omitted. The chief source of texts was the microfilm collection, *Early English Newspapers* (1978–), which reproduced the relevant items from the British Library's Burney Collection, with some of the issues missing in that collection being copied from elsewhere.

⁹ The title was later changed to the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750* in view of the complementary work for the period following 1750 being carried out by Simon McVeigh (1989a; 1993). Technical details of the database design, the ways in which it developed over time, and its limitations are given in Appendix A and by Harbor (1996; 2006).

The project's range of interest was broad as the items within the newspapers that mentioned music were very diverse and included advertisements, news items in which music played some part, puff-reviews, reports and commentaries, and so forth. Not only items that mentioned music *per se*, but also items that did not explicitly mention music but which would have incorporated it, such as balls or dancing, were included. The *Register's* database was source-oriented rather than model-oriented, with the integrity of the source being preserved as far as possible (Denley, 1994: 33-43; Harvey and Press, 1996). The aim of the project was to store a large volume of data that had no obvious structure and to provide a comprehensive index to it that would serve both as a finding aid and as a database in its own right (Hartland and Harvey, 1989: 47-50).

3.5. Analysis of Concert Material in the *Register of Music*

Amongst much other material, the *Register of Music* provides a very rich source of qualitative data describing concerts in London over a long period during which concert giving was gradually establishing itself as a commercial activity. In their raw state these non-standardised texts are not immediately accessible for analysis but require further processing, as is common with qualitative data. Miles and Huberman (1994: 9) consider that qualitative analysis consists of three concurrent activities: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. Data reduction, which consists of 'selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data', is a form of analysis that includes summarising and simplifying the data so as to allow conclusions to be drawn and verified (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10–11; Saunders et al., 2007: 493). Initial selection of material from the *Register* produced in excess of 12,000 texts referring to concerts gathered from newspapers published in London between 1672 and 1750.

As a result of the concentration on all four of Tesch's (1990) strategies for qualitative data analysis — discovering regularities, understanding the characteristics of language, comprehension of the meaning of text and reflection — two different methods of analysing the content of the texts contained in the *Register* have been used to study the development of the commercial concert in London between 1650 and 1750: textual decomposition/relational data analysis and content analysis. These two approaches will now be considered in turn.

3.5.1. Textual Decomposition and Relational Data Analysis

At first glance, the texts of concert advertisements seem to be very diverse with no discernible standardization of content. However, a close examination of a larger sample of advertisements covering a long period allows identification of a number of elements which, while not occurring in every advertisement, recur with sufficient regularity as to be susceptible to analysis. When dealing with implicitly structured data such as the texts in the *Register*, a gradual decomposition of their content into progressively more detailed levels of information is necessary before this structure can be revealed (Dunk and Rahtz, 1989; Harvey and Press, 1996: 81–2). For instance, advertisements can be divided into those for performances containing music, those for printed music or books about music, those for the sale or repair of instruments, and so forth. Within the category of advertisements for performances containing music are those for concert performances, those for operas, and those for plays with music. The text of each concert advertisement can be analysed further to provide a series of data categories that recur frequently, such as name of venue, location of venue, names of performers, names of pieces being performed, and so on. This is akin to the process of data reduction as described by Miles and Huberman (1994) or categorisation as outlined by Saunders et al. (2007: 479–80).

The decomposition process was thus instituted for texts in the *Register* that referred to concerts and resulted in the following list of data categories:

- Day of the week on which concert takes place: this would typically be a day between Monday and Saturday as concerts on Sundays were extremely rare.
- Date of concert: day, month and year.
- Time of concert: it was decided that this should be recorded in twenty-four hour notation as concerts could be given at any time of day, although evening concerts were the most common.
- Venue of concert: examples include named concert halls, theatres, taverns, wells, pleasure gardens, and so on.¹⁰

¹⁰ A full discussion of the different concert venues will be given in Chapter 7.

- Type of concert: examples noted included single concerts, benefit concerts for musicians or charitable causes, subscription concert series, oratorio concerts, concerts at wells or pleasure gardens, and so on.¹¹
- Description of concert: the exact words used to describe the concert in the newspaper text.
- Notes about concert: any particularly noteworthy information about the concert.
- Name of play with which concert was associated: concerts were sometimes advertised at theatres as a means of circumventing the terms of the Licensing Act of 1737, which prohibited the acting of drama at any place not sanctioned by a Royal patent or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain (Scouten, 1968: xlviiii-lx).
- Name of performer(s): as much information as was given to identify the performer(s), this could range from a description, such as ‘the best masters’, to an unambiguously named performer.
- Activity of performer(s): examples included information about whether the performer(s) were singers or played particular instruments but on occasion the designation ‘his consort’ was used to signify who had arranged the concert.
- Piece(s) performed: as much information as was given to identify the piece(s) performed, this could range from a general description, such as ‘Variety of Vocal and Instrumental Musick’, to an unambiguously named piece.
- Composer of each piece performed: as much information as was given to identify the composer(s), this could range from a description, such as ‘the best masters’, to an unambiguously named composer.
- Type of ticket(s): examples included different parts of a concert venue, such as pit, box or gallery; or for particular types of subscription ticket.
- Ticket price(s): these were recorded in terms of pence, shillings or guineas.

¹¹ A full discussion of the different types of concert will be given in Chapter 5.

- Place(s) where tickets are sold: examples included named coffee or chocolate houses, taverns, or ‘at the door’, together with as much information as was given about the location.
- Name of beneficiary/beneficiaries (if benefit concert): these were usually individuals identified in fairly unambiguous fashion.
- Description of beneficiary/beneficiaries (if benefit concert): for charity concerts there might be a description of the benefiting individual or organisation either in addition to or in place of a name, such as ‘a Person under Misfortunes’ or the ‘Fund for Support of Decay'd Musicians’.¹²

The next stage in the analysis of the advertisement texts was to make it possible to attach relevant sections of each advertisement to the appropriate category; this is analogous to ‘unitising’ data as described by Saunders et al. (2007: 480). To facilitate this process, relational data analysis and entity relationship modelling were carried out on the data categories to produce a series of eight new tables shown together with the original REGISTER and TITLE tables in Figure 3-2; these tables are described in detail in Appendix B (Harbor, 2008b). A database table being simply a method of organising data elements into a series of columns and rows, this can be thought of as a comparable approach to the use of matrices in data display as described by Miles and Huberman (1994; Saunders et al., 2007: 493–6;). Thus, while preserving the texts in their entirety, extra value was added to the *Register* by eliciting the structure of the texts and constructing a complementary database containing a series of tables to store the structured elements. In the process of storing the structured elements, use was made of various coding systems to ensure standardisation and facilitate analysis (Harvey and Press, 1996: 224–5; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 55–72; Schürer, 1987; 1990).

A data-entry application was created which allowed the original texts of the REGISTER table to be displayed together with the new tables, thus making it easy to extract the necessary information from the original text and enter it into the relevant fields of the new tables. Figure 3-1 shows the data-entry application: the top section shows the text of an advertisement for a concert advertised on 17 February 1719 and

¹² Later the Royal Society of Musicians

held a day later; below one can see the data that has been extracted from this advertisement and entered into the appropriate fields of the new tables.

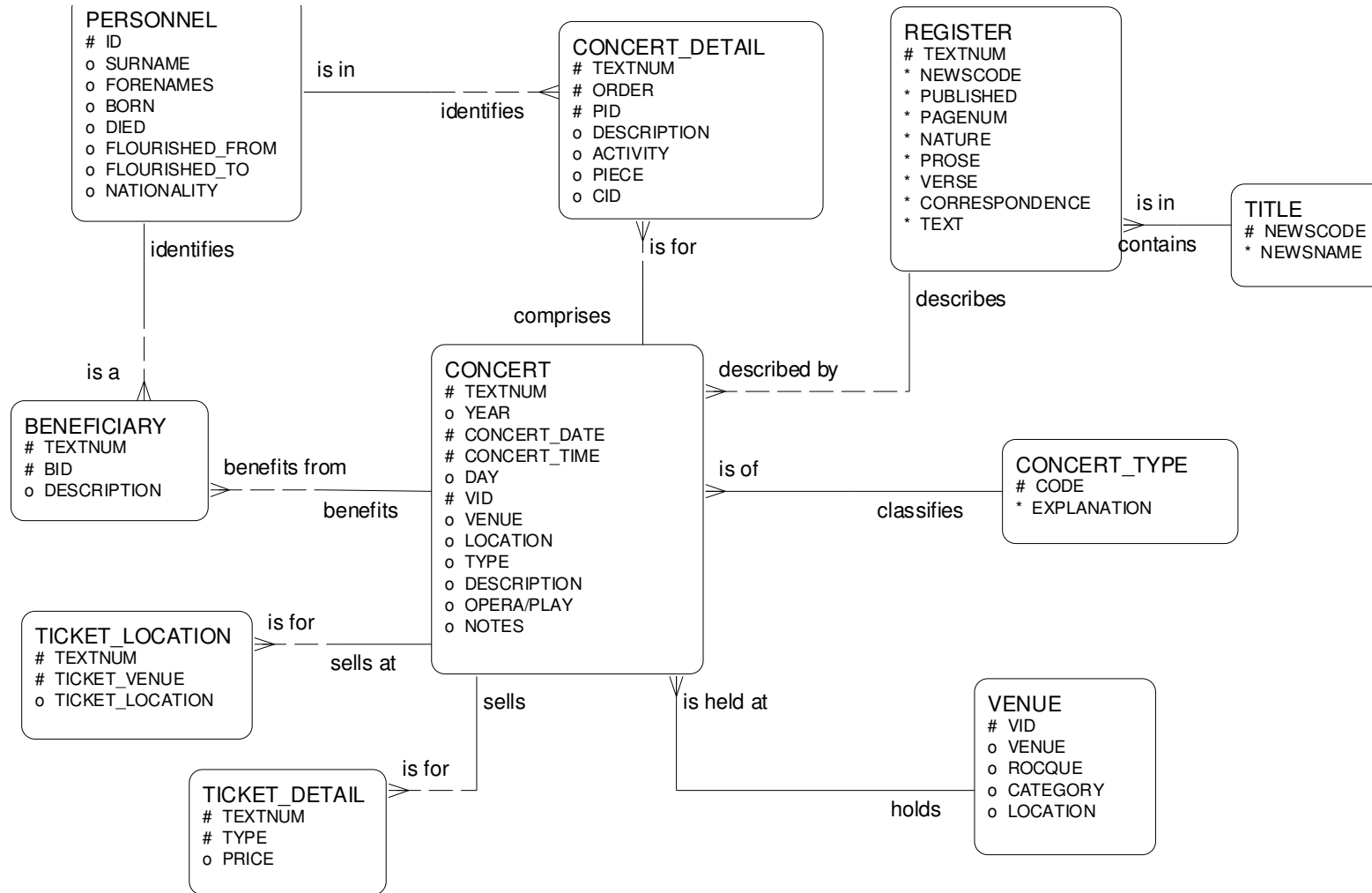
Figure 3-1: Concerts Data Entry Screen

The screenshot displays a data entry interface for concerts. It is organized into several sections:

- REGISTER:** Includes fields for '9812', 'Newscode DC', 'Page 2', 'Published 17-FEB-1719', and 'Nature ADVERTISEMENT'. A large text area contains the advertisement text: "For the Benefit of Mr. Leneker, and Mrs. Smith. AT Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street near the Hay-market, To-morrow, being Wednesday, the 18th Day of February, will be perform'd, a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the best Hands. A new Concerto, Compos'd by Mr. Hendel, and perform'd by Mr. Mathew Dubourg. And a Piece for the Harpsicord by Mr. Cook. A Concerto and a Solo by Mr. Kytch. A Solo for the Bass-Viol, and German- Flute by Signor Pietro. Tickets may be had at the Coco-Tree Chocolate-House in Pall-Mall, and at the Place of Performance. at 5 s. each. To begin exactly at 7 a-Clock." Buttons for 'Duplicate', 'SameLast', 'Date', and 'Same' are on the right.
- CONCERT:** Fields for 'Year 1719', 'Day W', 'Date 18-FEB-1719', 'Time 19.00', 'Vid 1', 'Venue Mr Hickford's great Room', 'Location in James-street near the Hay-market', 'Type B', and 'Description Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick'. There are also 'Notes' and 'Opera Play' fields.
- PERFORMERS/PIECES:** A table with columns: Ord, Pid, Description, Activity, Piece, Cid.

Ord	Pid	Description	Activity	Piece	Cid
1		the best Hands		Consort of Vocal and Ins	
2	353	Dubourg		A new Concerto	309 Handel
- TICKETS:** Fields for 'Type', 'Price 5', and another 'Type' field.
- TICKET SELLERS:** Fields for 'Venue Coco-Tree Chocolate-House', 'Location in Pall-Mall', and another 'Venue at the Place of Performance'.
- BENEFIT:** Fields for 'Bid 473', 'Leniker', 'Description', and another 'Bid 361', 'Smith'.

Figure 3-2: Concerts Entity-Relationship Diagram



Decomposing the texts and storing the structured data in the ways described above yields a very rich data source describing concerts in London over a long period of time during which concert giving was gradually establishing itself as a commercial activity. By allowing the recording of regularly recurring items of information, this seemingly entirely qualitative data is now susceptible to quantitative analysis. This opens up a whole range of interesting avenues of investigation facilitated by a study of the content of the advertisement texts in relation to each other: how concerts varied over time — was there less activity in certain years as compared to others? How did concert locations change over time? How did those locations relate to the accessibility of concerts to various ‘qualities’ of consumers? Other themes to study include: changes in income, fashion, and transportation media, which are all factors likely to affect concert programmes, performers, venues and ticket prices.

3.5.2. Content Analysis

The great Art in writing Advertisements, is the finding out a proper Method to catch the Reader's Eye; without which, a good Thing may pass over unobserved... 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. (Joseph Addison, *The Tatler* No. 224, Thursday, September 14 1710 in Bond (1987: 168–9))

Samuel Johnson’s comment in 1759 that ‘Promise, large promise, is the soul of an advertisement’ does not particularly apply to the majority of concert advertisements (Bate et al., 1963: 124–8). They normally just give information without indulging in too much hard sell. However, one notes underlying messages that were used in an attempt to attract an audience to a concert.

The earliest newspaper advertisements for public concerts were basically informative, giving details of the date and time, venue and performer(s) (Kolb, 2005: 91–5). However, as competition grew, both between individual concert promoters and between concerts and other public entertainments, concert advertisements adopted a more persuasive tone in an effort to entice the public to attend. McGuinness (2004a; 2004b) has 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, and so on,

are emphasised. The *Register* thus allowed historians to gain an impression of the techniques of persuasion used by concert advertisers. However, as it stood in its original format, the database could not be interrogated to make a more systematic study.

One crucial method that has now become widespread in investigating the characteristics of language as communication is that of content analysis: a ‘research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’ ((Berelson, 1971: 52) quoted in (Kassarjian, 1977; Zikmund, 1994: 234)). Further, content analysis is a ‘phase of information-processing in which communications content is transformed through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarised and compared’ ((Paisley, 1969) quoted in (Kassarjian, 1977)). It is a particularly apposite research technique for this study as newspapers were a focus of initial attempts at content analysis in the early twentieth century, primarily by using the simple technique of measuring the number of column inches allocated to particular topics. Content analysis remains an important tool in the study of mass communication but has now developed a range of more sophisticated methods of investigation and has spread to numerous disciplines (Bos and Tarnai, 1999; Weber, 1990; Wimmer and Dominick, 2006). It has been defined as ‘a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use’ (Krippendorff, 2004: 18), enabling the researcher to categorise and classify the content of any type of communication.

When dealing with speech or text, the basic concept underlying content analysis is that the words contained within the speech or text 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 category are then presumed to have similar meanings. In the context of the public concert between 1660 and 1750, content analysis can be used to describe and make inferences about the rhetoric 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 (Krippendorff, 2004: 16).

When carrying out content analysis, the first task is to select a unit of analysis. As the advertisements are on the whole fairly short, it was decided that the text of each

advertisement in its entirety would be taken as the basic unit for analysis. Content categories were established using an emergent coding technique: by carrying out a preliminary examination of the data and constructing a category system based on themes that 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 (Krippendorff, 2004: 132; Wimmer and Dominick, 2006: 159), in the case of the *Register of Music* 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.

For instance, several phrases within the following advertisement are assigned to categories to show the persuasive techniques used (see Table 3-1).

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 3-1: Example Categories for Content Analysis

Category	Text
Elitism	'At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality'
Quality/skill	'by the best Masters'
	'she will also Accompany to her own Voice on the Harpsechord'
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'

Using these content codes, it is possible to analyse how the advertising of concerts evolved over time. Do particular techniques fit a ‘contagion’ model, with an innovation being followed at first by a handful of imitators and then rising to ubiquity? Certainly, phrases such as ‘At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality’ or ‘by the best masters’ were very commonly used. Were there, on the other hand, some innovations that did not spread widely? Basing a concert’s appeal on references to ‘Martial Musick’, for instance, or to concerts given entirely by English performers does not seem to have been a technique that was repeated very frequently. Is it possible to identify who influenced whom, over what periods of time, and with what spatial connotations, considering the different parts of London where concerts were advertised? Another possibility is to classify advertising techniques by reference to the different newspapers and their intended readerships.

3.6. Conclusion

England in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a lively and complex musical life. Music was beginning to be considered as a business: regular public and commercial concerts developed in the great metropolis of London at this time, earlier than elsewhere in Europe (see section 9.2). There was simultaneously a flourishing music publishing industry from the 1690s onwards. Thus, London was fast becoming a thriving musical centre to which musicians flocked from other parts of England and increasingly from further afield (Harbor, 2005; Holman, 2000; Wilson, 1959).

The *Register of Music* was devised to provide a means of examining these developments in England’s musical life, by making available an electronic edition of the texts that referred to music in the newspapers. A tremendously useful resource was generated. However, the limitations of its free-text format in the past prevented its use for the type of detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses which would enable a more detailed longitudinal study of the progress of commercial concert-giving in London. The new database constructed as part of this study complements the *Register* and has made it possible to carry out the types of analysis required for a much more comprehensive examination of the emergence and development of music as a business in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Amongst other things,

the new database additions to the *Register* enable investigation of the venues that were used for concerts, the locations where tickets were sold, how concert programmes were put together, the various and changing networks of musicians working in London, and to classify the diverse advertising techniques used by concert promoters to attract customers.

Chapter 4. The Musical Background

4.1. Introduction

Throughout history music has been both a public and a private entertainment. It has played its part in public ceremonial of many kinds: in social rituals and communal celebrations, as part of church services and theatrical performances, and in association with state and municipal ceremonies. Private music making by amateurs played an equally important role but is more difficult to trace in written record and mostly falls outside the interest of this study. Prior to the period under investigation few musicians were employed solely as such and with an adequate and dependable income; most relied on casual employment with an uncertain and irregular succession of jobs given to them by a number of employers. Those few musicians who had regular paid work either relied on the patronage of court, church and wealthy families, or on municipal employment for their livelihood; they were in effect waged servants who composed, performed or taught at their employer's bidding (Mackerness, 1964; Woodfill, 1969).

It was in England and specifically in London 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, though it did not as yet replace it. Public concerts began to be arranged, probably by one or more of the musicians who performed in them, for which admission was charged. Music was developing its own public who wanted to listen to music for its own sake rather than as part of some other ceremony, and who were prepared to pay to do so: 'For the first time an audience gathered to listen to music as such – a public of music lovers to which anyone who was propertied and educated was admitted' (Habermas, 1992: 39). These first public commercial concerts heralded the emergence of music as a business and its gradual move into a more public sphere (Brewer, 1995; Habermas, 1992; Love, 2004).

As a case study in cultural production and consumption and of the commodification of culture in the late seventeenth-and eighteenth-century England, this research investigates the gradual emergence of music from its dependence on the patronage of court, aristocracy and church into a more public sphere during this period. It examines how music gradually developed a more business-like aspect, looking at its commercial and organisation dimension and focusing on the development of different

types of public commercial concert (Chapter 5), the repertoire performed and concert design (Chapter 6) and the venues at which concerts were given (Chapter 7). An analysis of the prices charged for tickets (Chapter 8 section 8.2) and methods of promotion (Chapter 8 section 8.3) will be carried out, before considering the effect of the growth of public concert giving on the music profession (Chapter 9). This necessitates a review of literature in a number of disciplines, using both primary and secondary sources.

In this chapter, consideration will first be given to the organisation and support of music and musicians in England in the period before concerts were first given in London, looking at the general situation that had gradually developed and the effect on this of the disruptions caused by the Civil War and the Commonwealth. This will provide a foundation from which to consider how the social and financial status of professional musicians in London was affected by the development of commercial concert giving, as discussed in Chapter 9. The position of music in London in the period immediately following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 will then be examined to illustrate the changes that assist in explaining the emergence of music as a business in this period. A sample of contemporary writings will be presented throughout to illustrate where and when music was performed and how music functioned as a profession.

4.2. Music in England before the Civil War

The court was the pre-eminent patron of music in England in the pre-Civil War period with the Tudors and earlier Stuarts maintaining one of the largest musical institutions in Europe and one which employed both native and foreign musicians (Holman, 1993; Philips, 1977; Price, 1981: 9–19; Woodfill, 1969: 160). Musicians employed as members of the Chapel Royal, which had been in existence at least from the twelfth century, provided daily religious services for the court and travelled with the monarch to the various royal palaces, on progresses throughout England and even abroad (Raynor, 1972: 49–53; Woodfill, 1969: 161–76). The King's Musick had both private and public duties: giving concerts in the monarch's private chambers, playing during meals, performing between the acts when the children of the Chapel Royal or others acted at court, accompanying dancing at court, and providing music for state

banquets, masques and other great ceremonials (Raynor, 1972: 144–5; Woodfill, 1969: 177–97). Although documentary evidence is scarce, it seems that noblemen and gentlemen emulated the court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by providing residential employment to both composers and executant musicians in their private chapels and household (Hulse, 1985; 1991; 1993; Price, 1981; Raynor, 1972: 141–144; Spink, 1992: 33–36; Wainwright, 1997; Wilson, 1994; Woodfill, 1969: 59–73). However, the English reformation had a deleterious effect on church musicians so employed: Thomas Whythorne, writing in 1570, laments that ‘divers noblemen and women, in time past, imitating the Prince, would have organists and singing men to serve God ... in their private chapels. But that imitation is also left’ (Osborn, 1961 quoted in Raynor, 1972: 129). The Church of England is famed for the glories of its church music in Elizabethan and Stuart times. However, the church did not play a large part in the musical life of the country at large, as religious music of a high standard was cultivated only by professional musicians in cathedrals and a few other endowed churches. Even these professional choirs gradually shrank in size between the time of Henry VIII and the Civil War as inflation and expropriation of the endowments which funded the musicians often led to places being left unfilled when they became vacant (Le Huray, 1967: 39–41; Price, 1981: 51–54; Raynor, 1972: 121–3; Woodfill, 1969: 135–6).

Apart from the singers and instrumentalists employed in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul’s Cathedral or at court when it was resident in the city, there were two groups of musicians who were particularly associated with London: the city waits and the independent musicians of the Company of Musicians of the City of London. Although somewhat overshadowed by their more illustrious colleagues of court and church in terms of income and perhaps ability, both these groups still earned a good living and performed in a more public sphere. While groups of London minstrels had formed brotherhoods for charitable purposes at a much earlier date, the Musicians Company was not incorporated as a fellowship or livery company of the City of London until 1500. Their petition for incorporation refers to performance at the religious feasts which formed part of church holidays, dedication or patronal festivals, churchings and weddings, in addition to ‘brotherhood’ occasions, such as livery feasts. These activities accompanying the ‘three Ds’ of dining, drinking and dancing formed their most

valuable source of earnings (Crewdson, 1971; Crewdson, 2000; Raynor, 1972: 55–69; Woodfill, 1969: 3–32).

Civic waits were minstrels who were permanently employed by a town, equivalent to the German *Stadtpeifer* and the civic pipers of Italy and elsewhere. By the late fifteenth century, many towns employed waits, those of the major cities being among the finest minstrels in the country (Rastall, n.d.). In London there were bands of waits not only in the City itself, but also in all the wards as well as in the City of Westminster (Bridge, 1927–28). The City waits took part in municipal processions, played before the houses of the mayor and sheriffs at the great festival seasons of Candlemas (2 February) and Christmas; the waits in London achieved musical prominence as the only permanent, secular musical organizations in the capital apart from the King’s Musick. They were also some of the few organisations in England regularly giving public concerts, playing on the turrets at the Royal Exchange on Sunday evenings from Lady Day (25 March) to Michaelmas (29 September)¹³ (Raynor, 1972: 55–69; Warwick, 1968: 81–3; Woodfill, 1969: 81–2).¹⁴ These concerts are particularly interesting in that they are evidence of public concerts taking place in London at an early date, however they were performed by salaried musicians as part of their duties and a charge was not made to the public for attendance.

By the late sixteenth century, the inhabitants of London could also hear music performed publicly in the theatres. Choirboys of the Chapel Royal, St Paul’s Cathedral and St George’s Chapel, Windsor, the three leading choirs in or around London, gave plays both at court and later in public theatres. As they were musicians by training, vocal and instrumental music was given some prominence in their performances (Austern, 1992). The musical aspects of the choirboy theatres were taken up by adult theatrical companies from the first decade of the seventeenth century as is witnessed by the installation of music rooms above the stage, the commissioning of outside composers to write songs for specialist actor-singers and the employment of regular groups of instrumentalists (Holman, 1992; Mackerness, 1964: 71–6; Raynor, 1972: 149–53).

¹³ London Metropolitan Archive, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London, XVII, folio 174, (quoted in Woodfill, 1969: 50).

¹⁴ Outside London, only Norwich shows any evidence of regular public concerts given by waits (Stephen, 1933; Woodfill, 1969: 81–2).

Thus, we can see that prior to the Commonwealth period, full-time professional musicians tended to rely on the patronage of court, church or the wealthy for their livelihood or they were municipal employees; as waged servants they composed, performed or taught as their employers required. In addition, many part-time musicians relied on casual employment with an uncertain and irregular succession of jobs given to them by a number of employers. There were also many musicians who did not make their living mainly from music and who are thus unlikely to have made their way into official records; they were to be found playing for tips in taverns and alehouses or accompanying informal singing and dancing at a lower social level than that of the court or wealthy house.

4.3. Music in England during the Civil War and Commonwealth 1642–1660

It was probably the comments of the eighteenth century music historians Charles Burney and John Hawkins that helped to generate a long-held misconception that the Puritans disliked music and that the Commonwealth was thus a period when music languished in England (Burney, 1776–89; Hawkins, 1776). The work of Scholes (1934a; 1934b) began the task of dispelling this myth, showing that the Puritans were not averse to music *per se*, but chiefly to the use of elaborate music in church services. However, even though the Puritans had no particular objection to secular music, the Civil War and Commonwealth period produced a clear change in musical activity in England.

4.3.1. Music at Court, in Church, Theatres and by Municipal Employees

Music at court, which had been the summit of England's musical establishment until the Civil War, suffered during the Commonwealth as both the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick were in abeyance in England following Charles I's surrender in 1646 and during the period of Charles II's foreign exile. However, Oliver Cromwell's court was not entirely without music, although performances were limited to the domestic rather than the religious sphere (Holman, 1993: 266–7; Hulse, 1983; Scholes, 1934b: 137–49; Sherwood, 1977: 135–147).

It was perhaps on church music that the Puritan influence had the greatest effect and this started well in advance of Charles I's surrender. In 1641 a committee of the

House of Lords recommended use only of music based on biblical or accepted liturgical texts (Neal and Toulmin, 1822: vol. 2, 395–9; Scholes, 1934b: 221). In the spring of the following year Charles I rejected the Propositions for Peace by which he was required to agree to ‘the taking away of all archbishops, bishops, and their chancellors and prebendaries, and all vicars choral and choristers...’, however two years later in 1644 he could not stop Parliament from abolishing both the episcopal system and the Book of Common Prayer. Choral services in cathedrals and collegiate foundations did not cease throughout the country immediately or even necessarily at the same time (Le Huray, 1967: 53–4, 276) but the Presbyterian form of church government and worship that was established following the surrender of the royalists at Oxford in June 1646 saw an end to the elaborate music that had long been the norm in cathedrals and collegiate churches. For a period of fourteen years, the new *Directory for the Publick Worship of God* was enforced, though somewhat patchily, with the result that the singing of simple unaccompanied metrical psalms became practically the only music that was accepted in church services. This would not have had much effect on parish churches, very few of which had choirs at this time, but the musical tradition of the cathedrals and collegiate churches was seriously disrupted. Choirs were disbanded, the singing men forced to find other employment, and no new choirboys were received for musical training (Mackerness, 1964: 78–80; Scholes, 1934b: 214–74; Spink, 1992: 44–6).

In London the Company of Musicians suffered from the almost complete suspension of festivities and ceremonies during the Civil War, partly because of the desperate financial position of the individual city companies who had paid out a good deal in taxes and loans to the King before the war began and now had to help support the Parliamentary forces (Crewdson, 2000: 92–101). Moreover, during the Commonwealth period Parliament made great efforts to suppress the old festivals of the Christian calendar which had provided the impetus for so much public music making (Durstun, 1996). The London City Waits endured much: in 1642, the rising tide of sabbatarianism resulted in an order that the Waits should ‘cease to play at the Royal Exchange London on Sundays as heretofore hath been accustomed’ but to continue on ‘every holy day hereafter’ as usual.¹⁵ However, it was again financial troubles which

¹⁵ London Metropolitan Archive, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London, LV, folio 50 (quoted in Woodfill, 1969: 50).

caused the most hardship, as in 1644 the Waits complained that they had not been paid for two years (Warwick, 1968: 51).

Public performance of plays was banned by a provisional ordinance of 2 September 1642 and then by more definite ordinances in 1647 and 1648. However, this did not bring dramatic activity to a complete stop during the Commonwealth period, and the amount of music to be heard in the theatres actually grew as musical entertainments and dancing were more often tolerated than straight plays. Beginning in 1656 William Davenant persuaded the Commonwealth government to allow him to stage musical entertainments firstly at his home, Rutland House, and then in a proper theatre, The Cockpit. Two of his productions, *The Siege of Rhodes*, and *The History of Sir Francis Drake* have been considered as the first English operas (Hotson, 1928; Laurie, 1992; Raynor, 1972: 244–5; Scholes: 195–213; Wiseman, 1998).

Thus, as Luckett (1983: 261) comments, ‘...during the Interregnum, of the three principal musical establishments of the realm, the court was in exile, the Church of England and the theatre proscribed’, a state of affairs which allowed other musical activities to flourish.

4.3.2. Music in House and Tavern

This devastation of former centres of musical activity and prestige had the effect of throwing the emphasis onto domestic music making, particularly in the form of the more reflective and introverted form of the consort for viols, as exemplified by the works of John Jenkins and Matthew Locke (Luckett, 1983: 261).

And the masters of musick, (allowing they visited the towne sometimes to see fashions or to performe a waiting at Court,) were mostly resident in the country, and past their time in teaching and performing in gentlemen's houses, where musick was a domestick, and the number of such familys in England was formerly great.
(Roger North quoted in Wilson, 1959: 222)

So says Roger North, the English lawyer, writer, philosopher, historian of music and amateur musician, born in 1651 and the author of a number of philosophical and historical writings on music. Much of his historical writing is based on information drawn from events within the personal knowledge and experience of both himself and his musical family (Kassler, n.d.). Writing of the Commonwealth period in particular North, who was a boy at the time, comments that

...during the troubles; and when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theaters, but in private society, for many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad....
(Roger North quoted in Wilson, 1959: 294)

There was no particular political or religious reason for aristocratic or wealthy families to discontinue their patronage of musicians during the Commonwealth period. Indeed, North spent much of his childhood at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, the seat of his grandfather the third Lord North, where the tradition of including one or more resident music masters in the household still continued (Kassler, n.d.). However, the disruptions of the Civil War did lead some families to lose a deal of their wealth and a number of royalist supporters were in exile abroad with their monarch; there was thus an inevitable disruption to the pattern of patronage of musicians by at least some wealthy and aristocratic families (Wainwright, 1997: 17–21).

Oxford had long had a thriving musical culture, but its rôle as the home base for Charles I during the Civil War between 1642 and 1646 led to innovations in the town's musical practice which were to have far-reaching consequences. The King and his court stayed in various of the staunchly royalist colleges of the university and the antiquary and amateur musician Anthony Wood describes how, when not occupied with their formal duties, musicians appointed to the royal court played 'in the rooms of Gentlemen of the University for the entertainment of each other' (quoted in Gouk, 1996). Following the King's surrender in 1646, the disappearance of most of their sources of regular employment and the closure of the main sites for legal public performance forced both the King's and college musicians to diversify and find different openings for their skills. One of the available options was to rely entirely on private music making and patronage: John Wilson, who had served at court in both London and Oxford, lived in the household of Sir William Walter of Sarsden for a decade after 1646 (Chan, 1990; Spink, n.d.-b). Another alternative was to give private lessons or teach in academies and dancing schools: Edward Lowe, who had been organist at Christ Church Oxford from about 1630, later gave music lessons to Anne Baylie and to Barbara Fletcher (Chan, 1990).

Another option, and a new development in Oxford and London which was documented by Roger North and Anthony Wood from the 1640s onwards, was to set up

private or semi-commercial music meetings, usually held in private houses or tavern rooms, where both amateur and professional musicians would play together and an entrance fee might be charged for both performers and auditors (Bliss, 1813: vol. 1, xxv–xxvii, xxxi–xxxii, xxxiv–xxxvi; Gouk, 1996; Wilson, 1959: 302–5, 351–2). At Oxford, Wood writes of William Ellis, ejected from his post as organist of St John's College in 1649 and now a licensed victualler and alehouse keeper, who started up a weekly music meeting on Tuesdays at his lodgings in Broad Street where students and fellows of the colleges paid 6d for the opportunity to play with 'music masters', mostly professional musicians from the university colleges and chapels; three of the named music masters had, like Ellis, lost jobs as organists or choristers. Wood notes that:

After his majestie's restoration, when then the masters of musick were restored to their several places that they before had lost, or else if they had lost none, they had gotten then preferment, the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house began to decay, because they were held up only by scholars, who wanted directors and instructors, &c. so that in few yeares after, the meeting in that house being totally layd aside.
(Clark, 1891-1900: vol. 1, 275)

In addition to these public meetings, Wood also writes of less formal meetings in the college rooms of academics such as Christopher Harrison (Queens), Charles Perot (Oriell) and Thomas Janes (Magdalen), as well as a regular Friday meeting of the 'scholastical musicians'; he may even have held meetings at his own rooms in St John's Street (Bellingham, 1982; Gouk, 1996; Robins, 2006: 9–10).¹⁶

In London Edmund Chilmead, expelled from his studentship at Christ Church, Oxford by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648, 'was forced, such were the then times, to obtain a living by that, which before was only a diversion to him, I mean by a weekly music meeting, which he set up at the Black Horse in Aldersgatestreet' (Bliss, 1813: Vol. 3, 350). Chan (1990) suggests that Chilmead's venture was not the only one of its kind in London but that other professional musicians also held public or semi-public music meetings in the late 1640s and early 1650s. Basing her argument on evidence from manuscripts and printed songbooks of the period, she avers that the establishment

¹⁶ Such meetings continued after the Restoration: Narcissus Marsh held music meetings at Exeter College and St Alban Hall between about 1666 and his departure for Trinity College Dublin in 1678; they were continued by Henry Aldrich at Christ Church (Gouk, 1996).

of John Playford's music publishing business in 1651 was a direct result of such music meetings.

Another aspect of music making which might have benefited from the interruption to musical life in court, church and theatres was that of musical performance in taverns. Widespread unemployment had forced musicians who had

...scorned to come to a tavern under twenty shillings salary for two hours, now wander with their instruments under their cloaks—I mean, such as have any—into all houses of good fellowship, saluting every room where there is company with, *Will you have any music, gentlemen?* (Anon., 1643)

In addition, a certain number of organs removed by order of Parliament from the churches also found their way into taverns (Scott, 1936: 449). However, Puritan dislike of drinking and of anything which might encourage it led to acts being passed in June 1657 banning the performance of music in taverns and alehouses:

...if any person or persons commonly called Fiddlers or Minstrels, shall at any time after the said First day of July, be taken playing, fiddling and making musick in any Inn, Alehouse, or Tavern, or shall be taken proffering themselves, or desiring, or intreating any person or persons to hear them to play, or make musick in any the places aforesaid, that every such person and persons so taken, shall be adjudged, and are hereby adjudged and declared to be Rogues Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars. (Firth and Rait, 1911: vol. 2, 1098–1099)

Despite the removal of musicians from public positions in the church, the theatres and at court, Chan (1990) sees the 1650s as a period of strong development of musical culture in England, as musicians were forced to seek other methods of obtaining a living, including the public or semi-public music meetings which encouraged the growth of music publishing. One can perhaps draw a parallel here to the political fragmentation in Germany and Italy 1650–1750 which Vaubel (2005) sees as offering 'more freedom of innovation' with 'more numerous independent experiments' being undertaken, and which resulted in the rise of music in these countries. Whilst England was not politically fragmented in the same manner as Germany and Italy with their numerous small courts, the disruption to the traditional dominance in England of court and church patronage in the musical sphere provided the same impetus to innovation which we shall see continuing after the Restoration with the development of the public commercial concert.

4.4. Music in London 1660–1750

One might have supposed that the Restoration of the Monarchy would also have produced a restoration of the musical status quo and superficially this was the case, but there were subtle changes that were to have a far-reaching effect. The modes of patronage for music and musicians which have been described for the period both before and during the Commonwealth were either continued or revived to some extent at the Restoration.

4.4.1. Music at Court, in Church and Theatres

On his return to London in May 1660, Charles II was escorted to his Palace of Whitehall by a lavish procession that included performances by the musicians of the City Waits (Evelyn's Diary: entry for 29 May, 1660. Bray, 1901: vol I, 332). A series of banquets accompanied by music followed as different groups vied with each other to prove their loyalty to the returned King with ever more lavish offerings (Warwick, 1968: 27–8).¹⁷ Philips (1977) maintains that the 'events of the Civil War disrupted this well entrenched elite [court musicians], and obliged the Crown to start afresh when it reconstituted the Chapel Royal and King's Musick at the Restoration'. Certainly Charles II lost no time in reassembling the royal household, with the swearing-in of musicians for royal service beginning on Saturday 16 June, however 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: vol. i, 2–4; Holman, 1993: 282–7). Charles did realise that the salaries of the royal musicians were too low at his accession and raised them to a more realistic level; however, payments were often hugely in arrears (Holman, 1993: 292–3; Raynor, 1972: 256). Samuel Pepys reported meeting with John Hingston in 1666 who complained that 'many of the Musique are ready to starve, they being five years behind for their wages' (Pepys' Diary: entry for 19 December 1666. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol. VII, 414). From Charles II's accession onwards music accompanied royalty wherever they went, both at formal and informal occasions; however, the decline of the court as a centre for high culture began with the money problems of Charles II and James II and

¹⁷ Descriptions of these festivities are to be found in contemporary newspapers: for Charles I's procession to Whitehall see *Mercurius Publicus: Comprising The Sum of Forraign Intelligence* 31 May 1660; for a dinner given for the King by the City of London see *Parliamentary Intelligencer* 9 June 1660.

continued under subsequent monarchs (Hume, 2006). Indeed, in the reign of William and Mary the situation started to change radically, for on 2 May 1690 William III ordered a retrenchment in the royal household that accelerated the process of moving the centre of élite social and political life from the royal court to London, and this development continued apace under Queen Anne (Bucholz, 1993). The royal band now became a part-time institution whose members spent a great deal of their time working in London's commercial theatres and concert halls (Holman, 1993: 431–5). Thus the importance of the court as a patron of musicians declined following the Restoration, and although there was some revival under George I, who was a noted benefactor of Handel, his interest was largely confined to opera (Hume, 2006).

During the Commonwealth period, the Presbyterian form of church worship had brought to a halt all but the plainest unaccompanied singing of metrical psalms in churches and cathedrals alike (Spink, 1992: 45). With the restoration of the monarchy, more elaborate instrumental and choral music was soon restored to church services, as Pepys and Evelyn describe:

Here [the Chapel at Whitehall] I heard very good Musique, the first time that I remember ever to have heard the Organs and singing-men in Surplices in my life.
(Pepys' Diary: entry for 8 July 1660. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol. I, 195)

Dr. Rainbow preached before the King, on Luke ii. 14, of the glory to be given God for all his mercies, especially for restoring the Church and government; now the service was performed with music, voices, etc., as formerly.
(Evelyn's Diary: entry for 25 October 1660. Bray, 1901: Vol. I, 338)

Singing-men and boy choristers were re-employed to sing in cathedrals, new organs were built, and guides for the correct singing of psalms in church services were published.¹⁸ However, the provincial cathedrals of England especially, which had nurtured much musical talent and provided livelihoods for numerous composers, continued their process of decline and never fully recovered their former position as leading musical institutions (Lockett, 1983: 263).

¹⁸ 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.

The theatre was another setting in which music was heard in great quantity: musical overtures were performed before the play began, musicians played concertos or solos between the acts, accompanied vocal soloists and dancers, and created background music to heighten the atmosphere. Vocal and instrumental music and dancing were also woven into the action of plays themselves to increase the spectacle, and instrumental music or dancing between the acts became all the rage (Avery and Scouten, 1968: cxiii–cxviii; Price, 1979a; 1979b). This was quite apart from the purely musical operas which became increasingly popular. Pepys went to the Theatre Royal, Vere Street, in 1661 and comments that it was ‘strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera begun; and so will continue for a while, I believe’ (Pepys' Diary: entry for 4 July 1661. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol. II, 132).

4.4.2. Public and Domestic Music

In addition to that performed at court, in church and theatre, a wealth of music was to be heard in London in a variety of settings. Taverns were the venue for a varied diet of musical fare: as well as 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 (Robins, 2006). The publisher Henry Playford, who had set up his music publishing business partly in response to semi-public music meetings in the 1650s, aimed to promote such clubs or societies by introducing music masters into several taverns and thereby providing a ready market for his publications.¹⁹ The growing number of taverns with larger private rooms, some specially constructed, provided a venue for meetings of clubs of all kinds, including music clubs where instrumental music would be played either by groups of amateurs or with the participation of professional musicians (Clark, 2000: 161–2). Pepys was an enthusiastic attendee and chronicler of music in taverns, which events, though usually of an informal nature, might include both amateur and professional musicians among the performers. Pepys heard ‘an excellent company of fiddlers’ at the Dolphin (Pepys' Diary: entry for 9

¹⁹ 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’ (*Post Boy* 21 September 1700); the preface to the second edition of the same work published in 1701 enlarges on this theme (quoted in Robins, 2006: 15). Abell also offered his ‘Consort of Musick’ to ‘any Society of Gentlemen in City, or Country’; see *Post Boy* 29 November 1701.

September 1661. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol II, 175) and was a visitor to ‘the Musique house’ at Greenwich, where the master organist Arundell gave him ‘a fine voluntary or two’, after having had only paltry music before his arrival (Pepys' Diary: entry for 21 August 1663. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol IV, 283). At the Dolphin Tavern, there was ‘good Musique at my direction’ at a meeting of Navy officers and Commissioners of the Ordnance on the day of thanksgiving for victory over the Dutch in the naval Battle of Lowestoft (Pepys' Diary: entry for 20 June 1665. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol VI, 132).

The picture that the newspapers reveal 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 (*The Post Man: and Historical Account* 5 January 1706). 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; and collections of dances from court and theatre for use at home (Arber, 1903; Smith, 1948; Smith and Humphries, 1968). The number of advertisements for the sale of instruments and the lists of instruments appearing in auctions of household effects is similarly illustrative (*London Evening Post*, 9 December 1742 and *Daily Journal* 20 November 1731). Numerous references in both Pepys’ and Evelyn’s diaries to music making both at their own and others houses also testify to the thriving nature of domestic music making at this time. On occasion, the amateur music makers might be joined by professional musicians, not always to Pepys’ satisfaction:

So away home... and there came Mr. Hill, Andrews and Seignor Pedro, and great store of Musique we had, but I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils methinks the ingenuity of our practice.
(Pepys' Diary: entry for 29 July 1664. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol V, 226)

Sometimes, it would seem that a private musical evening where all the performers are professional musicians is being described:

At Mr. Slingsby's, Master of the Mint, my worthy friend, a great lover of music. Heard Signor Francisco [Galli?²⁰] on the harpsichord, esteemed one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument; then, came Nicholao [Matteis] with his violin, and struck all mute, but Mrs. [Mary] Knight, who sung incomparably, and doubtless has the greatest reach of any English woman; she had been lately roaming in Italy, and was much improved in that quality.

(Evelyn's Diary: entry for 2 December 1675. Bray, 1901: Vol. II, 100)

In addition, further developments now began to arise from the tentative beginnings of public and semi-public meetings described in section 4.3.2. We have already noted the decline in standards in the provincial cathedrals which was of long standing (Dearnley, 1970: 71–6), but a closer court control over theatrical affairs acted further to increase the court and metropolitan emphasis that had always existed to some extent (Avery and Scouten, 1968: xxii–xxiv). We have also seen that there was a change in the pattern of patronage: aristocratic families who in times gone by would have supported a number of musicians in their establishments had lost a good deal of their wealth in the Civil War; even court musicians were seriously in want on account of considerable delays in receiving their wages from Charles II (Holman, 1993: 296). More and more musicians had to rely on what they could earn by performing publicly to make a living and it was in this context that musicians increasingly began to arrange and publicise concerts in a variety of formats for which they charged admission; the rise of these public commercial concerts will be outlined in the next section and investigated in detail in chapters 5 to 9.

4.5. The Development of Public Commercial Concerts in London

... the nation (as I may terme it) of Musick was very well prepared for a revolution... A great means of bringing that forward was the humour of following publick consorts, and it will not be out of the way to deduce them from the beginning.

(Roger North quoted in Wilson, 1959: 351)

By his own admission, Roger North came from a family where music was 'native' and for him it was certainly a lifelong pursuit and study. He was an assiduous

²⁰ (Highfill et al., 1973–91: vol. 5, 439).

attendee at music meetings, either as performer or auditor, both during the time he spent as a member of the legal profession in London and on his frequent return visits after his retirement to Norfolk.²¹ He was thus ideally placed to observe the development of the early public commercial concert of which he has left a uniquely valuable account. His description of the late seventeenth century as a period of great change in the musical life of England and his judgement that the development of the public concert played a large part in that revolution is therefore of great significance.

There had always been a tradition of music in taverns where professional musicians of the lesser kind could be found playing for tips from the patrons. Some taverns became known as music houses having gained a special reputation for music, or featuring it as a particular attraction. That more organised events were also held at taverns is witnessed by Pepys' comment on visiting 'Steadman's at the Mitre in Fleetstreete' that 'the house being in fitting for Banister to come thither from Pagets',²² (Pepys' Diary: entry for 21 January 1660. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol I, 25). The Mitre tavern in Fleet Street had a music room (Pepys' Diary: entry for 18 February 1660. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol I, 59) and it is likely that it was being made ready for a performance organised by John Banister, the composer and violinist, who was the first to advertise concerts in a newspaper a dozen years later in 1672.

Pepys was also acquainted with many of the amateur and professional musicians who formed a music club which North describes as being the first of the 'publick consorts' (Spink, 1965-67). This meeting he variously describes as 'in a lane behind Paul's' and 'behind St Gregory's church' which before the Great Fire was at the south-west corner of St Paul's Cathedral. The meeting

...was at first private, and then turned publik, being a large room in an alehouse, where stood a chamber organ ... that one Phillips played upon, and some shopkeepers and foremen came weekly to sing in consort, and to hear, and injoy ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong, and one Ben. Wallington got the reputation of [a] notable base voice, who also set up for a composer, and hath some songs in print, but of a very low sence; and their musick was cheifly out of Playford's Catch Book ... for voices to an organ, where who would, that was gifted, might performe, and no payment, but the reckoning.
(Roger North quoted in Wilson, 1959: 303-4 and note 49, 351-2)

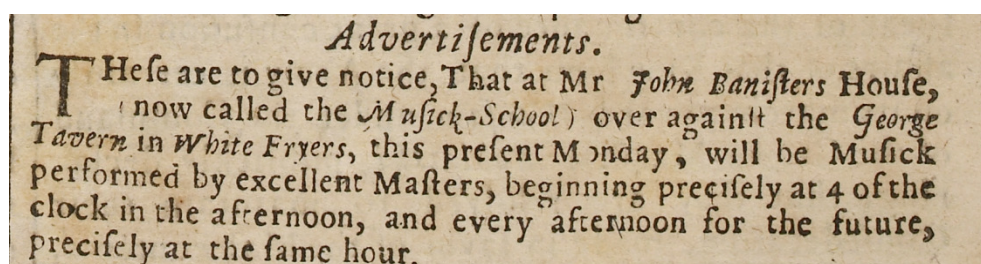
²¹Admitted to the Middle Temple in 1669, by the time of his retirement in 1692 North had risen to the post of Queen's Attorney General (Wilson, 1959: xvi-xviii).

²²Both Steadman and Paget were innkeepers.

Spink (1965-67) has suggested that this alehouse might be the Mitre, mentioned by Hawkins and of which he learned through the title page of ‘A Catalogue of the many natural rarities .. collected by Robert Hubert, alias Forges, Gent .. and daily to be seen, at the place called the musick house at the Miter, near the West end of St Paul's Church ... 1664’. A year later it is described as ‘the late Musique House near the West end of St Paul's where is a faire Organ to be sold fit for Church or Chappel’ in *The Intelligencer* of 23 January 1665. Spink further suggests that this music meeting moved venue and is to be identified with the ‘late Musick-Society and Meeting, in the Old-Jury, London’ to which John Playford dedicated his catch book *The Musical Companion* in 1667; he dates its existence to 1659–1665. North’s description of ‘no payment, but the reckoning’ shows that this is still not a commercial concert properly speaking, but rather a meeting where amateurs as well as professionals might perform and the innkeeper would benefit by the increase in sale of drink. North also makes mention of concerts, he calls them ‘entertainements’ put on by music teachers for the purpose of encouraging their pupils: these ‘were always crowded’ (Wilson, 1959: 352).

The next concerts which are mentioned by North are those put on by John Banister, about which he is not always complimentary. These seem more purely commercial ventures, as a charge was made for entry and they were advertised in a newspaper, the bi-weekly *London Gazette*. It was in 1672 that the first concert advertisement appeared and it was for a series of concerts to be given by John Banister at his house, the ‘Musick-School’ opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars from Monday 30 December. ‘This musician was one of the first who established lucrative concerts in London’ (Burney, 1776–89: Vol II p.368).

Figure 4-1: John Banister's First Concert Advertisement



(*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672)

As can be seen from the advertisement above, the concerts were to be given daily beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon but no mention was made of a finishing time, or whether there was a charge for admission. However, North, who was resident in London during this period, mentions a charge of a shilling per person, though it is not clear whether this applied from Banister's very first concerts (Wilson, 1959: 302 and 352). Banister describes the performers as 'excellent Masters' but we have no idea how many of them there were, whether there were both instrumentalists and vocalists, what instruments they would play if any, nor what sort of music they would perform. In his writings, North contradicts himself in his description of the performers: in one place he describes Banister's concerts as begin given by 'most of the shack-performers²³ in towne' whereas in another he says that 'Banister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and some voices to come and performe there' (Wilson, 1959: 302 and 352). The music they played was varied: 'Banister himself (*inter alia*) did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro-base, and the severall masters had their solos' (Wilson, 1959: 352). The concerts and advertisements continued until Banister's death on 3 October 1679 brought them to an end and will be described in more detail in Section 5.2.1.

During the time that John Banister was advertising his concerts, only one other advertisement appeared in a London newspaper for a similar venture: this described a concert to be given on four trumpets marine at the Fleece Tavern, near St James's in February 1675. Again the concerts were given daily, Sundays excepted, and the advertiser of these concerts mentions both price and duration: 1 shilling for the best places, sixpence for the others; one hour, and then to start again (*London Gazette* 4 February 1674/5). This is a performance of a different kind; more of a musical demonstration of some unusual instruments than a concert proper.

There was, however, a long series of music meetings or concerts which were never advertised. These were established by Thomas Britton in 1678 and were held every Thursday in a long narrow room over his shop in Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell. At first, there was no charge, but guests could purchase coffee at a penny a dish; later there was an annual charge of ten shillings. Performers included both professionals and amateurs and meetings continued until Britton's death in 1714 (Burney, 1776–89: Vol II p. 369; Edwards, 1906; Elkin, 1955: 22–8; Hawkins, 1776: 788–90; Price, 1978;

²³ Roughly equivalent to 'vagabond'.

Tilmouth and McVeigh, n.d.; Ward, 1745). In similar vein, Roger North also describes how a group of amateur musicians, probably including himself, met to play together, but in what year he does not say. They were mostly violinists and ‘often hired base-violinns’ (violoncellos, presumably played by professionals) to help out. They allowed their friends in to listen and as their reputation spread, the audience grew to such an extent that the meetings had to be held in a large room in the Castle tavern in Fleet Street where the landlord made ‘seats of distinction’ and charged an entry fee to the audience. The amateurs ‘dropt off by degrees’ and North then says in two different works that the ‘masters of musick entered and filled the consorts, which they carried on directly for mony collect as at other publik entertainements’, or that ‘the taverner, finding the sweet of vending wine and taking mony, hired masters to play, and made a pecuniary consort of it’ (Wilson, 1959: 304–5 and note 52, 352). Whichever version is correct, it is certain that such commercial concerts continued to be given and developed further, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Thus, ‘by about 1700 music in England was moving 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: 295). ‘For the first time an audience gathered to listen to music as such – a public of music lovers to which anyone who was propertied and educated was admitted’ (Habermas, 1992: 39). Music, through the development of public concerts, was playing a part in the general commercialisation of leisure which Plumb (1972; 1982) has ascribed to the long eighteenth century. Unsurprisingly musicologists have tended to concentrate their efforts on an examination of the musical compositions of the period, and despite the significance of the public commercial concert in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a detailed study of its development is still lacking. McVeigh’s (1993) study starts from 1750, a point when the public concert was already fairly well established in the fashionable calendar of high society. Within the period under investigation, it is really only Handel who has provided a focus for a study of the organisational or financial aspects of music making, and this has mainly been in the context of opera and oratorio (Burrows, 1985; Gibson, 1988; Harris, 2004; Hume, 1986; Hunter, 2000; 2009; Hunter and Mason, 1999; Milhous and Hume, 1978; 1983). In contrast the development from amateur music-making to professional concerts, from

music in taverns and private music meetings, through the earliest public concerts, to the subscription series of the 1740s and 1750s, from informality to formality, and from domestic or corporate musical recreation to music as a lucrative leisure service, has only been sketched in outline in short articles or general histories of the period (Harley, 1968; Scott, 1936; 1937; 1938; Tilmouth, 1957–8). For towns and cities outside London valuable work has been done by Farmer (1945; 1950) for Scotland, Sadie (1958–1959) and Tilmouth (1983) for provincial England as a whole, Crum (1974), Wollenberg (1981-82) and Gouk (1996) for Oxford, James (1987) for Bath, Cranmer (1991) for Edinburgh, Burchell (1996) for Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle, Southey (2006) for north-east England and Fleming (2009) for Durham. The evidence gathered together from newspaper advertisements in Tilmouth's (1961a; 1961b) calendar of London concerts for the period up to 1719 provides the bare bones, but if the full story of the development of concerts in London is to be told this must be fleshed out by a more comprehensive coverage of the newspaper material and a detailed analysis of the information contained therein.

Chapter 5. The Musical Product I: Types of Concert

5.1. Introduction

As discussed in section 2.4.2 above, modern-day organisations implement a marketing strategy by planning the details of the marketing mix, whose elements have been classified into what is now commonly known as the ‘four Ps’: product, price, place and promotion (Kotler et al., 2001: 97–8; McCarthy, 1960), with the possibility of adding extra elements, such as people, physical evidence and process, when dealing with service industries such as cultural industries and the arts sector (Booms and Bitner, 1981). An adaptation of the marketing mix has been proposed as a way of aiding discussion of London’s early concerts and this comprises five Ps: product, place/performance, price, promotion and people.²⁴ In both the conventional marketing mix and the adapted version, the attributes of the product which are varied to appeal to the consumer include variety, quality, design, features and services (Kotler et al., 2001: 98). Development of different types of concert can thus be considered as making up the variable aspects of the artistic product offering in terms of variety, quality and design. Moreover, a concert consists of more than just the music or performer, it is a complete emotional experience, and for occasional attendees especially, intangible and atmospheric factors are just as important as the core product itself (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 42). The core product may also be accompanied by what Kotler and Scheff (1997: 192–3) term the ‘expected’ and the ‘augmented’ product. The expected product includes the customer’s normal expectations regarding the purchase and consumption of the product, while the augmented product includes features and benefits which exceed what the target audience normally expect.

This chapter will focus on the product and discussion here will centre on the different types of concerts which were given in London in the period under discussion. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the various types of concert which were held, showing how musicians experimented to find successful types of concert, days of the week and times of day which might appeal to a potential concert-going public. It will also investigate the way in which some concert promoters also offered an augmented

²⁴ The current chapter will discuss the product in terms of the types of concerts held, while chapter 6 will focus on the product in terms of the repertoire which was performed and how concert programmes were designed; place is discussed in Chapter 7; price and promotion in Chapter 8; and people in Chapter 9.

product by advertising features and benefits which exceeded what the target audience might normally expect. In both these ways, early concert promoters show an interest in product innovation, differentiation and promotion which is characteristic of a product at the introduction and growth stages of its life cycle (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 212). Not all of these experiments were successful, but gradually musicians developed a range of different types of concert which they obviously considered the best in terms of attracting a regular audience and thus earning themselves a living. For some types of concert, especially those held at spa resorts and pleasure gardens, the musical performance can be seen as being a complementary good to the other leisure pursuits on offer, forming part of a bundle of experiences sold together.

The birth of the public concert in England is usually traced back to Banister's first concert advertisement in 1672. However, an answer to the question as to whether there were public concerts before Banister will obviously depend on how one defines the term concert. The Oxford Dictionary of Music (n.d.) defines a concert as:

A performance of music in public by a fairly substantial number of performers (but not a stage performance or as part of a religious service)... A prerequisite of concerts, except on certain special occasions, is that people should pay to attend them....

Weber (n.d.) notes that the concert as we think of it today developed from informal occasions where music formed a part of other social activities such as after-dinner music, or taverns allowing musicians to perform in their rooms. Music meetings and concerts of various sorts had clearly been in existence for some time if not necessarily under that name nor in the format that we have now come to expect. They could have formed part of an open-air performance by the town waits (Raynor, 1972: 55–69; Warwick, 1968: 81–3; Woodfill, 1969: 50, 81–2), or a private concert in the house of a nobleman or at court (Raynor, 1972: 144–5; Woodfill, 1969: 177–97). There was also a long tradition of music in taverns where professional musicians could be found playing for tips from the patrons (Anon., 1643; Pepys' Diary: *passim*. Latham and Matthews, 1995). From the 1640s onwards a new development had arisen both in Oxford and London: private or semi-commercial music meetings were held in houses or tavern rooms, where both amateur and professional musicians would play together and an entrance fee might be charged for both performers and auditors (Bliss, 1813: vol. 1 xxv–xxvii, xxxi–xxxii, xxxiv–xxxvi, vol. 3 350; Chan, 1990; Clark, 1891-1900: vol. 1,

273–5; Gouk, 1996; Wilson, 1959: 302–5, 351–2). North describes music meetings where amateurs had ceased to play and which relied solely on professional performers, others where there was no charge but the innkeeper would benefit by the increase in sale of drink, and ‘entertainments’ put on by music teachers for the purpose of encouraging their pupils (Wilson, 1959: 303–4 and note 49, 351–2; Spink, 1965–67). These music meetings and concerts were gradually moving towards what we might think of as a public commercial concert, the type of concert with which this study is primarily concerned.

London began to develop a rich and well-organised public concert life in the course of the ninety years following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. This progressed from the first public concerts advertised by John Banister in the *London Gazette* in 1672, to the wide range of concert types held in a variety of venues which are to be found by 1750 and which then continued for some time afterwards (McVeigh, 1993). Broadly speaking, concerts in this period can be divided into two different types: those where attendance was primarily for the purpose of the concert itself, or those where a concert formed part of some kind of a wider entertainment experience. The first type encompasses concert series, individual concerts, concerts for the benefit of individual musicians or for charities, and concerts given by musical societies. The second type comprises concerts held as part of a theatrical performance, or those held at the various wells and pleasure gardens in and around London, usually during the summer months.

5.2. Concert Series

5.2.1. Banister’s and Other Early Concert Series²⁵

It was in 1672 that the first advertisement for a public concert appeared in a London newspaper (*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672, see Figure 4-1); this was for a series of concerts to be given by John Banister at his house, the ‘Musick-School’, opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars from Monday 30 December. ‘This musician was one of the first who established lucrative concerts in London’ (Burney, 1776–89: Vol II p.368). The concerts were to be given daily beginning at four o’clock in the

²⁵ For details of Banister’s and other concert series in the 1670s and 1680s, see Table 5-1.

afternoon but no mention was made of a finishing time, or whether there was a charge for admission. However, Roger North, a contemporary amateur musician, mentions a charge of a shilling per person, though it is not clear whether this applied from Banister's very first concerts (Wilson, 1959: 302 and 352). The performers were to be 'excellent Masters' but we have no idea how many of them there were, whether there were both instrumentalists and vocalists, what instruments they would play if any, nor what sort of music they would perform.

Were these concerts successful? No further advertisement appeared until 4 September 1673 when it was stated 'that there will be no publick Musick at the Musick School in *White Fryers*, till *Michaelmas day* next [Monday 29 September]' (*London Gazette* 4 September 1673). One might doubt the inference that there had been continuous daily performances since the previous December were it not for an advertisement placed in April the following year indicating that concerts were to continue from then until the following Michaelmas (*London Gazette* 20 April 1674, see below); be that as it may, the 1672 series had evidently been doing well enough for Banister to continue his concerts in 1673. For Friday 3 October 1673 he advertised '...new Musick, vocal and instrumental, performed by excellent Masters, beginning at three of the clock afternoon, and ending as formerly, and so will continue every day for the future' (*London Gazette* 2 October 1673). He was once again advertising 'new Musick, Vocal and Instrumental' for Thursday 20 November but this time with the amplification that 'for the future, the first day of every Month shall be new Musick' (*London Gazette* 17 November 1673). There was a short break around Christmas (*London Gazette* 22 December 1673), and later in the spring Banister was again advertising his concerts, but commencing later in the day and with a reduction in the accommodation available:

AT the Musick School in *White-Fryers*, this present Monday, several new Ays will be performed, beginning at seven of the clock in the evening; the usual publick Room to be wholly abated, and the other Rooms and Boxes the one halfe; this to continue till *Michaelmas* next. (*London Gazette* 20 April 1674)

For Michaelmas 1674 two advertisements appeared advertising concerts where there 'will be several Masters performing Vocal and Instrumental Musick' still on a daily basis but now to commence at 'five of the Clock' (*London Gazette* 24 and 28

September 1674). In January 1675 Banister moved his concerts to his new house in ‘*Shandois-street*, [Chandos Street] *Covent-garden*’ (*London Gazette* 25 January 1674/5); he now advised that he would give concerts on every evening except Sunday. Still in Chandos Street in November 1675 he advertised ‘variety of Musick every Evening, beginning this present Thursday [25th] at six of the Clock’ (*London Gazette* 25 November 1675).

December 1676 brought a new departure: Banister seems no longer to have been giving concerts at his own house but at a school, ‘the Academy in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields’, which he probably ran with the help of his court musician colleagues (Holman, 1993: 351–2; Holman and Lasocki, n.d.), and for the first time more detail of the proposed programme is given and the sale of tickets is mentioned.

On Thursday next the 14th instant, At the Academy in *Little Lincolns-Inn Fields*, will begin the first part of The Parley of Instruments, Composed by Mr. *John Banister*, and perform'd by Eminent Masters at Six a Clock ; and to continue Nightly, as shall by Bill or otherwise be Notifi'd. The Tickets are to be deliver'd out from One of the Clock till Five every day, and not after.²⁶
(*London Gazette* 11 December 1676)

What had been becoming a pattern of an advertisement appearing around Michaelmas was broken in 1677 as no further concerts were advertised until November 1678, when once again the venue for Banister’s concerts had changed. The advertisement does not seem to indicate a break in Banister’s concert giving, the key phrase being ‘will be continued’, but it is difficult to be sure of this.

On Thursday next, the 22d of this instant *November*, at the Musick School in *Essex Buildings*, over against St. *Clements Church* in the *Strand*, will be continued a *Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, beginning at five of the Clock every evening. Composed by Mr. *John Banister*.
(*London Gazette* 18 November 1678)

Two further advertisements appeared for concerts given by Banister at the Musick School in Essex Buildings (*London Gazette* 25 November 1678 and 9 January 1678/9), but his death on 3 October 1679 brought to an end his pioneering series of concerts. Banister did not concern himself with which day of the week might be the

²⁶ A wordbook for performances of The Parley of Instruments was printed (Banister, 1676) and is discussed by Holman (1993: 349–53).

most popular as concerts were given every day except Sunday. So far as the time of day was concerned there was quite a variation with recorded starting times between 15.00 and 19.00. However, for the last few years of his life, Banister seems to have settled down to a late afternoon or early evening start of either 17.00 or 18.00.

During the time that John Banister was advertising his concerts, only one other advertisement appeared in a London newspaper for a similar venture: this described a concert to be given on four trumpets marine at the Fleece Tavern, near St James's in February 1675. Again the concerts were given daily, Sundays excepted, and the advertiser of these concerts mentions both price and duration: 1 shilling for the best places, sixpence for the others; one hour, and then to start again (*London Gazette* 4 February 1674/5). This is a performance of a different kind; more of a musical demonstration of some unusual instruments than a concert proper.

Slightly later there was also a series of concerts to promote a publication by August Kühnel, who advertised twice-weekly concerts to include pieces from his recently published sonatas for one and two bass viols, as well his own performance upon the baryton (*London Gazette* 23 November 1685). Thursday performances were to take place at the Dancing School in Walbrook, those on Saturdays at the Dancing School in York Buildings. Those who had not subscribed to the publication were to pay half a crown towards the cost of the performances.

Table 5-1: Banister's and other Concert Series from the 1670s and 1680s

Season	Venue	Type	Day	First Advert For	Series Ends	Start Time	Associated with
1672/3	Banister's House, Whitefriars	Daily		30 Dec	4 Sep?	16.00	John Banister Sr
1673/4	Banister's House, Whitefriars	Daily		29 Sep		15.00 then 19.00	John Banister Sr
1674/5	Banister's House, Whitefriars then to Shandois Street	Daily		29 Sep		17.00	John Banister Sr
	Fleece Tavern, St James's	Daily		4 Feb		hourly from 14.00	
1675/6	Banister's House, Shandois Street	Daily		25 Nov		18.00	John Banister Sr
1676/7	Academy, Little Lincoln's Inn Fields	Daily		14 Dec		18.00	John Banister Sr
1678/9	Musick School,	Daily		22 Nov		17.00	John Banister

Season	Venue	Type	Day	First Advert For	Series Ends	Start Time	Associated with
	Essex Buildings					then 18.00	Sr
1685/6	Dancing School, Walbrook	Weekly	Thurs	26 Nov		18.00	August Kühnel
	Dancing School, York Buildings	Weekly	Sat	28 Nov		18.00	August Kühnel

There was, however, a long series of music meetings or concerts which were never advertised. These were established by Thomas Britton in 1678 and were held every Thursday in a long narrow room over his shop in Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell. At first there was no charge, but guests could purchase coffee at a penny a dish; later there was an annual charge of ten shillings. Performers included both professionals and amateurs and meetings continued until Britton's death in 1714 (Burney, 1776–89: Vol II p. 369; Edwards, 1906; Elkin, 1955: 22–8; Hawkins, 1776: 788–90; Price, 1978; Tilmouth and McVeigh, n.d.; Ward, 1745).

5.2.2. Weekly Concert Series

Daily concerts arranged by a single individual for a large part of the year seem for the most part to have died out with Banister; a weekly series format, however, did become popular. It was not until 1689, a decade after the death of John Banister, that advertisements for concerts once again started to appear regularly in the newspapers. For a few years, one or more weekly series of concerts were held in a variety of venues.²⁷ However, by the turn of the century the introduction of benefit concerts and their increasing frequency was accompanied by a falling off in advertisements for concert series. Not until the 1730s did the concert series once again become a regular feature of the winter season, although sometimes restricted to a series of oratorio concerts, usually by Handel, given in one of the licensed theatres during Lent (see section 5.2.3). Another feature of concert series which gradually became more prominent was the use of subscriptions in advance as a means of funding the necessary investment. The subscription system had been used since the early seventeenth century for publishing some books or music, especially serial publications (Clapp, 1931; 1932;

²⁷ A calendar of concert series is given in Appendix C.

Hunter and Mason, 1999), and this was now adapted by musicians to individual concerts or concert series, with payment usually expected before the event. John Abell used the subscription system to enable him to put on individual concerts in 1701 and 1702 (see page 126), but this system was more frequently applied to a series of concerts which would be sold as a package with payment expected before the first event.

In 1702, Cavendish Weedon, a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn, held a subscription series of entertainments 'of Divine Musick, with new Orations, and Poems every Month, in Recommendation of Religion and Virtue design'd to be perform'd Weekly, each Month, till August next' (*Post Boy* 28 April 1702).²⁸ In 1703, 'Mr. Isaack's Schollar' opened a subscription for six entertainments of 'Musick and Dancing' of which only two were given.²⁹ The first subscription series for conventional fully musical concerts seems to have been 'The Subscription Musick', a series of Tuesday evening concerts given in the 1703/04 winter season which were split between two venues: the Theatre Royal Drury Lane and the Theatre Royal Lincoln's Inn Fields. A concert of the 'Subscription Musick' given in York Buildings on Wednesday 26 April may well be the last of this series in a third venue. The advantage for the musician of a series and even more so for a subscription series was that they were ensured gainful employment for a certain number of concerts; it also helped to encourage repeat purchases and build up a loyal audience who were locked into attendance at a certain number of concerts. The subscription series is a feature of concert-going to this day, such is its importance in developing an audience of knowledgeable, experienced, regular attendees who may be willing to accept more experimental repertoire as well as works by their favourite composers or performers (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 262–3). Subscriptions also provided concert organisers with a guaranteed source of income paid in advance of the series. Although concert series by subscription were probably organised by musicians, they would seem to have sometimes made use of others as 'trustees' to take in the subscription money:

Proposals for setting up by Subscription, A Monthly Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, to be perform'd in the City.... The Subscription One Guinea for the whole Year, paid in the Hands of Trustees viz John Shipton, and Thomas Ives, Coffee-Men, in Cornhill.

²⁸ Full details are given on page 130ff.

²⁹ Subscribers were returned one guinea of the guinea and a half which they had subscribed (*Daily Courant* 8 January 1703).

(*Daily Courant* 9 January 1717)

Francis Geminiani signalled even more elaborate arrangements for his subscription series in 1731/2:

N.B. Mr. Hickford, at Mr. Geminiani's Request, hath consented to take on him the Trouble of giving out the Tickets, and receiving the whole Subscription Money, with whom the same, or so much thereof as shall not be by him from time to time apply'd in defraying the Charge of carrying on the Consort, is to remain till the Number of Consorts proposed shall be perform'd; and who will be accountable to the Subscribers respectively for so much as he shall give his Receipts for, in case the Consorts do not begin; or for a proportionable Part thereof in case the Consorts begin and shall not be completed, first deducting all necessary Charges.

(*Daily Post* 15 November 1731)

Even though this series appears to have been reasonably successful, Geminiani decided not to give another the next year, and allowed Arrigoni and Sammartini to take over: '...Arrigoni & Martini make one in the same manner Geminiani did the last year, tho' I dont find with the same Success' (Letter from Thomas Pelham to William Capel, Earl of Essex, 29 January 1733, quoted in (Careri, 1993: 27)). However, this was not the end of subscription series, as others were given later in the period and gradually achieved a more secure position in the social season.

5.2.3. Ode, Oratorio, Serenata and Sacred Music Series

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England a cantata-like form known as an 'ode' was composed as a form of panegyric to the English monarch, with odes being written in his/her honour at New Year and on the monarch's birthday (McGuinness, 1971); odes were also written, *inter alia*, as part of the annual celebrations of St Cecilia, patron saint of music, whose feast day fell on 22 November. Another cantata-like composition was the serenata: a dramatic work, usually celebratory or eulogistic, for two or more singers with orchestra. The oratorio was a more extended musical work, setting a sacred text and made up of dramatic, narrative and contemplative elements. Its musical forms and styles tend to approximate to those of opera, except for a greater emphasis on the chorus, but it is performed without scenery, costumes or action. In eighteenth-century England, oratorios were performed in the Lenten period when opera was forbidden on certain days.

There were many single concerts in which odes, serenatas and pastorals were performed, a few examples follow:

- A pastoral in French set to music by Jean-Claude Gillier was given at the Musick Meeting in York Buildings on 21 April 1697 (*London Gazette* 19 April 1697) and was then repeated on 29 April and 6 May ‘At the desire of some Persons of Quality’ (*London Gazette* 26 April and 3 May 1697).
- The odes sung at the annual feast in honour of St Cecilia held by the ‘Society of Gentlemen, Lovers of Musick’ were often given in a public concert a few months later.
- A serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti was performed at the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket on 28 March 1721 (*Daily Courant* 21, 22, 27 and 28 March 1721).
- On 26 March 1731, Handel’s pastoral *Acis and Galatea* was performed for the benefit of the singer Rochetti at the Lincoln’s Inn Theatre (*Daily Journal* 13, 15, 24 and 25 March 1731).

However, it was only with Handel’s oratorios that series of concerts containing this type of music began to be performed.³⁰ On 23 February 1732, Bernard Gates, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal gave the first of three private performances of Handel’s oratorio *Esther* held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Arundel Street off the Strand to celebrate the composer’s birthday (Hicks, n.d.). These prompted the first public but unauthorised performance of the piece by an unidentified group of performers at the Great Room in York Buildings on 20 April 1732 (*Daily Journal* 17, 19 and 20 April 1732). Handel immediately responded by organising a series of six performances of *Esther* at the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket on Tuesdays and Saturdays from 2 to 20 May 1732 (*Daily Journal* and *Daily Courant* 28 April 1732 and following). Unlike Gates’ private performances which were staged, these had to be given without action as the public staging of biblical drama had been forbidden in England since the time of Henry VIII (Roston, 1968: 113–4). It was considered an alternative to opera, as ‘The Silver Tickets of the Subscribers to the Opera, will be admitted’ (*Daily Journal* 8 May 1732). Similarly, unauthorised theatrical performances of the masque *Acis and Galatea*, billed as a ‘Pastoral Opera’, at the Little or New

³⁰ A calendar of oratorio, serenata and sacred music series is given in Appendix D.

Theatre in the Haymarket (*Daily Journal* 3, 10, 11 May 1732) resulted in Handel putting on four performances of the work between Saturday 10 and Tuesday 20 June 1732 but in a revised and extended form and now described as a serenata. Again there was no action on the stage in Handel's production, but scenery was used to represent 'in a Picturesque Manner, a Rural Prospect, with Rocks, Groves, Fountains, and Grotto's, amongst which will be disposed a Chorus of Nymphs and Shepherds, the Habits and every other Decoration suited to the Subject' (*Daily Journal* 5 June 1732).

The short series of oratorio or oratorio-like works given by Handel at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket in the 1731/32 season was obviously a success, as the following few years were increasingly dominated by series of concerts held at the theatres and featuring serenatas, oratorios and sacred music by Handel and others. Oratorios or serenatas and pieces of music taken from them were also frequently to be found in individual concerts, benefit concerts, and even at the pleasure garden concerts.

5.2.4. Musical Society Series

Professional musicians dominated in the organisation of most types of public concerts in London, the exception being musical societies where amateurs might take a more prominent rôle. A London musical society organised by both amateur and professional musicians and variously known as 'The Society of Gentlemen Lovers of Musick' and 'The Musical Society', held annual celebrations to commemorate the patron saint of music, St Cecilia, on her feast day of 22 November. The earliest recorded celebration took place in 1683, and took the form of a performance of a specially commissioned Ode, a banquet at Stationers' Hall (from 1684), and (from 1693) a church service at St Bride's, Fleet Street, with a sermon in defence of church music. Composers and performers were drawn from the choirs of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, the King's Musick and the theatre orchestras (Hopkins, 1994). Stewards were appointed each year who were entrusted with the organisation of the event: by 1692 there were six stewards, 'four of whom are either persons of quality or gentlemen of note, and the last two either gentlemen of their Majesties' music, or some of the chief masters in town' ((*Gentleman's Journal* January 1692) quoted in (Husk, 1857: 28). After the first year, the ode and feast were held at Stationer's Hall and for the 1696 event, it was advertised that 'Tickets are to be

delivered at Mr. Richard Glovers at the Castle-Tavern in Fleetstreet' (*London Gazette* 12 November 1696). These annual and by now more public events appear to have continued until 1703.

In September 1700, Henry Playford, who had established his music publishing business partly in response to the popularity of semi-public music meetings in the 1650s (Chan, 1990), tried to promote the setting up of amateur musical societies throughout the country:

Next Week will be publish'd, The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion... publish'd chiefly for the Encouragement of the Musical Societies, which will be set up at Michaelmas next, in several eminent Taverns in Town, and are recommended to be Establish'd in most Cities, Towns and Corporations of Great Britain and Ireland. A full Account of which will be given by Henry Playford, at the Temple Change in Fleetstreet.

(*Post Boy* 7 September 1700)

This was obviously an attempt to promote sales of Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion* and similar publications which contained suitable music for the amateur members of the societies to play. Advertisements for musical publications by publishers other than Playford continued to mention the possibility of the pieces contained being suitable for Musical Societies, but there are very few advertisements for the societies themselves.

In addition to the 'The Society of Gentlemen Lovers of Musick', a number of musical societies, some of which had begun life as private music meetings, also promoted regular professional or semi-professional concerts. One such was the Castle Society which began life around 1720 as a private music meeting organised by the ex-St Paul's chorister and amateur violinist Talbot Young and the composer Maurice Greene at the house of Young's father, an instrument maker, in St Paul's Churchyard. Growth in the size and popularity of the meetings necessitated moves to bigger venues, and by 1724 the society ended up at the Castle Tavern in Pater Noster Row, from which it took its name (Grattan Flood, 1926; Hawkins, 1776: vol ii, 807–8; McVeigh, n.d.; Musical Society at the Castle Tavern, 1731). A newspaper report of 1724 of a meeting of the Society mentions 'near one hundred Gentlemen and Merchants of this City, the one part Performers, the other Auditors' (*Daily Post* 17 October 1724). Indeed, By-laws of the Society published in 1731 speak of a committee of directors, with performing and

‘auditor members’ attending concerts which were held weekly and to which lady guests were also admitted.

Similar to the Castle Society in its mix of amateur and professional members were the Swan Society of Musick which met at the Swan Tavern (later the King’s Arms) in Exchange Alley, Cornhill (Hawkins, 1776: vol ii, 808), and the Apollo Academy which met in the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar (Gardner, 2008; Johnstone, 1997b; Maslen, 1995). A masonic lodge, the *Philo-musicae et architecturae societas Apollini* (The Apollo Society for the Lovers of Music and Architecture) established in London in 1725, at the Queen’s Head tavern, Temple Bar, also devoted much time and effort to the performance of music. Members were mostly amateur musicians, but sole charge of the music-making in perpetuity was given to Francesco Geminiani, who employed other professional musicians as required (Pink, 2010; Rylands, 1900).

Slightly different in tone, the Academy of Vocal Music was founded in 1726 and met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Arundel Street off the Strand (Hawkins, 1770: 56–74; Johnstone, 1997a; Timms, 1978; Weber, 1992). It appears to have been founded by and intended to be solely for London’s leading musicians, with the great majority of members, at least in the early days, being singers in the Chapel Royal, St Paul’s Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, as is emphasised by an order agreed at the first meeting:

That any Gentleman of his Majesty’s Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals may be admitted of this Academy if they desire itt, and no other persons but such as profess Musick.
(Academy of Vocal Music, 1726–31: f.1)

However, a few prominent amateurs, such as John Perceval, First Earl of Egmont were also members from an early date, and as we shall see, this amateur involvement increased later in the Academy’s history. Somewhat unusually for the period, its focus was on older music as well as that of contemporaries and from 1731 it became known as the Academy of Ancient Music:

Several of the most eminent Professors of Musick in this City, have some Years since established a Musical Academy, not for the Management of Theatrical Affairs, but the Improvement of the Science, by searching after, examining, and hearing performed the Works of the Masters, who flourished before, or about the Age of Palestrina : However, not entirely neglecting those who in our Time have grown famous. Many Persons of

distinguished Rank, Lovers of Musick, and skilful in the Performance, have desired to be admitted into this Society.
(Anon., 1732) reproduced in (Lindgren, 1975))

In 1728 Maurice Greene and some of his supporters left the Academy and set up a short-lived rival society at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, and when in 1734 the children of the Chapel Royal were withdrawn by their master, Bernard Gates, the Academy was forced to change its nature somewhat by admitting amateur auditors as members and becoming 'a seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of music, and the laws of harmony' with Pepusch as instructor.

Thus between 1672 and 1750 there was a somewhat patchy but gradual increase in the number of concert series in London with many different musicians attempting to set up successful series. However, with the exception of John Banister and Thomas Britton early in the period and Handel's oratorio series towards the end, few persisted for any length of time. The single daily series of concerts advertised in the 1670s by John Banister was followed by a long period of experimentation and innovation by musician promoters of commercial concerts attempting to discover what would attract and keep an audience. By the 1740s there were likely to be advertisements for one or more series of weekly concerts in the autumn-winter season, some of which would be by subscription in advance, and for weekly or bi-weekly Lenten oratorio concerts organised by Handel or others at one of the patent theatres.

5.3. Benefit Concerts

Benefit concerts were similar to a practice which was current in London theatres from the 1680s to the 1880s by which the weekly salary of actors and actresses in London theatres was supplemented by the proceeds of the whole or a fraction of a seasonal benefit (Hume, 1984; Troubridge, 1967). The beneficiary would be the centre of attention on their benefit night, and would also hope to derive a profit from it (Troubridge, 1967: 11). Avery and Scouten (1968: lxxix) describe five types of benefit which were to be found in the late seventeenth century London theatre:

- For the actresses as a group
- For the 'young actors'
- For the individual performer

- For the dramatist
- For charity

Benefits for the actresses as a group are mentioned by Pepys at Drury Lane: ‘Up betimes, and Knepp’s maid comes to me, to tell me that the women’s day at the playhouse is today, and that therefore I must be there to increase their profit... The house for the women’s sake, mighty full.’ (Pepys’ Diary: entry for 28 September 1668. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol IX, 320–323). In the 1660s, young actors were given the privilege of playing on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent for their own profit, but by the 1680s and 1690s they were allowed to play for their own benefit in the summer (Avery and Scouten, 1968: lxxix–lxxx). Neither of these types of benefit survived long.

Benefits for individuals, however, remained in use for much longer. The earliest were probably benefits for playwrights, who were awarded the receipts from the third night of a run, after house charges had been paid; this was later extended to the sixth and ninth nights in the initial run (Avery and Scouten, 1968: lxxxii–lxxxiii). In his memoirs, the actor and playwright Colley Cibber stated that the first individual benefit for a performer was awarded to the actress Elizabeth Barry at some time in the reign of King James (1685–88) (Cibber, 1756: I 291). He goes on to describe how the practice did not become a custom until after the division of the company in the 1694/95 season. By the end of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth, the actor’s benefit formed a customary part of nearly every contract between performer and management. The final type of benefit, the charitable benefit, was not particularly common in the theatres.

The first benefit concerts to be advertised in a London newspaper were held at Lambeth Wells in the 1697 summer season. A series of concerts was held there between 5 May and 18 August, the majority of which took place on Wednesdays and some of which were described as being benefits (see Appendix E). Lambeth Wells began its concert advertisements on 11 May 1697 stating that they were to take place on Wednesday afternoons starting at 2.30, and comprised ‘...a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, consisting of about Thirty Instruments and Voices, after the method of the Musick-meeting in York-buildings’; the entrance charge was 1 shilling. This first advertisement advised that concerts would be held ‘every Wednesday for the ensuing Season’ and that ‘The first performance was on Wednesday last [5 May]’ (*Post*

Boy 11 May 1697). The advertisement for the ‘Consort of new Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ on Wednesday 26 May was ‘for the benefit of the Composer’ (*Post Boy* 25 May 1697), and was followed by another composer’s benefit concert on Friday 28 May (*Post Boy* 27 May 1697). A third concert ‘for the benefit of the Composer’ consisting of ‘a new Masque of Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ took place on Wednesday 23 June (*Post Boy* 22 June 1697). Of the two advertisements for the following Wednesday, 30 June, only the first states that it is for the benefit of the composer (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 24 and 29 June 1697). Advertisements for a concert given on 3 July again heralded ‘a new Masque of Vocal, and Instrumental Musick, consisting of above 30 Instruments, and Voices, for the Benefit of the performers’ (*Post Boy* 3 July 1697). On 21 July, ‘an Entertainment of Warlike Musick... with variety of other Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ was for the benefit of the composer (*Post Boy* 20 July 1697). The concert was repeated the next day, although the three advertisements are divided as to whether this was for the benefit of the composer or the performers (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 22 July 1697; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 22 July 1697; *Post Boy* 22 July 1697). Repeated for a third time on Wednesday 28 this concert was now definitely for the benefit of the performers (*Post Boy* 24 July 1697). No further benefit concerts were advertised at Lambeth Wells that season.

After this first occurrence at Lambeth Wells in the summer of 1697, benefit concerts continued to be held regularly at the full range of venues where other types of concerts occurred (see Appendix F for a full calendar). The benefit concert was a means by which musicians could generate some income for themselves; both performers and composers held benefits, although the former were in the majority. A musician organising a concert for his or her own benefit would enlist the support of fellow musicians as soloists; it was almost unheard of for an individual musician to give a concert on their own at this time, as variety held more appeal. His or her solo performance might feature to a greater extent than other soloists, but this was not always the case. The benefiting musician would call on the support of their friends and acquaintance among the concert-going public in an endeavour to sell tickets, which were often to be obtained at their place of residence or might even be delivered in person by the concert promoter. One could look on a benefit concert as a kind of performance pay: the more popular or the better the quality of the performer, the more

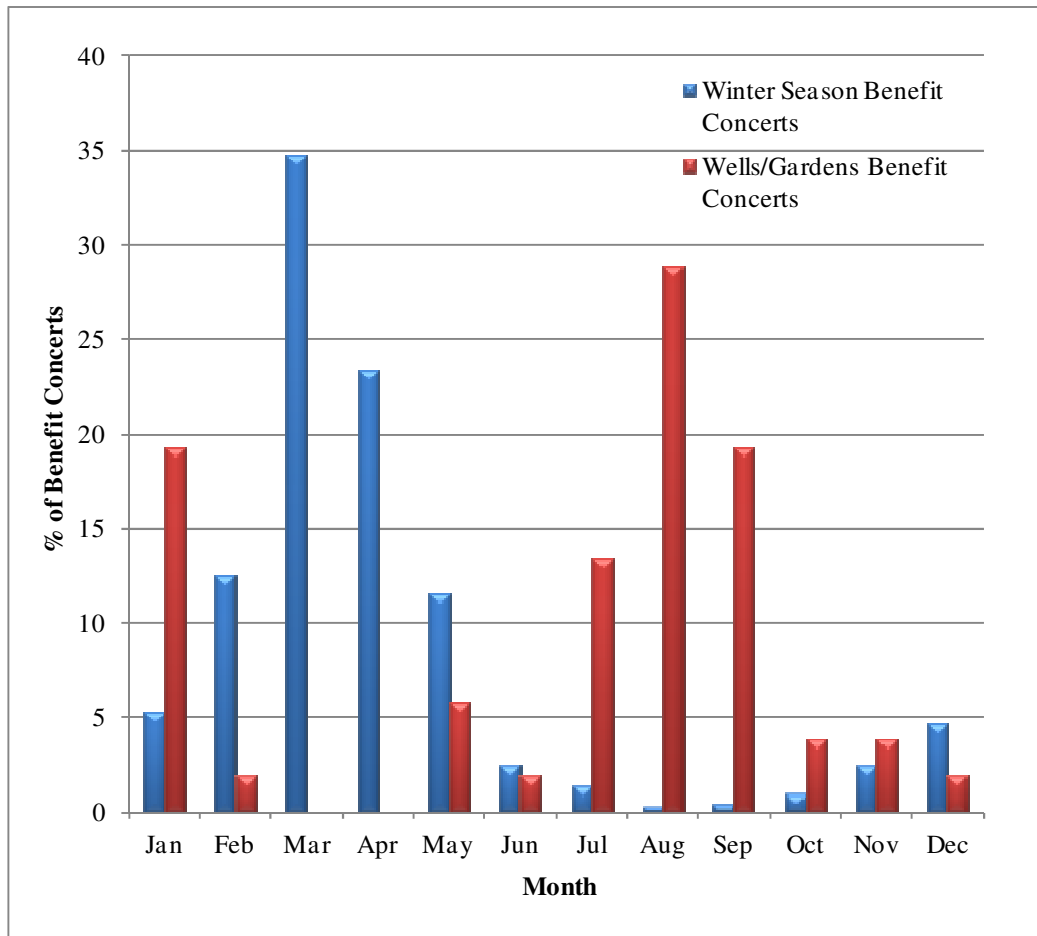
tickets they were likely to sell, and therefore the more money they would make. For instance, of a benefit performance for Handel held on 28 March 1738 it was said that ‘there was the greatest and most polite Audience ever seen there, and it's thought Mr. Handel cou'd not get less that Night than 1500l.’ (*London Evening Post* 30 March 1738). Details like this were not commonly published, and the figure given is probably an exaggeration, but The Earl of Egmont attended and wrote in his diary, ‘I counted near 1,300 persons besides the gallery and upper gallery. I suppose he got this night 1,000l.’ (Scouten: 710). Hume (1986) calculates that from such a large audience Handel could have received in excess of £800 — not as much as was reported in either contemporary account, but still a very large sum of money and certainly far more than a less prominent musician could have hoped to make.

Benefit concerts were also used as a form of self-advertisement for established musicians, and young musicians or newly-arrived foreign performers might take part in another's benefit as a way of launching themselves on the London musical scene. Charitable benefits were also given for individuals, perhaps a ‘Gentlewoman in Distress’ or organisations such as the ‘Fund for the Support of Decay'd Musicians and their Families’ or the Foundling Hospital (McGuinness and Diack Johnstone, 1990).

It is not always possible to tell definitely whether a particular concert was a benefit or not: at York Buildings on Monday 30 May 1698 ‘Mr. NICHOLA's Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ was performed (*London Gazette* 30 May 1698); this was followed on Wednesday 1 June by ‘Mrs. Crose's Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 31 May 1698; *Post Boy* 31 May 1698; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 31 May 1698). These latter concerts might have been part of the weekly concert series that had started the previous November (*Post Boy* 25 November 1697; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 25 November 1697; *Flying Post: or the Post Master* 25 November 1697), or they may have been benefit concerts.

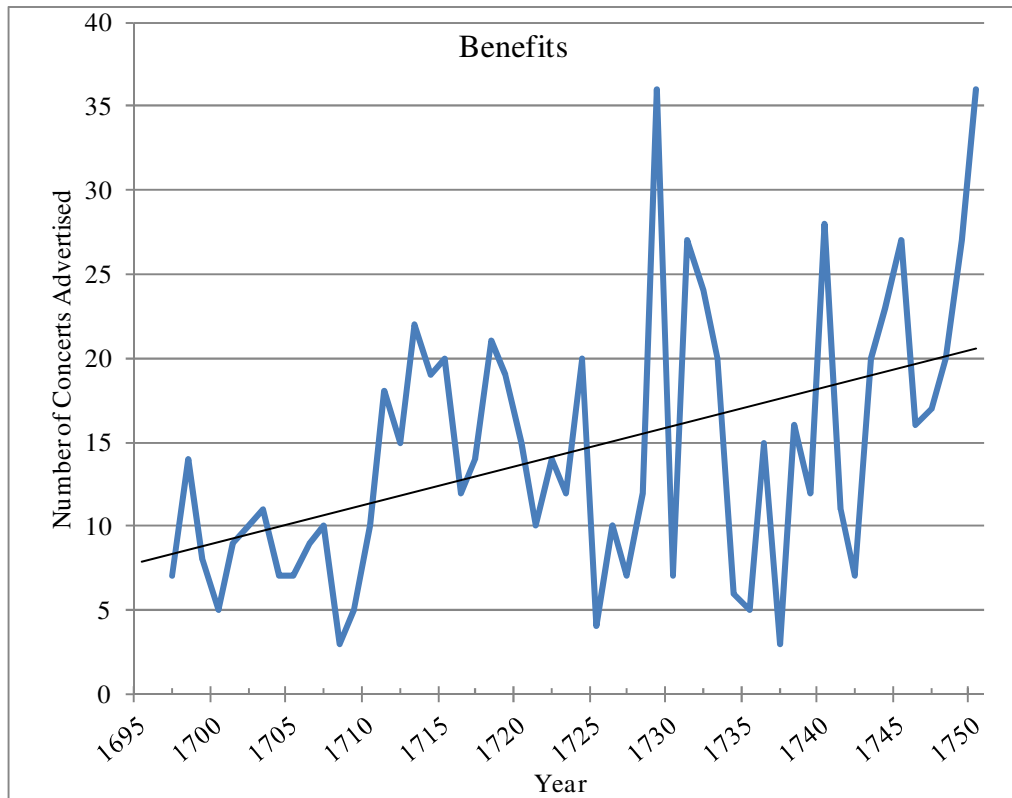
Although benefit concerts could in theory take place at any time of year, they tended to be concentrated towards the end of the season in which they occurred. Thus, benefit concerts which formed part of the winter season were more frequent towards its end in March and April; while at the wells and gardens which participated in the summer season the majority were given in August and September (see Figure 5-1).

Figure 5-1: Benefit Concerts per Month



Although there were quite large fluctuations in the numbers of benefits held each year, there was a definite upward trend over the period under investigation (see Figure 5-2). Musicians were obviously aware of the potential financial and reputational rewards of a successful benefit. Indeed, this information had even spread abroad: prior to his arrival in London in December 1704, Johann Sigismund Cousser recorded in his commonplace book the advice about English musical life he had received directly or indirectly from his compatriot the German composer Jakob Greber, who gave recitals in England in 1703 and 1704 with the Italian singer Francesca Margarita de l'Epine. His tenth point under the heading 'What a virtuoso should observe upon arriving in London' is: 'Don't forget to select a day for a benefit concert' (Samuel, 1981).

Figure 5-2: Benefit Concerts Per Year



5.4. Concerts at Wells, Spa Resorts and Gardens

Music was frequently to be heard at the growing numbers of wells, spas and gardens to which Londoners could travel. Music, even when not given as a separate concert *per se*, was part of the appeal of these leisure resorts, it formed part of the bundle of attractions which the visitor could enjoy, such as dancing, food, fireworks, good company, and so on. It has been suggested that the lower prices at these resorts made them places where a less exclusive clientele, the 'middling sort', could afford to go to hear quality music. At 1s., attendance at Vauxhall was considerably cheaper than for a concert ticket, and even Ranelagh, the most expensive resort at 2s.6d (including cakes and tea), compared favourably with all but the cheapest concerts (Hume, 2006). They can perhaps be likened to present-day 'proms in the park' concerts or open-air concert extravaganzas where the music is accompanied by fireworks or canon, or even to theme parks which may have a variety of different entertainments on offer.

Music began to be advertised at various London well and spa resorts in the summer season of 1696;³¹ both Lambeth Wells and Richmond Wells advertised their openings in this year, but music at the former was probably for dancing, rather than a concert as such. However, Richmond Wells advertised a ‘Consort of Musick both Vocal and Instrumental’ to take place at noon on Monday 13 July 1696 ‘by principal hands, and the best Voices, Compos’d new for the day by M. Frank, the Songs will be Printed and Sold there’ (*Post Boy* 11 July 1696). A puff for the concert spoke of attendance by a ‘great Concourse of Persons of Quality’ and suggested an increase in price to 6d, though it is not clear whether this was an effort to reduce the demand for tickets or to finance the ‘considerable addition to the Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental’ (*Post Boy* 18 July 1696). For the next advertised concert, a performance of John Blow’s ode on the death of Henry Purcell ‘Mark how the lark and linnet sing’, which took place on Monday 27 July the price was increased still further to 1 shilling (*Post Boy* 25 July 1696).

In the 1697 summer season Lambeth Wells began to advertise concerts explicitly and some of these were for the benefit of the composer or the performers (see section 5.3 above). Concerts also began this season at Sadler’s Wells and Richmond New Wells. Summer 1701 saw the first advertisements for concerts to take place at Hampstead Wells, with four being given over the season on Mondays 14 July, 18 and 25 August, and 15 September; in the following year, Hampstead was the only spa resort to advertise concerts. Between 1703 and 1707, very few concerts were advertised at wells and gardens, and none of these formed part of a summer series. A few individual concerts were advertised at Richmond Wells (Thursday 12 August 1703 and Saturday 14 July 1705), at Hampstead (Saturday 21 August 1703, Saturday 18 August 1705, Saturdays 10 and 17 August 1706,³² Saturdays 1 and 2 August 1707), and at a new venue, at the Sign of the Sun in Northaw near Cheshunt in Hertfordshire (29 July 1706).

It was not until 1708 that a series of summer concerts recommenced, with Monday concerts taking place at Hampstead Wells from 24 May. In 1709, Hampstead Wells had weekly concerts on Saturdays from 14 May; music was advertised for Saturdays at the Thatched House and Flask in Hampstead and “as formerly” at

³¹ Details of concerts advertised at wells, spas and gardens are given in Appendix F.

³² These concerts were both benefits for Mr Robinson, a dancer (*Daily Courant* 8 and 16 July 1706).

Richmond Wells, although these may not have been concerts proper. In 1710, Lambeth Wells advertised music and dancing every Monday, Thursday and Saturday, and held what may have been a concert proper on 14 September. Richmond Wells likewise had music on Mondays and Thursdays, but did not advertise concerts specifically. However, a proper concert, 'undertaken by Mr. Teno, and Mr. Cuthbert' was held at Richmond Wells on Saturday 21 July 1711 (*Daily Courant* 19 and 20 July 1711).

A gap in advertisements for concerts at wells and gardens was not broken until 1714 when the Restoration Spring Garden in St George's Fields held a single concert in honour of the arrival at Court of the new King George I. This Royalist fervour was repeated in the following year when a single concert was held at Lambeth Wells on 28 May 1715, King George's birthday. For some time after this, various wells advertised that there would be music on various days of the week, but this was probably only for dancing or as background music rather than being in the form of a formal concert.

The next concert specifically advertised as such did not occur until Thursday 29 June 1721 in the 'New Great Room' at Hampstead Wells; this was followed by a concert on Thursday 21 September. This season and the following one show a sudden boom in the number of concerts. Richmond Wells started a long series of advertisements for weekly concerts on Mondays shortly after the first Hampstead concert, running from 7 July 1721 to Monday 23 October. This Monday concert series had obviously been successful, as Richmond repeated it the following year, starting on 14 May 1722 and with the last advertisement for a concert on 20 August. E. Mariott, who had been one of the proprietors of Richmond Wells the previous season, opened a rival establishment in Richmond, the 'Great Room on the Green', and likewise held concerts every Monday starting on 14 May and continuing until 24 September. Hampstead Wells advertised a 'compleat Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' to be held every Monday, Thursday and Saturday from Monday 18 June. Northaw Wells opened their season with a concert held on Tuesday 19 June and by 27 June were advertising that this would be a weekly event. Belsize House also held a concert on Thursday 2 August. Enfield Bowling Green, which usually held a ball every other Monday, held a concert on Tuesday 14 August, delayed from Monday as the performers could not attend 'being obliged to perform before Persons of the First Quality at Richmond on that Day' (*Daily Courant* 9 and 11 Aug 1722).

In 1723, Northaw Wells opened its season with a concert held on Tuesday 19 June; Hampstead Wells held a concert on Monday 19 August. Between 1724 and 1735 when music was advertised at Richmond Wells, Hampstead Wells and Belsize House, it was not in the form of a concert *per se* but was most probably either music for dancing or some sort of background music. The music advertised in 1729 at Sadler's Wells as 'diverting Entertainments' every day, with singing by one Bartholomew Platt, may have been of the same sort.

1736 saw the beginnings of another revival of concert-giving at gardens in London, the initial stages of a substantial increase in supply which was to continue over the coming years. In that season the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall opened after a series of improvements and advertised 'a Band consisting of above thirty of the ablest Performers... who will play the favourite Pieces of the most eminent Masters' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 and 19 May 1736). These musical events commenced on 19 May 1736 and continued until 21 August; it is not clear whether they took place daily or weekly, but in the following year, it is evident that they were daily occurrences. The Restoration Gardens in St George's Fields had a 'Consort Al Fresco' on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays during the season. Two other leisure resorts followed the Vauxhall example the following year: Lambeth Wells was newly fitted up by its owner, John Ireland, and daily concerts were held, beginning on 2 May 1737; and the New Wells, near the London Spa in Clerkenwell held what it described as 'surprising Performances... intermix'd with several humorous Songs and Comic Dances' from 29 April onwards — something perhaps more akin to music hall than a concert proper.

The 1738 season saw a continuing expansion in the provision of concerts at leisure resorts in London. Vauxhall began its series of concerts on Monday 1 May; the New Wells, near the London Spa in Clerkenwell again held daily musical entertainments; Mr Shepherd at the Castle Tavern in Richmond started a series of concerts in his gardens on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, gratis to start with but later charging 'to avoid being crowded with disagreeable Company' (*Daily Post* 24 June 1738); and Marylebone Gardens was opened by Daniel Gough with concerts every evening consisting of eighteen pieces to be played by the 'best masters'. Both Marylebone and Vauxhall presented daily concerts in 1739, and they were joined in

1740 by slightly more varied fare: daily entertainments of singing and dancing at Sadler's Wells (6 March onwards); a daily 'Variety of ... Singing' at the New Wells in Goodman's Fields, (7 April onwards); the 'greatest Variety of New Entertainments of Singing, Dancing, and Pantomiming' at the New Wells, near the London Spa in Clerkenwell (7 April onwards); and daily concerts at Cuper's Gardens (Ephraim Evans, proprietor, 5 May onwards).

This plethora of musical entertainments at the London wells and pleasure gardens continued throughout the 1740s with Ranelagh joining the fray in 1742, and the Mulberry Gardens Clerkenwell, Ruckholt House and Sir John Oldcastle's in 1743. Thus on any night in the summer season, the affluent or slightly less well-off Londoner had a wide choice of spa resorts or pleasure gardens where concert music might be heard in relaxed surroundings.

5.5. Single Concerts

Concerts were often given to celebrate special occasions but the majority of these were private concerts, such as the annual performances of odes at Court to celebrate the sovereign's birthday and to welcome the New Year. What appear to be single concerts may be benefit concerts in which the word 'benefit' does not appear in the advertisement. Other single concerts were sometimes given in honour of visiting dignitaries of one sort or another, or at the special request of royalty or other lesser 'persons of quality'.

To John Abell, a Scottish singer, goes the distinction of having been the first to use the word subscription in an advertisement for a concert, and it is possible that he may have been the first to use the subscription technique to raise money in advance to organise a concert. As with subscription series, a subscription for an individual concert gave the promoter some certainty in advance of the number of tickets which would be sold, and also helped to encourage repeat purchases and build up a loyal audience. Abell shrewdly offered seating priority to subscribers, a technique which is also commonly used nowadays (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 265). An advertisement for the concert given by Abell at the Theatre in Dorset Garden on Wednesday 21 May 1701 announced that only subscribers would be allowed into the boxes and pit and that those who desired to subscribe had to do so by the night before the performance (*Post Boy* 17

May 1701). The next year Abell organised and performed in a concert in honour of Queen Anne's coronation in the Great Hall of Chelsea College on Saturday 25 April, again asking for subscriptions before the concert in advertisements which appeared as much as two months in advance of the concert date (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 19 and 21 February 1702; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 19, 21 and 24 February, 25 April 1702). The concert was obviously a success as he repeated it on Friday 1 May at Stationer's Hall (*The English Post* 29 April 1702). On 25 May he gave another concert in honour of the Queen's coronation at Chelsea College which he called 'The Lady's Consort of Musick', it being 'by Subscription of several Ladies of Quality' (*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702).

5.6. Concerts Linked to Publications

A few concerts appear to have been arranged as promotional tools in order to encourage sales of a publication of the music which was to be performed. Gerhard Diesineer invited those who wished to hear his recently-published 'Excellent consort of Musick for 3 parts' to come to his house on Wednesday 25 October 1682; no charge was mentioned (*Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* 24 October 1682). August Kühnel advertised twice-weekly concerts of pieces from his recent publication of sonatas for one and two bass viols, as well his own performance upon the baryton in November 1685 (*London Gazette* 23 November 1685). Thursday performances were to take place at the Dancing School in Walbrook, those on Saturdays at the Dancing School in York Buildings. Those who had not subscribed to the publication were to pay half a crown towards the cost of the performances.

It should also be noted that while there are numerous instances of advertisements for publications containing songs and arias from opera and oratorio mentioning where they are currently being performed, a similar technique was also used on occasion for publications containing pieces of music which had been performed in concerts. For instance, Geminiani publishing his own works drew attention to concerts in which they had been performed.

This Day is Published,

SIX Concerto's, in Seven Parts. Composed by Mr. FRANCIS GEMINIANI,
(three of which are for the German Flute)....

N.B. These are not the Concerto's published by Mr. Walsh; but are those

which were perform'd at Mr. Geminiani's Concerts last Winter, and were never before printed.
(*Daily Post* 8 June 1732)

Likewise, Thomas Arne, inviting subscriptions to a new publication of 'Eighteen intire new Songs and Ballads', points out that they are those 'perform'd at Vauxhall Gardens, by Mrs. Arne, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Reinhold' (*General Advertiser* 23 May 1746).

5.7. Concerts at Theatres: the so-called 'concert' formula

While both oratorio and benefit concerts were held at theatres, some concerts advertised at theatres were used solely as a means of circumventing the terms of the Licensing Act of 1737, which prohibited the acting of drama at any place not sanctioned by a Royal patent or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain.³³ The stratagem used was to advertise a concert for which patrons had to pay, between the two parts of which a free performance of a play was given; the phrasing used in the following advertisement, or variations thereon, became known as the 'concert' formula:

GOODMAN'S-FIELDS
AT the *Late* Theatre in AYLIFFE-STREET, GOODMAN'S-FIELDS, on
Wednesday next, October 14, will be perform'd
A CONCERT
of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSICK.
Divided into TWO PARTS.
Tickets at *Four, Three, Two, and One Shilling.*
N.B. Between the two Divisions of the CONCERT will be presented
GRATIS, a Comedy, call'd
The STRATAGEM.
By PERSONS for their DIVERSION.
The CONCERT to begin exactly at Six o'Clock.
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 10 October 1740)

5.8. Annual Feasts

Concerts accompanied certain feasts or festivals which were held annually in London. References to performances of odes at St Cecilia's Day Feasts in 1683 and 1684 were made in advertisements for published versions of the odes in 1684 and 1685

³³ For a discussion of the Licensing Act of 1737 and the various means used to circumvent it, see (Scouten, 1968: xlvi-ix).

(*London Gazette* 12 May 1684 and 22 January 1684/5). However, it was not until 1693 that an advertisement appeared for a feast to take place on St Cecilia's Day: 'The Anniversary Feast of the Society of Gentlemen, Lovers of Musick will be kept at Stationers-Hall on Wednesday the 22th instant' (*London Gazette* 13 and 20 November 1693); advertisements appeared for repeat performances in subsequent years.

The Annual Yorkshire Feast held on Thursday 27 March 1690 in Merchant Taylors' Hall in Threadneedle Street was accompanied by 'a very splendid Entertainment of all sorts of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' (*London Gazette* 24 March 1689/90).

The annual feast of the Sons of the Clergy has its origins in 1655 when a group of sons of clergymen gathered for a Service in St Paul's Cathedral and a collection was taken for destitute clergymen and their families. A service and feast accompanied by music continued every year from then on. A rehearsal of the music was usually held in advance of the feast, where a collection was made which often raised substantial amounts.

5.9. Exhibition Concerts

There were few exhibition concerts, but some were given by Renatus [René] Harris as part of his long-running dispute with 'Father' Bernard Smith over the relative merits of the organs they each made:

WHereas the Division of half a Note (Upon an Organ) into 50 Gradual and distinguishable parts has been declar'd by Mr. Smith, as also by the Generality of Masters, to be impracticable: All Organists, Masters, and Artists of the Faculty, are together with the said Mr. Smith, invited to Mr. Harris's-house in Wine-Office Court, Fleetstreet, on Easter Monday next, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to hear and see the same demonstrated.
(*Post Boy* 12 April 1698)

This was followed by a concert at three in the afternoon on Tuesday 10 May at the same venue where Renatus Harris demonstrated 'a further Division of half a Note, viz. into One hundred Parts' (*Post Boy* 30 April 1698).

5.10. Others

A number of promoters organised concerts featuring music interspersed with spoken orations and poems. For the 1701/02 winter season a series of concerts of sacred music and orations were proposed by the lawyer Cavendish Weedon:

☞ His Majesty having been pleased by his late most gracious Proclamation, to signifie his Desires for the encouraging of Piety and Morality, and suppressing of Vice. Mr. *WEEDON* of Lincolns-Inn, for the better promoting the Honour of God, and his Majesty's Pious Intentions, hath established a Monthly Entertainment of Divine Musick...
(*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 13 December 1701)

This took take place at Stationers' Hall with the first concert on Tuesday 6 January 1702 at 11 in the morning (Tilmouth, 1957–8; Shapiro, 1993).³⁴ This series of concerts would be for the benefit of 'decayed Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, and for the Maintenance of a School for Educating of Children in Religion, Musick and Accompts'. The first advertisements published simultaneously on 13 December in the *Flying Post* and the *Post Boy* indicated that performances would be given on the first Monday of each month 'excepting the Lent Season and the Months of July, August and September'. There was a gap in advertisements from late February until the next concert took place on Thursday 7 May and then by subscription 'weekly every Thursday following till August next' (*Post Boy* 30 April 1702); the last advertised concert took place in the Hall of Chelsea College on Thursday 21 April (*London Gazette* 18 May 1702).

A series of orations with concerts were also presented by Mrs Aubin between April and November 1729 in the Great Room in York Buildings which was temporarily rechristened 'The Lady's Oratory' (*Daily Journal* 14 April 1729); and what was known as the 'French Academy' offered 'a French Oration, spoke by a French Gentleman' every week and guaranteed a 'Symphony, and French Songs with every Oration' (*Daily Journal* 20, 22, 24, 26 September 1729).

Concerts were also used as promotional gimmicks. They were found accompanying auctions (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 4 May 1699; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 4 May 1699), to encourage the sale of lottery tickets (*The Post*

³⁴The first set of advertisements gave the starting date as Monday 5 January and the venue as St Bridget's, Fleet Street, but this was corrected in the second set of advertisements.

Man: and Historical Account 17 November 1699) and at the drawing of lotteries (*Flying Post: or the Post Master* 23 November, 2 and 5 December 1699; *The Post Man: and Historical Account* 23 November, 2 and 5 December 1699; *Post Boy* 2 December 1699).

5.11. When Were Concerts Held?

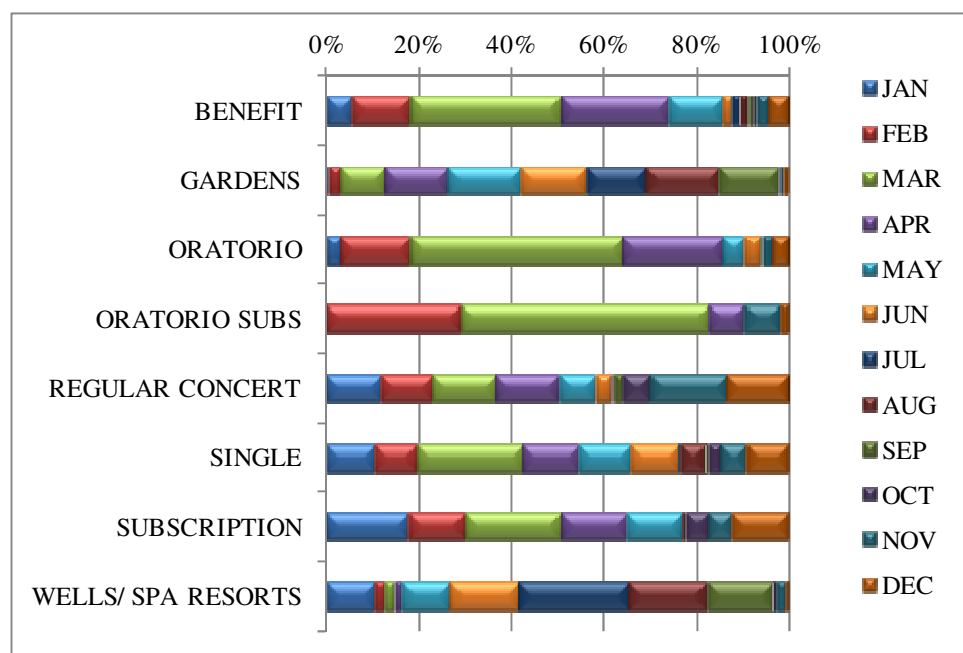
In attracting an audience, musicians had to take account of several different elements with regard to the timing of concerts they put on. Hughes (1971: 157) has drawn attention to the fact that the potential audience for theatrical performances could differ depending on the time of year, the day of the week and the time of day, and this was without doubt no less true for concerts. The ‘season’ was defined by the movements of the royal family, who were in residence in the capital from April to July and from October until Christmas, and the sitting of Parliament which began some time after Christmas and ran until late June. During the months of this winter season, October to June but with an emphasis on January to May, the aristocracy and members of the ruling classes made it their custom to reside in London in varying numbers. For those putting on cultural events, both ends of the season were poor times to attract the affluent and genteel, the leisure class in the fullest sense of the word, as they were not in town. The autumn was still not an easy time to be sure of a good audience: discussing the possibility of putting on a performance of his play *Dido* in November, Joseph Reed comments that ‘As parliament does not meet till late in January, depend on’t, gentlemen, you will have great need of novelty, much novelty, to bring good houses’ ((Reed, 1787: 14) quoted in (Hughes, 1971: 158)).

Different types of concerts were concentrated at different points of the year (see Figure 5-3). For instance, benefits concerts were most frequent in the months of March and April; benefits which took place in the summer were more likely to be held at the pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts³⁵ (see section 5.3 and Figure 5-1). Oratorio concerts, including oratorio subscription series, were most common in the Lenten months of February, March and April, when they replaced opera performances in the patent theatres (see section 5.2.3). Subscription series for non-oratorio concerts were to

³⁵ Benefits at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts are not included with pure benefits in Figure 5-3, but are included with gardens and wells/spa resorts as appropriate.

be found predominantly from December to May; a lengthy series of 20 concerts would need to start in December to be sure of finishing before the end of the season (see section 5.2.2). As might be expected, concerts held at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts were most common during the summer months, when their open-air attractions were slightly less likely to be spoilt by inclement weather (see section 5.4). The latter concerts were thus likely to attract a lower or wider social range as during the summer season the wealthy and genteel would be in the country, and this is reflected in the price charged for entrance (see section 8.2).

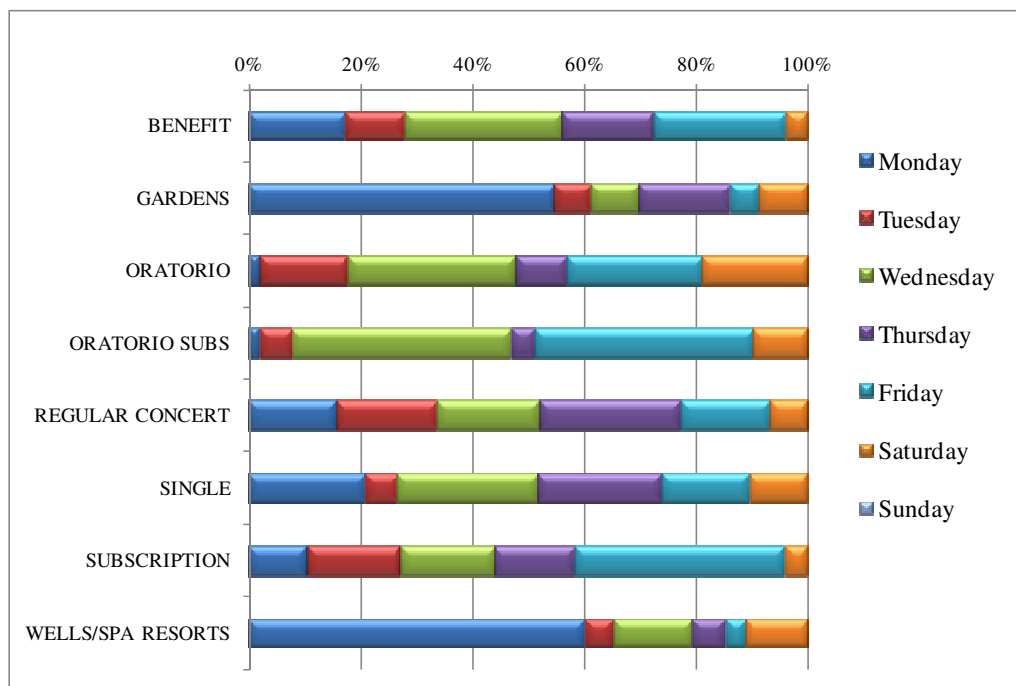
Figure 5-3: Concert Months 1672–1750 by Concert Type



The choice of the day of the week on which concerts took place also differed between the various types of concert (see Figure 5-4). Musicians wanted to attract as large an audience as possible, so they were careful to observe the written and unwritten traditions which had grown up around public performances of many types. Oratorios, for instance, either as single concerts, or in a series or subscription series, tended to be concentrated on Wednesdays and Fridays as the ban on plays and opera on these days in Lent did not apply to the non-staged oratorio concert (Avery, 1968: cxli). Saturdays and Tuesdays were the pre-eminent opera nights during much of the eighteenth century and although opera was not prohibited on Saturdays and Tuesdays in Lent, oratorios were also popular on those days during the pre-Easter season. Interestingly enough, the oratorio subscription series seem to concentrate more on Wednesdays and Fridays than

the non-subscription oratorio series. Benefit and single concerts are much more evenly spread across the week but with Saturdays and Tuesdays being avoided to some extent, probably because of the likelihood of the potential audience being diminished due to attendance at the opera (Hughes, 1971: 156–7). Gardens, wells and spa resorts seem to favour Mondays for their concerts; although it should be remembered that some of these leisure resorts, such as Cuper’s Gardens, Marybone, Ranelagh and Vauxhall held entertainments of some kind on a daily basis. Subscription series concentrated on Fridays and avoided Saturdays, again because of the competition from the opera, but with other concerts spread over the other days of the week fairly equally. Sundays were avoided entirely for commercial concerts as they were reserved for religious devotion.

Figure 5-4: Concert Days 1672–1750 by Concert Type³⁶



The time of day at which concerts took place also differed according to the type of concert (see Table 5-2). The majority of benefit, regular, single and subscription concerts started at 19.00, with a smaller number starting at 18.00 or 20.00. Oratorios and oratorio subscription series tended to start earlier, with the majority starting at 18.30 or 18.00, and smaller numbers at 19.00; this might indicate that oratorio concerts lasted longer than other types of concert. Concerts held at wells or spa resorts started earlier

³⁶ The chart shows figures for the day of the week where one is specified, or where a date is given which enables the day of the week to be ascertained. Daily concerts, or those where a specific day or date is not given have been omitted.

still with the majority starting at 17.00; a significant number of concerts at pleasure gardens were early in the day, starting at 11.00, 12.00 noon or even 10.00. This reflects the fact that these more predominantly outdoor venues were at the mercy both of the weather and the setting of the sun.

Table 5-2: Concert Times 1672–1750 by Concert Type

Type of Concert	Earliest Start Time	Latest Start Time	Average Start Time	Most Frequent Start Time
Benefit	08:00	20:30	18:24	19:00
Gardens	11:00	18:30	12:46	11:00
Oratorio	18:00	19:30	18:30	18:30
Oratorio subs	18:00	19:00	18:15	18:00
Regular concert	10:00	21:00	17:38	19:00
Single	12:00	21:00	18:39	19:00
Subscription	11:00	20:00	18:26	19:00
Wells/spa resorts	10:00	18:00	16:02	17:00

Examining average (see Table 5-3 and Figure 5-5) and most common (see Table 5-4 and Figure 5-6) concert starting times by concert type over the period, we see that the initial concerts, the daily series given by John Banister, took place significantly earlier in the day than in later years. Around the turn of the eighteenth century, there was a fashion for regular concerts given earlier in the afternoon, but as the century progressed it returned to a later time, but not so late as oratorio concerts. As before, the figures over the period show that concerts held at pleasure Wells and Gardens took place at a significantly earlier time than other types of concerts. However, the tables show fluctuations rather than any significant trends in the most common or average concert start time for individual types of concert over the period as musicians sought to find the start time which was most popular with their audience.

Table 5-3: Average Start Time by Concert Type and Decade

Concert Type	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750	
Benefit			19:44	18:46	18:39	18:39	17:56	18:22	17:39	
Gardens						13:60	17:37	17:20	11:52	13:43
Oratorio							18:32	18:29	18:30	
Oratorio Subscription								18:15		
Regular Concert	17:12	18:30	18:32	16:24	19:28	18:00	17:24	17:23		
Single Concert			19:09	18:52	18:59	18:33	18:33	18:11	18:00	
Subscription				16:13	18:18	19:00	18:32	18:53	19:00	
Wells/spa resorts			17:27	14:17	15:16	16:43	16:47	16:47	18:05	

Figure 5-5: Average Start Time by Concert Type and Decade

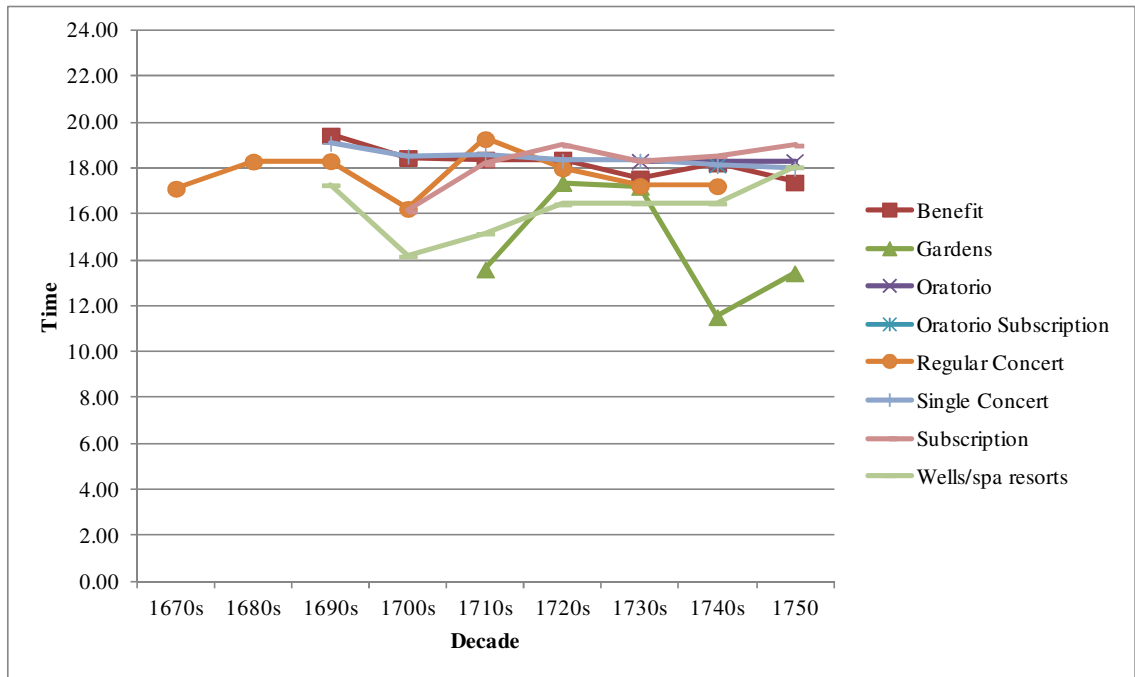
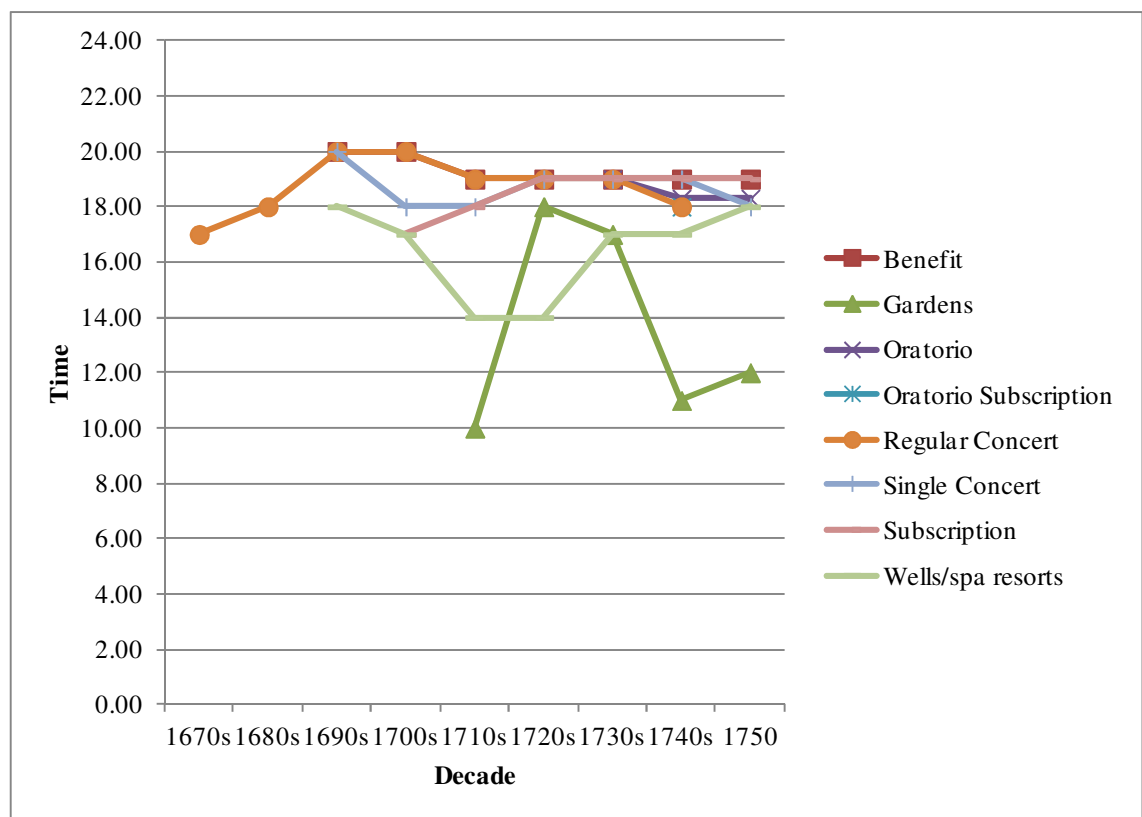


Table 5-4: Most Common Start Time by Concert Type and Decade

Concert Type	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750
Benefit			20:00	20:00	19:00	19:00	19:00	19:00	19:00
Gardens					10:00	18:00	17:00	11:00	12:00
Oratorio							19:00	18:30	18:30
Oratorio Subscription								18:00	
Regular Concert	17:00	18:00	20:00	20:00	19:00	19:00	19:00	18:00	
Single Concert			20:00	18:00	18:00	19:00	19:00	19:00	18:00
Subscription				17:00	18:00	19:00	19:00	19:00	19:00
Wells/spa resort			18:00	17:00	14:00	14:00	17:00	17:00	18:00

Figure 5-6: Most Common Start Time by Concert Type and Decade



5.12. Extra Features of Concerts

In current arts marketing theory, additions to the core concert product form what Kotler and Scheff (1997: 192–3) term the ‘augmented’ product; these include features and benefits which exceed what the target audience might normally expect. Thus, the music performed at the concert forms the core concert product, and the augmented product will include features and benefits in addition to this. The exception to this is

concerts held at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts, where the concert itself is not the core product but forms part of a bundle of attractions which the visitor could enjoy, such as dancing, food, fireworks, good company, and so on.

There were very few concert advertisements in the period under study which promised refreshments except for those held at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts, or as a part of a celebratory feast where it might be expected as part of the core product. For concerts held in taverns, such as Banister's concerts in the 1670s or the tavern-based musical societies in the eighteenth century, there would obviously be the possibility of purchasing drinks and possibly food before or after the concert.

Dancing, which was also part of the offer at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts, was also sometimes advertised as an attraction after other types of concert had ended; occasionally this would be in the slightly grander form of a ball:

For the Benefit of John Gere.

At Stationer's-Hall within Ludgate, on Thursday the 11th of January next, will be Perform'd a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by several Eminent Masters. To begin at 6 a Clock. Note, There will be Country-Dancing after the Consort is ended....
(*Daily Courant* 20 December 1710)

Another, and much rarer occurrence, was for the performers to be dressed in costume:

*At the Desire of some Foreign Ministers,
For the Benefit of
Mr. ANGEL and Mr. COOK.*

AT the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on Friday next, being the 25th of February, will be perform'd,
A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental
M U S I C K,
By the BEST HANDS.

In the Manner it was perform'd at Dresden, by the King of Poland's Command.

The Performers are to be in the following Characters, the Harpsichord by Colombine. Violoncello by Harlequin, Bassoon by Scaramouch, Double Bass by Pierot, Singing by Diana and an Indian King, Violins by a Spaniard, a Roman, an Hungarian, a Persian, a Turk, a Polander, an Arabian, a Muscovite, the Tenor, by a Highlander, the German Flute by a Satyr, French Horns by Forosters, two Shepherds Hautboys, and others....
(*Daily Journal* 23 February 1732)

A slightly more common extra feature was for attendees to be given a copy of the words of the music being performed in a concert:

For the Benefit of Mr. Carey.

AT Stationer's-Hall near Ludgate, on Thursday the 28th of this instant January, will be an Entertainment of Vocal Musick, to be accompanied with Instruments.... The Words of the whole Entertainment are Printed, and will be given Gratis to each Person at their Entrance.

(Daily Courant 28 January 1714)

On occasion, concertgoers were given the chance to win an instrument which was being played in a concert. For instance, in 1738 a series of weekly concerts 'accompanied with the Harmony of a curious Machine of new Invention; Consisting of an Organ, Harpsichord, &c.' was performed at the old Hickford's room in Panton Street every Friday evening during the months of October, November and December. Subscribers were 'entitled to variety of other Entertainments and Advantages, by Virtue of one Ticket only', as well as having a chance of winning the new instrument, later described as 'The Athenian University, or The Muses Paradise' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 4, 5 and 6 October 1738).

5.13. Conclusion

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 subscription concerts might be offered at Hickford's Room in Brewer Street. On Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, the theatres were not allowed to present operas or plays and thus oratorio concerts were performed instead. 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. During the summer, concerts formed part of the entertainment on offer at the various wells, spas and pleasure gardens.

Concert music was much in vogue in the theatres, often forming part of the entertainment between the acts of a play or opera (Price, 1979a: xiv-xv and passim; Avery, 1968: cxxx-cxli; Scouten, 1968: clv-clix). However, concerts *per se* were also given in the major theatres of the day, often in the form of benefits for musicians associated with the theatre being used as a venue. At some theatres the play was

advertised as taking place between the acts of a concert as a means of getting around the terms of the Licensing Act of 1737, which prohibited the acting of drama at any place not sanctioned by a Royal patent or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain.

Besides the fully public concerts which anybody might attend by purchasing a ticket, series of concerts were given for the members of well-established musical societies meeting at taverns: 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, among others (Hawkins, 1776: 805-8). In these, amateur performers took a more prominent part in the proceedings: deciding on the repertoire and perhaps playing, though often with participation by professional performers. These concerts were not as widely advertised as the concert series promoted by professional musicians, but some indication of their existence does appear in the newspapers.

Concerts were thus becoming an important part of cultural life in London from the 1690s onwards and it is clear from the preceding discussion of the different types of concerts which were on offer in London during the period under investigation, that musicians who promoted concerts showed an interest in product innovation, differentiation and promotion in their attempts to attract an audience and make a living. Concerts of one type or another were given throughout the year and at a range of venues and prices to appeal to differing levels of society. A concert might form part of the varied attractions on offer at the various gardens and wells to be found in London and its near environs. Alternatively, the concert itself might include extra features such as orations or poetry, or it might be followed by a ball or dancing. These additions to the core concert product form what Kotler and Scheff (1997: 192–3) term the ‘augmented’ product; they include features and benefits which exceed what the target audience normally expect. Musicians were eager to attract an audience at their concerts and were prepared to go to some lengths to do so.

Chapter 6. The Musical Product II: Concert Programming and Design

6.1. Introduction

One of the most important elements of a concert is the core artistic product on offer: the music which is programmed for performance. Contemporary writers on arts marketing consider that the artistic product does not need to be tailored to its audience in the way or to the extent that mainstream commercial products are specifically designed to appeal to the consumer (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 196). Hirschman (1983: 46–7), among others, considers artists of all sorts to be high-minded individuals creating a product ‘primarily to express their subjective conceptions of beauty, emotion or some other aesthetic ideal’ which they then present to ‘consumers who choose to either accept or reject it’. They are thus pursuing art as an end in itself rather than as a type of commercialised creativity whose primary purpose is to earn money (Clifford, 1988; Hirschman, 1983; Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985). Nevertheless, these ideas based on concepts of high culture and the creative genius are somewhat anachronistic when applied to composers and musical performers in the period under investigation (Gramit, 2004; Weber, 1977; 1992).

Colbert (2003; 2007: 8–10, 15) distinguishes between purely market-orientated cultural industries which seek to generate a profit and for which a traditional marketing approach is appropriate, and product-oriented not-for-profit enterprises in what is commonly called the ‘arts sector’ which adopt a marketing model more appropriate to culture and the arts. In this model, she considers the artistic creation to be the central product which is then marketed by inviting customers to come into contact with it. The artistic product is the responsibility of the organisation’s artistic director, while only additional elements, such as spin-off products, customer service and the experience of the person who is exposed to the work of art, are left to the marketing director (Colbert, 2007: 31–2; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 42). However, Colbert does admit of the possibility of a third category of cultural organisation which does not fit squarely into either a pure market or production orientation and which might adopt a mixed marketing approach which allows for some degree of compromise on product, or modifications to the product in line with consumer preferences. Kotler and Scheff

(1997: 196) accept that programming is a complex activity which requires artistic and managing directors of arts organisations to work together to create programmes which have artistic merit, but also serve the needs of society and allow the arts organisation to survive.

For commercial concerts held in London in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, musicians promoted their own concerts, acting as their own artistic directors and in addition fulfilling some kind of management and marketing function. In the conventional marketing mix, the attributes of the product which are varied to appeal to the consumer include variety, quality, design, features and services (Kotler et al., 2001: 98). Programming, the choice of repertoire to be played at a concert, and concert design, how the individual pieces to be played are organised within the concert, are thus to be considered as making up the variable aspects of the artistic product offering in terms of variety, quality and design. Consequently, they are among the attributes of the core product which can be used to position it in its market (Colbert, 2007: 162–6; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 205–9; Nantel and Colbert, 1992).

This chapter will investigate the attitudes of early concert promoters to both their product and their customers by focusing on concert design and programming. In this way, it is possible to gain some idea as to where on the product/market spectrum the musicians who were promoting early concerts in London lay. Did they hold to an entirely product orientation and choose concert repertoire for their own aesthetic reasons? Alternatively, were they more market-oriented and chose and promoted a repertoire solely with a view to attracting as large an audience as possible in order to maximise profits? Or might they have adopted something akin to Colbert's (2007: 31–2) mixed approach and were thus prepared to modify their programmes to some extent in order to heighten the appeal to the consumer? Likewise, concert design, how the individual pieces were arranged within the concert programme, gives hints about the aesthetic or commercial orientation of concert promoters.

A second aim of this chapter is to investigate the repertoire of musical compositions performed in London commercial concerts in terms of its contemporaneity and geographical origin as a means of determining the nature of the market for music and its performance. To facilitate this investigation, a detailed consideration of the violin repertoire as performed in London concerts during the period

will be carried out. Many performers, especially instrumentalists, continued to perform music which they had themselves composed, and it is thus to be expected that the majority of the repertoire was to some extent local to the place of performance: the composer was either a native or visiting resident of the place of performance. Indeed, London was known as a place where foreign musicians could make a good living:

Whoever wishes to achieve something in music these days betakes himself to England. Italy and France are good for listening and learning; England is good for earning; Germany is best for eating and drinking.³⁷
(Mattheson, 1713)

However, repertorial transmission did take place to some extent either by means of manuscript copies carried by musicians visiting London or those returning from the Continent, or, increasingly after the Restoration and into the eighteenth century, in printed editions published and sold by English publishers such as Playford, Walsh and others, or published abroad and sold in England (Rose, 2005). Thus, the market was not totally restricted and pieces written by composers who had never visited London could still be heard there.

The first section of this chapter will consider the importance which concert promoters gave to informing their potential audience about the product offer in terms of giving details about the pieces which were to be performed. It will continue with a consideration of the ways in which the musicians who promoted the majority of the concerts designed concert structure so as to appeal to an audience and whether they were prepared to design or modify their concert repertoire in order to strengthen that appeal. A discussion of repertoire selection and audience taste will focus on areas such as the genres of music played, instrumental styles, trends in the nationality of music present, novelty/familiarity, and thematic programming. A detailed examination of violin repertoire in London concerts will then be presented to facilitate a discussion of the contemporaneity and geographical origin of pieces which comprised the programming of London concerts. The final section will examine the ways in which concert promoters might have structured their entertainments to heighten the appeal to a possible audience.

³⁷ 'Wer bey diesen Zeiten etwas in der Music zu praestiren vermeinet der begibt sich nach Engelland. In Italien und Frankreich etwas zu hören und zu lernen; in Engelland etwas zu verdienen; im Vaterlande aber am besten zu verzehren'.

6.2. The Importance of Information about Repertoire

The very first newspaper advertisement for a concert to be given in London gives no details about the music to be performed (*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672, see Figure 4-1); but for the majority of concert advertisements in the period under investigation, this was the exception rather than the rule. It would thus seem that concert promoters attributed no little importance to the provision of product information in their advertisements and that this might have been for the purpose of attracting an audience.

Advertisements appearing early in the period under investigation usually promoted the concert product in a simple way, being mainly informative, as is often the case when a relatively new cultural product is being introduced, and indicated the chief features of the event, such as the venue, time and date, and slightly less frequently the performer(s) and/or piece(s) to be performed (Kolb, 2005: 215). As the period progressed, the informative element was amplified, with increasingly detailed references to named performers, composers or pieces of music becoming more common. In the 1670s, not every advertisement contained such information, but as some advertisements listed more than one piece or performer, the average number of references to named performers, composers or pieces of music per advertisement was 1; by the 1740s this had increased substantially to an average in excess of 7 references per advertisement (see Figure 6-1). In modern-day terms, this would be seen as a way of positioning the cultural product more carefully, as programming and performers are two of the attributes that may be used for this purpose (Colbert, 2007: 162–4; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 205–9; Nantel and Colbert, 1992). This increase in the detail given about pieces/performers may have been because, as concerts became more common, 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. It would thus be a way of appealing to a particular demographic segment, of creating a feeling of belonging to an exclusive cultured elite (Bourdieu, 1979: 7). It may, on the other hand, have simply been a response to a growing familiarity with the relatively new art of newspaper advertising promotion and the increase in available advertising space which accompanied the growth in the number of newspapers in which such advertisements could be placed (see section 8.3.1).

Figure 6-1: Average Number of Pieces/Performers Listed per Advertisement, by Decade

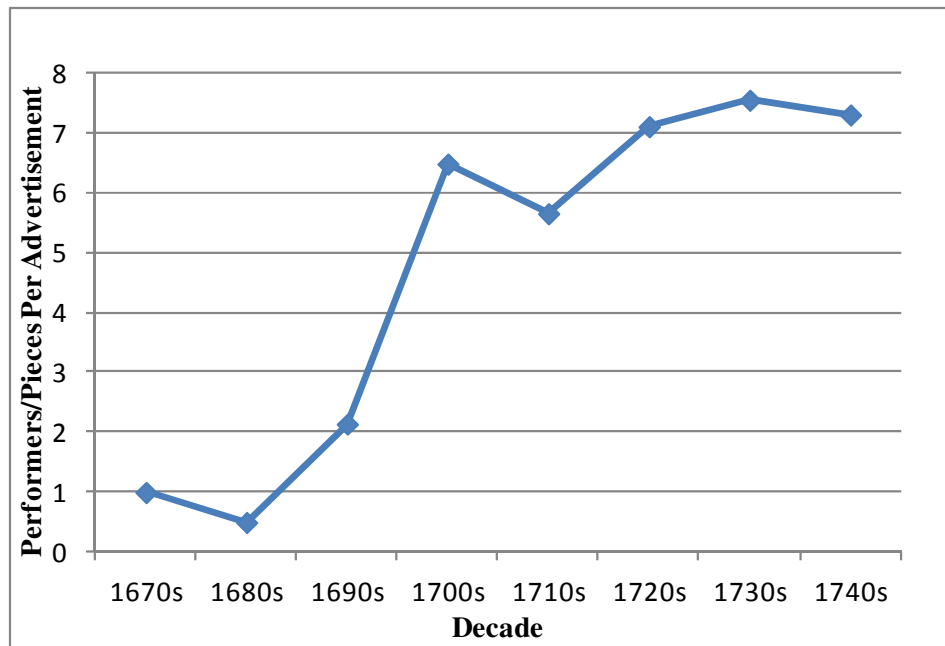
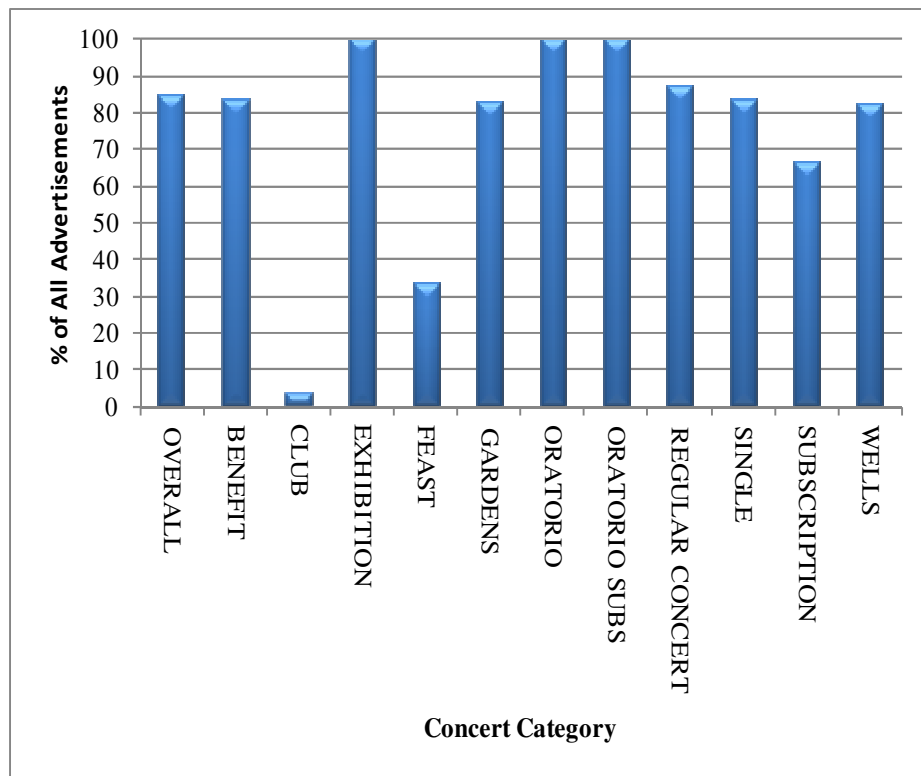


Figure 6-2 shows that overall 84.64% of concert advertisements gave some detail about either the performer or the pieces to be performed. Within this overall figure, advertisements for some types of concert —exhibition concerts (100%), oratorio concerts (99.66%), oratorio subscriptions (100%) and regular concerts (86.94%) — were even more likely to include details about the performer(s) and/or piece(s). For musical clubs, this figure is very low at only 3.77%; this may reflect the fact that as certain performers would perhaps be selected for a whole season and the members may have had some input in choosing the repertoire to be performed, it was not so important to give information about the performers or programmes.

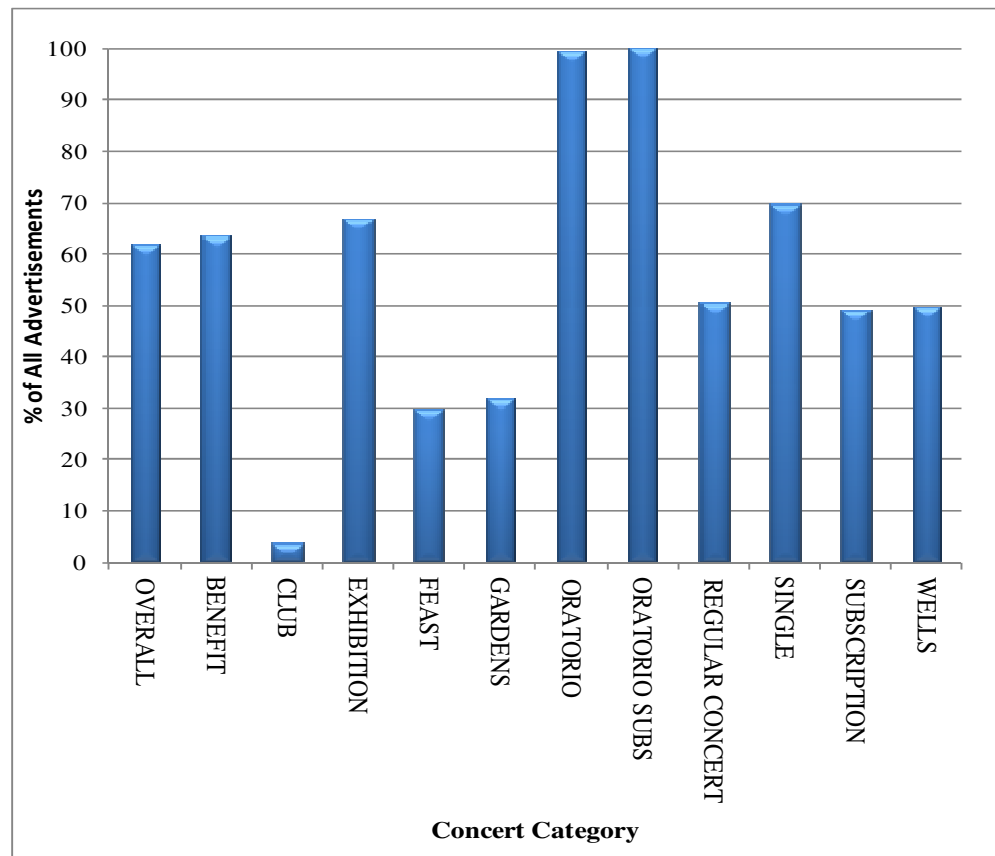
Figure 6-2: Advertisements with Any Details about Performer, Piece or Composer



Turning to programming itself, Figure 6-3 shows a reduction to 61.83% of overall concert advertisements giving detail about the pieces to be performed in the form of a description of the piece and/or the composer. Within this overall figure, advertisements for some types of concert — benefit concerts (63.55%), exhibition concerts (66.67%), oratorio concerts (99.49%), oratorio subscriptions (100%) and single concerts (69.61%) — were more likely to include details about the piece(s) performed. Advertisements for feasts (29.63%), for concerts held at pleasure gardens (31.72%) and for musical clubs (3.77%) are notable for giving few details about the pieces to be performed. For concerts at feasts and pleasure gardens, this may have been because the concert was not the sole, or in some cases the primary reason for the event; again musical clubs show little need for information about the programmes as it is likely that this would have been arranged in advance by the members of the club. Advertisements were overall slightly more likely to give information about the performers in the form of either a description and/or the name of the performer at 65% (see Figure 9-3).³⁸

³⁸ Performers are discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

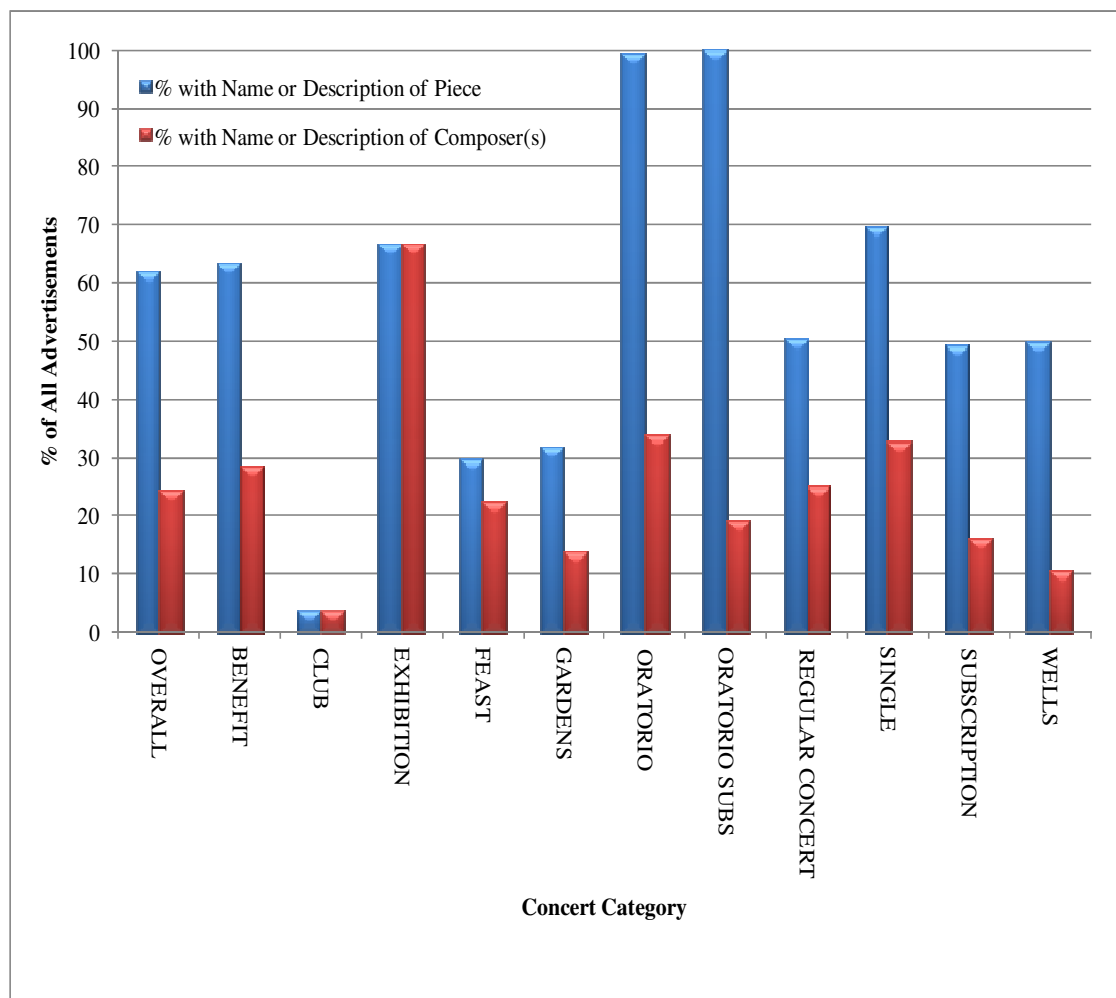
Figure 6-3: Advertisements with Details about Composer(s)/Piece(s)



Looking at programming in more detail, Figure 6-4 shows that while 61.83% of all concert advertisements gave the title or a description of the piece to be performed, only 24.45% gave the name of the composer. This also contrasts with advertisements which gave a description of the performer(s) (38.21%) or the name(s) of the performer(s) (43.91%) (see Figure 9-3). Thus, it could be concluded that the name of the composer was considered a less important piece of information to be given to the potential audience than an identifiable description or the name of the piece, or the name(s) of the performer(s). It should be noted that in some cases composer and performer might be one and the same, especially for instrumental solos and concertos, and would thus be paid in their rôle as featured performer rather than as composer (Scherer, 2004: 57–9). While composers might be paid for commissions or for stage works, such as operas or incidental music for plays, there was no early form of the Performing Rights Society to oversee payments to composers for performances of their

work in concerts. Even in opera advertisements, composers and librettists were only rarely mentioned; opera was an entertainment which appealed to a particular group within elite society and relied on social appeal and word-of-mouth publicity to attract an audience. This was also the case for theatrical performances: Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields theatres rarely gave the name of the playwright in their advertisements with the exception of famous dead authors, such as Shakespeare, Jonson and Dryden (Milhous and Hume, 1997).

Figure 6-4: Advertisements with Information about Piece(s) or Composer(s)



As an example, Handel was predominant in terms of performances of oratorios and related forms between 1720 and 1750.³⁹ Of the 835 advertisements for performances in London of oratorios and related forms which appeared within the

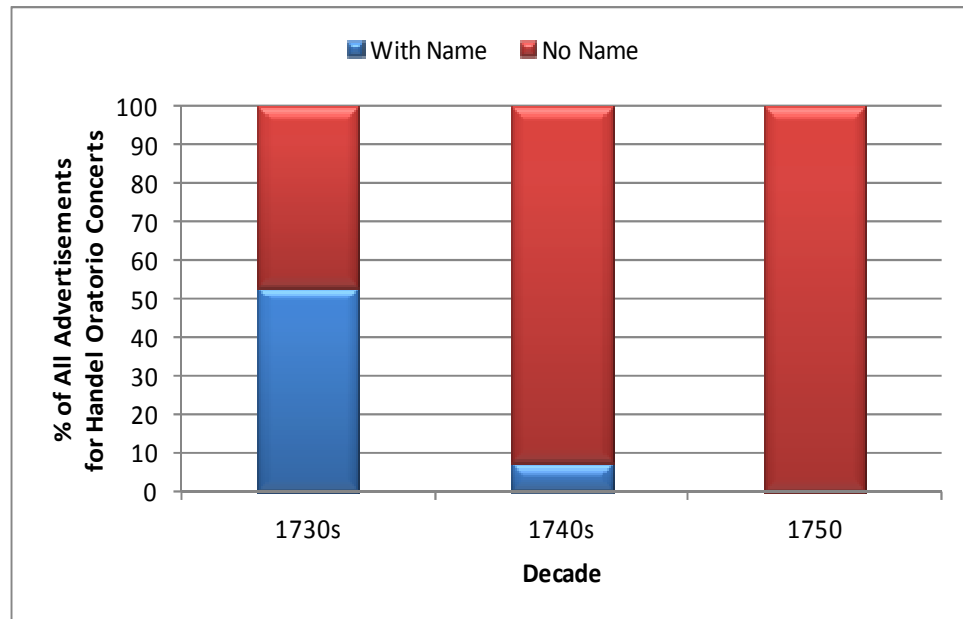
³⁹ Included here are sacred oratorios and related non-staged forms such as secular odes and serenatas.

period, 741 (88.74%) were for performances of works composed by Handel (see Table 6-1). However, of these 741 advertisements, only 170 (22.94%) included his name. Examining this by decade, we can see that in the 1730s, when Handel began presenting performances of oratorios and related forms in London, more care was taken to give his name in advertisements, but that as time went on it was not thought so necessary (see Figure 6-5). Was this because it was assumed that people reading the advertisements would recognise the titles of oratorios composed by Handel? This cannot have been the case because some of the oratorios in question were receiving their first performance. However, given his predominant status in the form by the 1740s, it would perhaps have been a reasonable conclusion to draw that if an oratorio was being advertised, especially at a theatre with which Handel was associated, then it was likely to be by Handel. It is interesting to note that the oratorio form was so strongly linked with Handel that when advertisements appeared for performances of oratorios by composers other than Handel they took more care on the whole to give the name of the composer (see Table 6-1).

Table 6-1: Advertisements for Oratorios

Composer	Total Advertisements	Composer Named	Composer not Named
Bononcini	13	13	0
Boyce	3	0	3
De Fesch	42	41	1
Galliard	4	4	0
Handel	741	170	571
Pescatore	3	3	0
Pescetti	5	0	5
Porpora	5	5	0
A. Scarlatti	3	3	0
J.C. Smith	8	0	8
Veracini	8	8	0
TOTAL	835	247	588

Figure 6-5: Handel Oratorio Advertisements, by Decade



Thus, we can see that at least some concert promoters placed a high importance on giving information about their product to the potential audience in the form of an identifiable description or the name of the piece, or the name of the composer, but with the name of the composer being slightly less significant. This aspect of the core product, the pieces to be performed, was considered an important way of attracting an audience.

6.3. Development of Concert Structure

Before the development of the commercial concert, many public musical performances accompanied some other event, such as a church service or other ceremony which imposed a structure into which the music had to fit. Released from this constraint, concert promoters had to think about how their entertainments would be structured and what might appeal to a possible audience.

Writing in his manuscript autobiography, 'Notes of Me', written about 1695, Roger North is quite critical of the chaotic presentation of the early London concerts, or 'musical entertainments' as he calls them:

And thus it is with the musick exhibited in London publicly for ½ crownes. A combination of masters agree to make a consort as they call it, but do not submitt to the government of any one, as should be done,

to accomplish their designe. And in the performance, each takes his parts according as his opinion is of his owne excellence. The master violin must have its solo, then joynd with a lute, then a fuge, or sonnata, then a song, then the trumpet and haut-bois, and so other variety, as it happens. And upon every peice ended, the masters shift their places to make way for the next, the thro-base ceaseth, and the company know not whether all is ended or any thing more to come, and what. Which pauses, and difforme accidentall species of musick presented one after the other, without judgment or designe, are so defective, as justly to be compared to a ballad singer, who having done one ballad, begins another to a pleasant new tune.

(Wilson, 1959: 13)

He also makes some suggestions as to how they could be improved, recommending something along the lines of 'Itallian sonnatas, French branles, and English fancys', that is, a coherent and related whole but on a larger scale (Wilson, 1959: 14). A possible example of what North recommended was performed in a concert given by Gerhard Diesineer (1682) for those who wished to hear his recently-published 'Excellent consort of Musick for 3 parts', on Wednesday 25 October 1682 (*Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* 24 October 1682); examples from this set of ten extended suites could have been arranged in such a way as to form a coherent whole.

It would indeed appear that not all concerts were as chaotic as North suggests: Banister's concerts in 1676 consisting of the first part of his *Musick, or A Parley of Instruments* comprised a single large-scale semi-dramatic piece rather than the series of unrelated works later described by North. This was not an isolated occurrence as a number of concerts throughout the period under consideration consisted of a single larger scale work, such as the various odes for St Cecilia by Gottfried Finger, Henry Purcell, Nicola Matteis, Jeremiah Clarke, John Blow and Daniel Purcell, odes for other occasions by Philip Hart, Thomas Clayton, John Eccles, Handel and Thomas Arne, and numerous performances of oratorios or serenatas by Handel, De Fesch, and others (see Table 6-1).

Starting with Banister in 1678, a number of concerts other than oratorios, odes or serenatas, were advertised as consisting of music composed by a single composer; this is often referred to as either a 'consort of musick' or an 'entertainment of musick'. Most frequently, the composer of the 'consort of musick' organised and played at the concert himself, but entire concerts of music by Henry Purcell were being performed

well after his death in 1695 (See Table 6-2). This type of programming with all the music in a concert advertised as having been composed by a single musician became less frequent as the period wore on and was not advertised as such after 1720, except in the case of oratorios, odes and serenatas.

Table 6-2: Composers of Whole Consorts

Year of Concert	Composer
1678	John Banister
1679	John Banister
1682	Gerhard Diesineer
1693	Johann Wolfgang Franck
1694	Gottfried Finger Luis Grabu
1696	Gottfried Finger Henry Purcell
1697	Nicholas Staggins
1698	Signor Rampony Daniel Purcell Giovanni Battista Draghi Henry Simons Henry Purcell Vaughan Richardson
1701	Henry Purcell
1702	Johann Wolfgang Franck John Abell Henry Purcell John Weldon
1703	J. Gottfried Keller Jakob Greber Jean-Claude Gillier
1704	J. Gottfried Keller Gioseppe Saggion John Weldon
1706	Jeremiah Clarke
1707	Mr Clayton Junior William Corbett Francisco Conti
1709	Domenico Scarlatti
1711	Henry Purcell
1713	Nicola Francesco Haym
1714	Francesco Maria Veracini William Turner
1717	Mr Pippard
1718	Johann Sigismund Weiss William Babell

Instead, variety became more the norm and as the period progressed, except for performances of oratorios and related forms, concerts consisting of music by more than one composer came to dominate almost completely, usually with a mix of vocal and instrumental pieces. The vocal pieces were often arias selected from popular operas or oratorios of the day and sung by those who would have performed these rôles in the complete works, somewhat along the lines of the programmes performed at concerts such as those by the ‘Three Tenors’ during the 1990s and early 2000s. Instrumental pieces were most often concertos or solos, with the occasional operatic overture. Perhaps in imitation of plays and operas and attempting to appeal to the same types of audience, concerts were sometimes described as being divided into a number of sections, known variously as ‘parts’, ‘acts’ or ‘entertainments’. Similarly, ‘concerts’ held as part of performances held at non-patent theatres were often divided into two parts, with the illegal and ‘gratis’ performance of a play being inserted in between (see Section 5.7). The first concert proper to be advertised as being divided into individual parts was a benefit for the singer Ann Turner Robinson held on 28 February 1719, which was first announced as being divided into four parts (*Daily Courant* 23 and 24 February 1719) with a correction to division into three parts appearing in later advertisements (*Daily Courant* 25, 26, 27 and 28 February 1719).

For the Benefit of Mrs. Robinson, late Mrs. Turner,
who never sung but once before in publick.

AT the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, on Saturday next, being the 28th of February, will be performed a Concert of Musick, divided into three Parts, the second Part entirely new, compos'd by Signor Attilio Ariosti purposely on this Occasion. To begin at 7 a Clock.
(*Daily Courant* 25 February 1719)

Later concerts advertised as being divided into three parts provided details of the music to be played in the concert. A benefit for the violinist Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli on 14 March 1722 understandably concentrated heavily on instrumental music, there being only a single song in each ‘entertainment’ with three concertos in each section and an additional two instrumental solos in the final section:

For the Benefit of Sig. Carbonelli.

AT the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, on Wednesday next, being the 14th Day of March, will be perform'd, An Entertainment of MUSICK. I. A Concerto with two Trumpets, compos'd and perform'd by

Mr. Grano, &c. 2. A new Concerto just came over from Italy, compos'd by Sig. Albinoni. 3. A Song by Mrs. Barbier. 4. A Concerto, compos'd by Sig. Carbonelli. *Second Entertainment.* I. A Concerto with two Hautboys, and two Flutes, compos'd by Mr. Dieupart. 2. A Concerto on the Bass Violin, compos'd and perform'd by Sig. Pippo. 3. A Song by Mrs. Barbier. 4. The 8th Concerto of Arcangelo Corelli, being desir'd by several Persons of Quality. *Third Entertainment.* I. A Concerto compos'd by Sig. Carbonelli. 2. A Solo on the Arch-Lute, compos'd and perform'd by Sig. Viebar. 3. A Song by Mrs. Barbier. 4. A new Concerto on the little Flute, compos'd by Mr. Woodcocke, and perform'd by Mr. John Baston. 5. A Solo by Sig. Carbonelli. 6. A Concerto with two Trumpets, by Mr. Grano, &c....
(Daily Post 12 March 1722)

In contrast a further benefit for the singer Ann Turner Robinson held on 26 March 1729 gave more prominence to vocal pieces, with each section starting with either an operatic overture or an instrumental solo and being followed by a series of operatic arias, songs and duets (*Daily Post 20 March 1729*). What these advertisements emphasise is the succession of varied genres: concertos, instrumental solos and songs for the Carbonelli benefit, and overtures, an instrumental solo and songs for Turner Robinson. The division into parts with a succession of alternating instrumental and vocal pieces had the effect of imposing some order on what might have seemed a somewhat disparate selection of pieces. The series of benefits in aid of the Fund for the Support of Decay'd Musicians in the latter half of the 1740s (*General Advertiser 3 April 1745, 11 March 1746, 14 April 1747, 25 March 1748, 28 February 1749, 20 March 1750*) followed the same type of format used for the 1729 Turner Robinson benefit: each part began with an orchestral overture and was followed by a series of songs selected from opera or oratorio; sometimes a concerto occurred within the series of songs. However, for these grander benefits there was often a 'Grand Sonata' or 'Grand Concerto' by Handel, who had been associated with these charity concerts since 1739, towards or at the end of the third section.

Despite the perseverance of the three-part concert design until the end of the period, gradually a standardised two-part programme format became more popular, usually with ten to twelve pieces, alternating instrumental and vocal items. An example of this two-part format, which was to survive and dominate after 1750, can be seen in the following advertisement for a benefit for Mr Rochetti on 30 April 1729:

For the Benefit of Mr. ROCHETTI,
At Mr. Hickford's Great Room, in Pantom- Street, Hay-Market, To-
morrow, being the 30th Day of April, will be,

A CONCERT
Of VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSICK.

ACT the First.

OVERTURE out of Ptolomy.

TWO SONGS. { Dico su questa sponda.
 { Svenalo traditor.

SONATA of Corelli.

TWO SONGS. { Ombre piante.
 { Sgombra dall'Anime.

SOLO, for the German Flute, by Mr. L. Granom.

ACT the Second.

CONCERTO, by Mr. Castrucci.

TWO SONGS. { Non lo diro col Labro.
 { La mia Speranza.

A TRUMPET - PIECE, by Mr. Granom.

TWO SONGS. { No, no, my Heart. From an Italian
 { Song of Ptolomy.
 { La mia Speranza.

Concluding with a CONCERTO of Two Trumpets, by Mr. J. Granom, and
Mr. L. Granom...

(Daily Journal 29 April 1729)

These various attempts to find ways of structuring concerts by dividing them up into two or three sections can be seen as ways in which concert promoters were attempting to appeal to their audience by use of a structure which might have been somewhat familiar to them from visits to plays and operas. It was a structure with which many musicians would also have been familiar, as most of those who played in concerts also performed in the plays and operas presented in London theatres. Within each section, some regular succession of pieces — overtures, songs, concertos, solos — helped to impose order on what might otherwise have been a continuation of the haphazard nature of early concert programmes complained of by North, perhaps making it easier for the audience to follow and appreciate.

6.4. Modifications to Concert Design

The above discussions have highlighted the importance which concert promoters gave to informing their potential audience about the product offer in terms of giving details about the pieces which were to be performed and structuring concerts in a way

which was likely to appeal to the audience. Another aspect to consider is whether the musicians who promoted the majority of the concerts were prepared to design or modify their concert repertoire in order to strengthen the appeal to the audience. This is difficult to quantify, but there are some examples of this to be found in concert advertisements.

As mentioned earlier, the first named piece of music appeared in a concert advertisement in December 1676, when a series of nightly concerts held at the Academy in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields and commencing on Thursday 14 December comprised ‘the first part of The Parley of Instruments, Composed by Mr. *John Banister*, and perform'd by Eminent Masters’ (*London Gazette* 11 December 1676). The entire work consisted of three large-scale semi-dramatic odes for vocal soloists and a wide variety of wind, bowed and plucked instruments (Holman, 1993: 349–52; Holman and Lasocki, n.d.). The music itself was not published, but a wordbook had appeared in print on 30 October 1676 and interestingly, an address to the ‘Courteous Reader’ on the last page shows that Banister was prepared to modify his product so that it would fit into the accepted concert length:

These three forgoing Odes were design'd for one Days Entertainment:
But finding by the Composition it exceed the time limited for the
performance, beginning at six a clock in the Evening, he could present
but one at a time....
(Banister, 1676).

Another example is that of the Scottish countertenor, composer and lutenist, John Abell. He had been a member of both the Chapel Royal and the King’s Musick from 1679, but he left the country after the Glorious Revolution in 1688 because his sympathies lay with the deposed Catholic monarch, James II. On his return by January 1699, having become heavily in debt during his time abroad, he quickly sought to recover his fortunes by giving concerts (Spink, n.d.-a). He was quite prepared to arrange concerts for any who desired them, consisting of their choice of his wide repertoire, as is evidenced by the following advertisement:

To all Lovers of Musick,

IF any Society of Gentlemen in City, or Country are desirous to have Mr. *Abell's* Consort of Musick, let them be pleased to write or send to his House in *Bond-street, Piccadilly*. The said *Mr Abell* will send them Proposals to their satisfaction. At the Request of several Persons of Quality, *Mr Abell* will teach to Sing.
(*Post Man* 29 November 1701)

Commonly occurring phrases at the beginning of advertisements, such as those given below, may indicate that concert is being put on at the express desire of some members of its audience.

‘At the desire of several Ladies of Quality...’

‘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...’

The following example advertisements have a more emphatic wording and refer to individual pieces of music or adaptations to timing or to subscription arrangements; they are thus more convincing witnesses of willingness by concert promoters to cater to the express desires of their audience.

Requests for individual pieces of music and/or performers:

☞ The French Pastoral that hath been perform'd twice at the Musick Meeting in York-Buildings being desired once more by some Persons of Quality, shall be performed for the last Time at the same Place on Thursday next, being the 6th Instant.
(*London Gazette* 3 May 1697)

For the Benefit of Signor Carbonelli.

AT the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, To-morrow, being Wednesday, the 14th of March, will be performed, An Entertainment of Musick. ... 4th. The 8th Concerto of Arcangelo Corelli, being desired by several Persons of Quality....
(*Daily Courant* 13 March 1722)

Requests for adaptations to timing:

IT being the Desire of several Persons of Quality, Subscribers to Mr. **GEMINIANI's** Consorts, (which open'd at **HICKFORD's** Great Room in Panton-street on Thursday the 9th Instant) that there should be no

Consorts during the Holydays, This is to give Notice, that there will be no more Consorts till Thursday the 6th of January next, from which Day they will continue to be perform'd successively on every Thursday till the Number proposed shall be compleated; and because several Gentlemen and Ladies that have not subscribed are desirous to hear the said Consorts, any Gentleman or Lady may be admitted to any of the said Consorts paying Half a Guinea at the Door....
(*Daily Post* 21 December 1731)

For the Benefit of the AUTHOR.
AT HICKFORD's Great Room in Brewers-street, near Golden-square, this Day, will be perform'd
R O S A L I N D A.
A New Musical English Drama....
At the Desire of several Persons of Quality, the Performance (on Account of the Assembly) will begin at Six precisely, and end at Eight....
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 27 March 1740)

Thus, we can see that, in contrast to recommendations to contemporary concert promoters to preserve the integrity of their product and pursue art as an end in itself rather than as a type of commercialised creativity (Clifford, 1988; Hirschman, 1983; Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985), in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century musicians, in their rôle as concert promoters, were willing to design or modify the musical product to some extent in order to strengthen the appeal to the audience. They might be seen as belonging to Colbert's (2007: 15) third category of cultural organisation which adopts a mixed marketing approach, allowing for some degree of compromise on product, or modifications to the product in line with consumer preferences.

6.5. Repertoire Selection

6.5.1. 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick'

Classical music concerts today are likely to consist of a series of pieces within one music genre: a 'symphony concert' consisting of orchestral music with the most conventional of such beginning with an overture, followed by a concerto and then a symphony; a chamber music concert with pieces only for string quartet or for some other chamber ensemble; a choral concert with one or more choral works; a recital concert by a vocal or instrumental soloist with accompanist. This specialisation by genre was very rare in concerts in the period under study. From the earliest

advertisements, the overwhelming majority of concerts were billed as consisting of a variety of genres, of both ‘vocal and instrumental musick’. Banister’s concerts given in 1678, for instance, were described as follows:

THis present Monday, at the *Musick School* in *Essex Buildings*, over against *St. Clements Church* in the *Strand*, will be continued a *Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, beginning at Five of the clock every evening. Composed by Mr. *John Bannister*. (*London Gazette* 25 November 1678)

The only exceptions to this rule were concerts which consisted of large-scale choral works, such as odes, anthems or oratorios which were presented occasionally. All-instrumental concerts, however, were much rarer and the ascendancy of purely orchestral music did not begin its development until the very late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century with the influx of symphonies from Austria and Germany and the formation of the Philharmonic Society in 1813 (Ehrlich et al., n.d.; McVeigh, 1993).

Performances of sacred vocal music in concerts were not common unless one includes oratorios and odes in this category. However, Handel’s oratorios were more akin to operas on sacred themes than to music written for church performance and the various odes written in praise of St Cecilia in the late seventeenth and sixteenth century were not intended for religious performance. Only occasionally would a concert consist entirely of sacred music and it would then usually be presented by members of the Chapel Royal or singers from the choirs of Westminster Abbey or St Paul’s. An example are the two concerts entitled ‘*Harmonia Sacra*’ and performed ‘at the Royal Chapel of Whitehall, by the Gentlemen of his Majesty’s Chapel Royal and the best Hands’ on 3 and 17 April 1732. The first concert comprised Purcell’s *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, Bononcini’s anthem for the Duke of Marlborough’s Funeral *When Saul was King*, and an ‘Anthem in Latin’ by Colonna; the second consisted of a *Te Deum* and an anthem ‘on his Majesty’s Return from Hanover’ by Maurice Greene. These performances of church music at Whitehall were ‘for augmenting a fund for the Widows, &c. of the Gentlemen of the Chapel-Royal, who die in his Majesty’s Service’ (*Daily Journal* 23 March 1732). A similar *Harmonia Sacra* series of three concerts was performed in the following year.

When sufficiently detailed information about the programme was given, one can see that there tended to be a regular succession of pieces in different genres but that

works featuring either vocal or instrumental soloists predominated. The great majority of the music performed in concerts was secular, consisting of a combination of solo vocal arias from opera, oratorio or cantata, intermixed with instrumental solos, concertos, and the occasional sonata, either solo, trio or 'full' (with four or more parts), 'full piece' or overture. The word 'solo' is almost always used in preference to 'sonata', but as with publications for the violoncello at the same period, there seems to have been no generic distinction between the two terms (Lindgren, 2000).

From 1660 onwards, the viol consorts and consort music which had formed so great a part of the musical repertory, especially in country houses and private music meetings earlier in the century, declined in popularity and a more diverse repertoire of imported instrumental music including Italian sonatas and concertos and featuring the violin and recorder came to the fore (Holman, 2010a). English composers such as Purcell began to write sonatas imitating the new Italian music: the preface to his 1683 *Sonatas of III Parts* talks of imitating the 'most fam'd Italian masters' and attempting to bring 'the seriousness and gravity of that sort of musick into vogue', as opposed to 'the levity, and balladry of our neighbours' that is, the French, who had been his chief influence to this time (Sadie, 1993). A sale catalogue of 'a choice Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' collected by Gottfried Finger, who promoted concerts in the 1690s contains a section headed '*Mr. Fingers's Great Pieces for his Consort in York-Buildings*' (Holman, 2010b: 36). Eighteen of the thirty items listed here are labelled 'sonata' or 'sonatas' and rather than being dominated by the trio or solo sonatas which had been both brought to England by Italians such as Matteis and also imitated by English composers from about 1670 onwards (Walls, 1990), they include many large-scale sonatas, many of which mixed wind and brass instruments with strings. This type of instrumentation had been cultivated in central Europe since the mid-seventeenth century and Holman (2010b) suggests that it was Finger, a native of Olmütz in Moravia, who introduced it into England.

6.5.2. The Rise of the Virtuoso Style

As well as being a new sonority, these sonatas also exhibit the virtuoso element which was to become so much a feature of performances in early public concerts. Indeed, Roger North reserves some of his most sweeping criticism for the changes in

performance style which he had seen in his lifetime and particularly for the great increase in virtuosity which he obviously blames in part on the increased popularity of the violin:

This Last Grand Revolution in the Musicall State hath made great alterations, and whether tending to a melioration, as to the generall practise of it, I very much doubt... Anciently musick was in some sort pastorall, that is plain, practible, and good. Now it is set up drest in superlatives brought from I know not whence.
(Wilson, 1959: 249–50)

I must observe that the use of chests of violles, which supplied all instrumentall consorts, kept back the English from falling soon into the modes of forreign countrys... whereas the violles bore all an equall share in the consort, and carrying the same aire, there was no reason to choose one part before another. But of late that *respublica* among the consortiers is dissolved, and there is always some violin spark, that thinks himself above all the rest, and above the musick itself also, if it be not screwed up to the top of his capability. It is enough for the underparts to be capable to wait upon him.
(Wilson, 1959: 222)

In relation to the violin, he speaks of the use of ‘double notes’ (double-stopping), playing in high positions, the ‘*stoccata* or stabb’ and the ‘late invention they call a wrist-shake’ (vibrato), and continues ‘all this may also be called humour, any thing rather than musick’ (Wilson, 1959: 234).

The influx of Italian violinists which began with Matteis in 1670 and accelerated from 1710 onwards was matched by a similar invasion of Italian singers with the opening of the Queen’s Theatre in the Haymarket, built by John Vanbrugh for the production of operas and the establishment of an Italian opera company in London in 1705 (Milhous, 1976; Milhous and Hume, 1982). The long *da capo* arias which were a feature of eighteenth-century Italian *opera seria*, and also of Handel’s English oratorios, afforded great opportunities for virtuosic singing and singers such as the castrati Farinelli and Senesino or the female soprano Faustina Bordoni were in great demand. Extracts from opera and oratorio in the form of virtuosic arias formed a large part of the repertoire performed in concerts, often sung by the same performers who sang the rôles in the theatres.

6.5.3. National Trends

When Charles II returned to the throne in 1660 his fondness for French culture in general, and for French dancing and dance music in particular was soon felt (Holman, 1993). Roger North comments:

... But during the first years of Charles II all musick affected by the *beau-mond* run into the French way; and the rather, because at that time the master of the Court musick in France, whose name was Babtista [Lully], (an Itallian frenchified), had influenced the French style by infusing a great portion of the Italian harmony into it; whereby the Ayre was exceedingly improved... and all the compositions of the towne were strained to imitate Babtist's vein.
(Wilson, 1959: 350)

John Banister, for instance, spent time in France, supposedly 'to see and learn the way of the French compositions' ((Shute, 1979: i, 60) quoted in (Holman, 1993: 291) and Pelham Humfrey is also known to have travelled and perhaps studied in France (Wood, n.d.). Although not much detail is given about what was to be performed in concerts early in the period under study, there were performances of works by Frenchmen such as Dieupart and Paisible who were active mainly in England (Fuller and Holman, n.d.; Lasocki, n.d.-b), and Gillier who may have visited on more than one occasion (Hunter, n.d.). Grabu, who succeeded Lanier as Master of the King's Music, although a Catalan by birth was nevertheless considered a representative of French culture in England (Holman, n.d.-b).

However, the French influence was not to last long, and again North's comment summarises the position well:

There was 2 circumstances which concurred to convert the English Musick intirely over from the French to the Italian taste. One was the coming over of old Nicholai Matteis; he was a sort of precursor who made way for what was to follow.
The other circumstance I hinted, was the numerous traine of yong travellers of the best quallity and estates, that about this time went over into Itally and resided at Rome and Venice, where they heard the best musick and learnt of the best masters; and they went out with a favour derived from old Nichola, they came home confirmed in the love of the Itallian manner, and some contracted no litle skill and proved exquisite performers.'
(Wilson, 1959: 307–8)

Italians probably began arriving earlier than this in connection with an Italian opera venture in London from 1662 and Draghi may have joined them soon after; his first composition to appear in a concert programme is the song for Princess Anne's birthday performed in February 1697 at the York Buildings Room (Holman, n.d.-a; Mabbett, 1986). However, Matteis, who seems to have arrived in London about 1670, is the earliest Italian composer to be listed in a concert advertisement by name: his 1696 Ode 'Assist, assist! You mighty sons of art' was performed both for the St Cecilia feast that year and in a concert at the York Buildings Room in January of the following year. By the time more detail concerning concert programmes was given in newspaper advertisements, there is very little trace of a French influence, and the music listed is almost entirely English or Italian. Indeed, the new emphasis on Italy can be seen by the fact that Staggins, Grabu's successor as Master of the King's Musick was granted leave to travel to 'Italy and other foreign parts for a year' some time about 1676 (Ashbee et al., 1998: vol. ii, 1041).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, there seem to have been clear divisions between the principal concerts, which were 'dominated by music from the continental traditions — Italian for vocal music...', and English concerts, including those at the gardens, presenting songs, odes and overtures by British musicians (McVeigh, 1989b: 93). However, this type of division was not obvious earlier in the century. Many concerts contained music by both Italian and English composers, and arias and overtures by Handel, who was naturalised as a British subject on 13th February 1727 (Burrows, 1994: 122; Deutsch, 1955: 202–5), were particularly popular, mostly from his English oratorios. Concerts at some wells and gardens included similar music to that found in the more formal concerts at York Buildings or Hickford's: in July 1696 Richmond Wells was advertising a 'Consort of Musick both Vocal and Instrumental compos'd new for the day' by J.W. Franck (*Post Boy* 22 July 1696), and John Blow's 'Ode on Mr. H. Purcel Mark how the lark and linnet sing' (*Post Boy* 25 July 1696). As late as 1748 and even at Cuper's Gardens, a resort more famed for its fireworks, the programme for a concert in May featured:

...a good Band of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. Which will be Divided every Evening into two Acts. The Vocal by Signora Sibilla. In the first Act this Evening, She sings Powerful Guardians in Alexander Balus, Mr. Handel, and Son le Donne Inamorate, Signora Palma. in the

second Act May Balmy Peace, Occasional Oratorio, Mr. Handel, and Si Spuntan-Vezzoze in Mitridate by Terradellis; the Pieces of Musick in each Act will be selected from the best Composers. To conclude with the Fireworks...

(*General Advertiser* 23 May 1748)

In the early part of the period when some concerts consisted of music written by a single composer, all-British concerts sometimes took place, such as those containing only music composed by Banister or by Purcell. Later in the period, all-British concerts were only likely to be of large-scale choral works such as odes or oratorios by Handel or Arne. There were very few concerts which boasted of their Britishness, a rare example being a benefit for Mrs Seedo: 'A British Concert, Consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish Ballads... Being the first Performance of this Kind (*Daily Journal* 18 March 1728).

6.5.4. Novelty and 'Ancient' Music

With the exception of liturgical music, most musical works which were performed before the eighteenth century had been written by composers who were still living, and who were also the performers in the majority of cases (Weber, 1984): '...up to about 1800 music was a fashionable commodity that rarely outlived its creators by more than a generation' ((Holman, 2000: 8). There was no canon of old and revered musical works such as had provided models for emulation and taste in the fields of poetry and sculpture since the Hellenic period. Pieces of music were to a great extent composed, performed a few times and then discarded (Weber, 1992: 2). Writing in his account of the Academy of Ancient Music, John Hawkins (1770: 12–13) contrasted that institution's intention to concentrate on the 'study and practice of that which is *old*' with the current prejudice of the time against old music, which he summarised in two positions: 'Nothing in music is estimable, that is not new. No music tolerable, which has been heard before'. Advertisements for music to be performed at concerts in the period under study frequently mention that a certain piece is 'new composed', 'not yet perform'd' or that it has been 'performed but once before'. New music was doubtless brought from the continent both by foreign musicians coming to England, and by English musicians who had travelled abroad.

This is not to say that pieces were only performed once or only in a single season. Some pieces, presumably popular ones, might be performed many times. This is easiest to ascertain for vocal or choral music where a title is more likely to be used which completely identifies the piece. Handel's oratorio *Esther*, for instance, was first performed on 20 April 1732 and then repeated another six times within the next month, it was given twice in April 1733, six times in a version billed as 'With several New Additional Songs' in March 1735, twice in April 1736, once in March 1740 twice in April 1749, and its overture alone in February 1734 and April 1735. For instrumental music, the vagueness of common descriptions — 'a concerto', 'several solos' or 'select pieces of musick' — rather than the use of specific identification of a piece does not often allow one to see how frequently pieces might have been repeated. There are some exceptions: violin concertos by Corelli were sometimes described in sufficient detail for an identification to be made; his eighth concerto, for instance was given at least nine times between 1722 and 1742.

Despite the overwhelming emphasis on new music, a growth in both academic and practical interest in 'ancient' music is also evident in some concert programmes of the time (Weber, 1992; 1994). From 1700 onwards Weber (1984; 1992) detects the beginnings of a change in the balance between the past and the present, with some musical compositions staying in the repertoire long after their composer's demise, and the gradual formation of a class of 'great' composers whose works formed the basis of the modern canon of so-called 'classical' music. Weber links this development directly to the development of the commercial concert in London in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as concerts offered a cheaper alternative for experimentation in older repertory than opera. He points also to the development of annual music festivals, such as the St Cecilia's Day celebrations and the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy held in London from the late seventeenth century, which inspired imitations in the Three Choirs Festival (Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester) and the Norwich Festival later in the eighteenth century (Weber, 1992: 103–42). For instance, Henry Purcell's (1659–1695) *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D was frequently sung at The Feast of the Sons of the Clergy in London until 1731 (when its place in the service was taken by equivalent works by Handel) and was also performed as part of the Three Choirs Festival at least until the end of the period under study.

Prominent in the promotion of older music was the Academy of Vocal Music, founded in 1726 and renamed the Academy of Ancient Music five years later (see Section 5.2.4). The change in name reflected its purpose in the encouragement of sacred works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as those of the more recent past, such as Henry Purcell's *Te Deum* and other seventeenth-century anthems (Timms, 1978; Weber, 1989). While the programmes of this society understandably reflected its emphasis on older music, this interest was also seen in concerts held outside its auspices, often promoted by members of the society. A benefit for J.C. Pepusch, de facto 'artistic director' of the Academy of Ancient Music from 1731, which was held on 31 March 1732 reflected his interest in older music, while a series of three concerts held by the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in March and April 1733 featured church music 'ancient and modern', the second of which contained works by Henry Purcell (d. 1695) and Giovanni Colonna (d.1695) (*Daily Journal* 21 February 1733):

For the BENEFIT of Dr. PEPUSCH,
AT STATIONERS-HALL, near Ludgate,
 on Friday next, the 31st of March, will be perform'd,
A C O N C E R T,
 Consisting of several full Pieces of Vocal and Instrumental Musick,
 composed by antient and modern Authors, viz. Edvardo Lupi, Paulo
 Pretti, Wm. Bird, Collonna, Stephani, Corelli, Purcel and Dr. Pepusch.
 To begin exactly at Seven o'Clock...
 (*Daily Journal* 27 March 1732)

This academic interest in older music, and the beginnings of the development of a canon of works which remained in the repertoire does not necessarily lead one to the conclusion that Britain was entirely conservative in its musical tastes or that British composers did not keep up with new developments from abroad. This was indubitably the case with the repertoire of works performed by cathedral choirs: at the Restoration, the newly revived choirs could not obtain new works to sing and had to rely on copying from old collections of Tudor and Stuart anthems. However, this necessity had, by the middle of the eighteenth century, become a tradition: the cathedral repertoire had become retrospective, and this was both assisted and is illustrated by the publication of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* in the 1760s and 1770s which collected together compositions from the previous 200 years (Boyce, 1760-1773). Orchestral music was also somewhat

behind the times owing to a fondness for Corelli's op. 6 *concerti grossi* which became the foundation of a repertory of English works in the same form, still being composed here long after they had ceased being written on the continent (Holman, 2000). However, new music was continually being brought to England from the continent by the composers and performers who flocked to take advantage of the opportunities and earning potential of London's vibrant and complex musical life. Holman (2000) sees the influences as travelling both ways, since immigrant composers would sometimes adapt their own idioms to conform to English taste in an effort to ensure acceptance.

6.5.5. Thematic Programming

Over the ages, many pieces of music were written or performed to celebrate an event, be that a particular feast day in the church year, the birth, marriage or death of a prominent person, coronations, military victories, another celebration of some kind, or just the passing of the seasons; what is known as 'occasional music' (Weber, 1984). This contributed to the necessity for a contemporaneity of musical taste, but as music moved into a more public and commercial sphere, it also provided opportunities for what would now be described as thematic programming of concerts, which might celebrate contemporary events and appeal to changes of mood in the national consciousness (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 197). John Abell, for instance, put on a number of concerts 'In Honour of the Queen's Coronation' in April, May and June 1702. Moreover, on 27 July 1702 'At the Request of several Persons of Quality', a concert containing music written by John Eccles for Queen Anne's Coronation was given at Hampstead Wells (*Daily Courant* 23, 24, and 25 July 1702). On St Andrew's Day, 30 November 1732, a Scottish-themed concert was given at York Buildings, with *The Gentle Shepherd*, a 'Scots Pastoral Comedy Composed by Allan Ramsey' and 'an Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, with fine Dancing in Highland Dresses, perform'd by Natives of the Country' (*Daily Post* 29 November 1732).

In the late summer of 1745, a time of upheaval caused by the Young Pretender's Rebellion, a number of concerts with a patriotic theme were put on. At Vauxhall Gardens the entertainments, which were to have finished on 24 August, were 'continued sometime longer; His Majesty's happy Arrival being hourly expected, on which joyful Occasion a new Ode will be perform'd, set to Music by Mr. Arne'; they finally closed

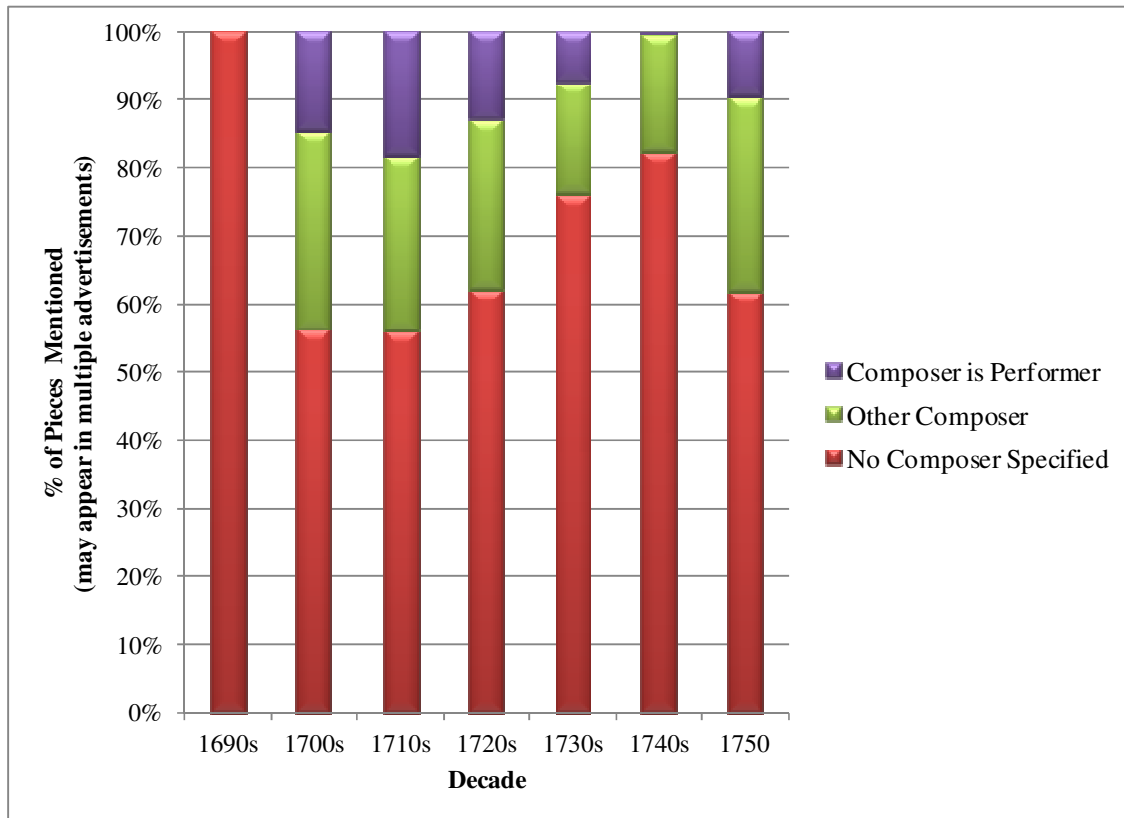
on 7 September. A ‘fine new Anthem and Te Deum, compos'd by Dr. Maurice Greene... on Account of his Majesty's safe Arrival in his British Dominions’ was performed in the Chapel Royal on 20 October (*London Evening Post* 19 October 1745) and Arne had notable success with his ode *God bless our noble king*, which was sung every night at Drury Lane during the 1745 crisis (Holman and Gilman, n.d.). At Cuper’s Gardens music accompanied by fireworks showing the recent ‘storming and taking Fort Louisbourg’ in Canada was performed from Saturday 24 August until 26 September (*Daily Post* 26 August, with frequent re-advertisements until 26 September).

6.6. Violin Repertoire in London Concerts

A second aim of this chapter is to investigate the repertoire of musical compositions programmed in London commercial concerts in terms of its contemporaneity and geographical origin as a means of determining the nature of the market for music and its performance. To facilitate this investigation, a detailed consideration of the violin repertoire as performed in London concerts during the period will be undertaken.

As discussed earlier, in many advertisements early in the century, there is often only scant detail of the performers and pieces that were to be played; it is only as the century progressed that the amount of detail increased. Figure 6-6 shows that in the majority of cases the composer of a piece to be performed by a violin soloist was not specified. It is quite likely that most violinists performed their own compositions and even late on in the period under investigation this was often not specified as it was perhaps taken for granted. Also, as discussed in sections 6.2 and 9.4, while concerts promoters placed a high importance on giving information about their product to the potential audience in the form of an identifiable description or the actual name of the piece, or the name(s) of the performer(s), the name of the composer was slightly less significant and was thus given less frequently.

Figure 6-6: Pieces Performed by Violin Soloists



A violinist performing a work by another composer was a slightly more unusual occurrence, and was thus slightly more likely to be mentioned in an advertisement than the fact that a violinist would be performing his/her own composition, although the latter did occur on occasion (see Figure 6-6). In cases where violinists did not perform their own compositions, the majority of the pieces in the repertoire were by living composers who were either resident in or had visited London (see Appendix H);⁴⁰ most of these composers were from Italy (16), fewer were English (8) probably because English violinists would mostly have performed their own compositions, and the only other nationality to be represented is German (4), although two of the latter, Handel and Pepusch, spent the majority of their working lives in Britain.

Despite the probable dominance of violinists performing their own compositions, Burney (1776–89: vol. II 405), was of the opinion that in the eighteenth century works by ‘Corelli, Geminiani, Albinoni, Vivaldi, Tassarini, Veracini and Tartini, till the arrival of Giardini [in 1751], supplied all our wants on the violin’.

⁴⁰ A discussion of the geographical origin of violinists performing in London can be found in Section 9.5.2.

Although Burney was only 25 when Giardini arrived in London, his statement seems to be borne out to some extent in the advertisements for performances by violinists to be found in London newspapers of the period, where among those advertisements which do identify composers and pieces to be performed, works by Geminiani, Vivaldi and Corelli dominate.⁴¹

A few of the composers represented in the violin repertory in the period may never have visited England — Albinoni, Martino Bitti, Brescianello, Corelli, Hasse, Locatelli, Scaccia, Tartini, Tibaldi and Vivaldi — of whom all but one are Italian. Italy's status as the prime destination for those going on the 'Grand Tour', the popularity of Italian music and the number of Italian violinists performing in London at the time will perhaps explain both the presence of their works in the repertoire and publication of their works by Walsh and others (Smith, 1948; Smith and Humphries, 1968). For the less common composers listed — Brescianello, Locatelli, Scaccia and Tartini — the single example of a composition by each was performed by John Pettit at a concert given for his own benefit at Hickford's in Panton Street on 27 April 1733 (Daily Journal 25 and 27 April 1733)⁴². The single piece by Tibaldi was tantalisingly advertised as being performed 'by the same Masters that perform'd on Thursday last' at Penkethman's New Theatre in Greenwich on 27 August 1711 (Daily Courant 27 August 1711); they are unfortunately not listed on that date either.

Another of the composers mentioned by Burney is Antonio Vivaldi and his works for solo violin were always played by other performers as he never visited London (Appendix H). Vivaldi is thus an example of wide geographical dispersal in the market as his works appeared in London concert advertisements between 1719 and 1732. His concertos were still in print in London in 1750, nine years after his death, appearing, for instance, in a list of compositions published by John Walsh and described as 'just publish'd, for Concerts' (*London Evening Post*, 10 November 1750).

The vast majority of the composers whose violin compositions were performed were still alive; only pieces by Corelli, Lonati, Henry Purcell and David Rizzio were performed posthumously. The only violin composition by Henry Purcell which is advertised as being performed after his death is the so-called 'Golden Sonata', the

⁴¹ A calendar of performances by solo violinists is given in Appendix I; short biographies of each violinist are given in Appendix Q.

⁴² A slightly different programme is given in each advertisement.

Sonata in F for two violins, viola da gamba, and organ or harpsichord, number 9 of 10 sonatas posthumously published in 1697 and reissued in 1704, the year in which it was performed. Lonati, likewise, is only represented by a single piece: a Sonata in three parts which was performed by Claudio Rogier some ten or fifteen years after Lonati's death. Rizzio was an Italian singer who served at the Scottish court under Mary Queen of Scots in the sixteenth century; he acquired a somewhat spurious reputation in the eighteenth century as a composer of Scots songs (Elliott, n.d.), and it is arrangements of these for violin which were played by Richard Charke.⁴³

Compositions by Arcangelo Corelli were frequently performed by violinists in London in the first half of the eighteenth century, even though he never visited the city (see Appendix H). Works by Corelli maintained their popularity and remained in the programmes of London concerts long after his death in 1713, an early example of a continuity of repertoire which one might consider as amounting to the formation of canon (McVeigh, 2001; Weber, 1992). The high reputation he achieved both during and after his lifetime can probably be attributed both to the uncommonly wide distribution of publications of his music and to his success as a teacher. At this date, most composers were happy to see their work appear in only a single published edition, whereas 78 reprints of Corelli's Opp. 1–5 sonatas appeared during his lifetime, with the Op. 5 violin sonatas appearing in at least 42 separate editions by 1800; in addition numerous manuscript copies were in circulation (Edwards, 1976; Newman, 1983: 156; Talbot, n.d.).

Roger North relates how Corelli's fame spread to England as a result of:

...the travelling of divers young gentlemen into Italy, and after having learnt of the best violin masters, particularly Corelli, returned with flourishing hands; and for their delicate contour of graces in the slow parts, and the stoccata, and spirit in other kinds of movements, they were admired and imitated.

(Wilson, 1959: 310 note 65)

In addition to these amateur pupils, a number of his professional violinist pupils were resident in London, both performing his works and, presumably, teaching them to others (Edwards, 1976; Weber, 1989; 1992: 75–89). Corelli's pupils Gasparo Visconti (arrived in London in 1702), Pietro Castrucci (arrived in 1715) and Giovanni Stefano

⁴³ Melodies supposedly composed by Rizzio were also used by Geminiani in his *Rules for Playing in a true Taste* and *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (Careri, 1993: 160 and 171).

Carbonelli (arrived in 1719) were the most frequent performers of his music (Edwards and McVeigh, n.d.; Highfill et al., 1973–91; Hill, n.d.; Williams, 1973).

This section thus enables us to draw some conclusions about the market for music performance in terms of the contemporaneity and geographical origin of violin repertoire performed in London concerts in the period under study. It seems likely that the majority of violinists played their own compositions. Even when this was not the case and another composer was specified, most pieces were by living composers who either lived in or had visited London. However, we can trace in the solo violin repertoire the beginnings of that emergence of a class of ‘great’ composers, whose works survived in the repertory after their deaths and formed the basis of a canon, which Weber (1984; 1992) has attributed to the period after 1700. Here Corelli is an example of a composer whose works survived in the solo repertoire after his death: a number of violinists, both those who were his pupils and others, performed his compositions at the very least well into the 1730s, 20 years after his death; and his works remained in print in London long after this. His works were also performed far from where they were composed as Corelli never visited London.

6.7. Conclusion

Having investigated both repertoire and concert design it would seem that at least some of the musicians who were promoting early concerts in London had more of a market orientation than is recommended by contemporary writers on arts marketing (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 196). Far from concentrating solely on an aesthetic ideal at the expense of commercial success, concert promoters in London in the period under investigation seem to have had a more down-to-earth approach to making a living. Concerts were both a means of generating an income and also a way of attracting new fee-paying amateur pupils who wanted to emulate the achievements of their favourite singers, instrumental performers, or even composers. Moreover, concerts were both fuelled by and added fuel to the market for music publishing. At the very least, concert promoters adopted a mix between a product-oriented and a market-oriented approach and were prepared to modify their programmes to some extent in order to heighten the appeal to the consumer. In experimenting with different concert designs, we also see

efforts to please the audience which show at least some concert promoters as adopting a commercial orientation to a certain extent.

Chapter 7. Place/Performance: Concert Venues

7.1. Introduction

Before the advent of public commercial concerts, formal and informal music making occurred in both private or semi-private as well as fully public venues. Private or semi-private venues included church, court, city livery company or guild halls, and the houses of aristocrats, gentry and others, and were mainly the preserve of formal or ritual music performed by professional musicians. While on the other hand, public venues such as taverns, fairs and other open-air venues, tended to be dominated by informal music making by semi-professional or amateur performers. The gradual shift of formal music making into the public sphere, as witnessed by the development of commercial concert giving in London, was accompanied both by a growth in the number and type of public venues and by the increasing dominance of professional musicians in these new public venues (Brewer, 1995; Bridge, 1903: 60; Habermas, 1992: 39–40; Love, 2004). The development and commercialisation of leisure from the late seventeenth century onwards (Plumb, 1982) was accompanied both by the flourishing of pleasure gardens and wells as leisure resorts where music formed a part of the entertainment on offer, and by the building or adaptation and use of a wider variety of venues for concerts.

This chapter will focus on the second of the elements of the adapted marketing mix, that of performance/place. For the performing arts ‘place’ refers both to the performing venues and the places or methods of ticket distribution; the location of these can have an important effect on the success or failure of an artistic event since there is a limit to the amount of effort a consumer is prepared to make to travel to a venue or to purchase a ticket. If the physical location is difficult to reach or if the time at which the product is offered is inconvenient, the potential consumer is less likely to make the effort to attend. For any point of sale, the further away from it that the consumer is located, the less likely they are to attend. As with retail outlets, the best location for cultural venues is one that is in close proximity both to its potential consumers and to other venues of the same kind, as the synergising effect increases attendance (Colbert, 2007: 213–8). The chapter will start by considering the types of venue which were used for concerts. Following on from this will be a consideration of various characteristics of

these venues: location and the effect this might have had on transport necessary to reach them; size; facilities; and use other than for concerts. The chapter will finish with a discussion of the places where tickets were sold.

As has been stated earlier, the venues in which commercial concerts were held during the period under investigation were many and various. As is the case today, a concert could be held in any venue which was large enough and had the requisite facilities to suit both performers and audience. Whilst a few were designed specifically for music making, many were not, and both these and other concert venues were used for a variety of different purposes in addition to hosting concerts. Concert venues were to be found in different parts of London, were of varying size and type, and might offer a range of different facilities in addition to the concert. In investigating some of these features, it is possible not only to find out about the concert venues themselves, but also to make deductions about aspects of the concerts which are only implicit in the surviving sources.

Thus an examination of concert venues allows an investigation of a number of questions over and beyond the bare facts of which venues were used for concerts and when. Looking at the size of venues gives an indication of the size and composition of both the musical forces who played there and the audiences who might have attended.⁴⁴ As few venues were used exclusively for concert giving, their social status had a tendency to derive from their other functions, the décor, level of comfort and facilities which were available. One can ascertain how the incidence of concerts varied over space: how concert locations might have changed over time and how those locations were related to the accessibility of concerts to various types of consumers. Moreover, it is possible to investigate whether particular venues were associated with particular types of concert, performers (native or foreign) and types of pieces performed. As well as being sold at the door, tickets were often available in advance and at locations other than the concert venue: taverns, coffee houses or shops of various kinds were often used. Again, it is of interest to see whether particular agents sold tickets for particular performers or venues and indeed, where these ticket-sellers were located geographically and thus to what sort of audience they were designed to be convenient.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 9 for a discussion of performers in London concerts.

7.2. Types of Venue

The various public concert venues can be divided into at least six general categories: halls or rooms frequently used for musical events, which we might call concert rooms; theatres; spas, wells and pleasure gardens; taverns and coffee-houses; livery company halls; and other buildings, such as churches, schools, dancing schools, private houses, and so on.

7.2.1. Concert Rooms

Although there was no venue that was used exclusively for concerts during the period, four rooms might be considered as the most important venues for concerts: early in the eighteenth century the Great Room in the York Buildings played host to the most important concerts; the Vendu, although built with concerts in mind, had only a short period of popularity in the first half of the 1690s; and Hickford's Great Room in its two locations became the focus for London's concert life for more than half a century from about 1713 onwards.

Table 7-1: Concert Rooms as Concert Venues

Venue	Concert Advertisements Appear
York Buildings	1685–1736
The Vendu	1691–1695
Hickford's Great Room, James Street/Panton Street	1697–1744
Hickford's Great Room, Brewer Street	1738–

Of the venues that were used primarily for concerts, the York Buildings room was the earliest 'fabrick reared and furnished on purpose for public music' (Wilson, 1959). The room itself was within or attached to a house in Villiers Street, a residential street in York Buildings, a fashionable area off the Strand that had been built mainly in 1674–5 on the site of York House, the former London residence of the archbishops of York. North described it as 'a great room... with proper decorations as a theater for musick, and ... a vast coming and crowding to it'. The first newspaper advertisement mentioning this venue in connection with concerts appeared in 1685 (*London Gazette* 23 November 1685); nothing further appeared until 1689 (*London Gazette* 18 April 1689), but thereafter concerts occurred fairly regularly until 1736. Its period of peak

popularity seems to have been between 1693 and 1707, but with an unusually large number of advertisements in 1698, and no advertisements at all in 1686–1688, 1709, 1712–1716, 1722–1723, 1725, 1733 and 1735 (Brereton, 1908: 247–8; de Beer, 1955: vol IV, 350 note 1; Elkin, 1955: 29; Forsyth, 1985: 27; Scott, 1937; Young, 1965: 39–40).

About a decade after the York Buildings room was built, a new room was erected on a site described as ‘next Bedford-Gate in Charles-street, Covent-Garden’, now the northern part of Wellington Street (*London Gazette* 19 February 1690/91); the gate mentioned being the gateway into the stables of Bedford House (Sheppard, 1970b: 195). This venue was known as ‘The Vendu’ as it was also used for auctions and picture sales (Elkin, 1955: 38; Forsyth, 1985: 27–8).⁴⁵ The period of its use as a concert venue was extremely short, with the first advertisement appearing in 1691 and the last in 1695. The number of advertisements in any one year was not particularly great, but the advertisements imply that weekly concerts were taking place. No mentions of the Vendu in any capacity are found after early 1696.

The most important venues for public concerts, however, were buildings on two different sites associated with the Hickford family. The first location was linked to the name of Thomas Hickford about whom little is known, except that he appears to have been a dancing master: early advertisements for concerts held in his room refer to it as ‘Mr. Hickford's Dancing-School’ (*Post Boy* 20 November 1697) or ‘Mr. Hickford's Dancing-Room’ (*Daily Courant* 2 April 1707). This original Hickford’s room was between James Street (now the western portion of Orange Street) and the south side of Panton Street, having an entrance from both streets (Elkin, 1955: 42–4; Gater and Hiorns, 1940: 102).

It was not until 1713 that concert advertisements are found with any regularity for the Panton Street/James Street room. The 1736/37 season was exceptional in that there were no concerts advertised, but as the first concert at the new Brewer Street location for Hickford’s took place on 7 April 1738, it seems likely that the disruption caused by the move led to the cessation of concerts in that year. After Hickford’s move to Brewer Street, concerts were still occasionally given at James Street/Panton Street

⁴⁵ This name is first given to the room in a concert advertisement in the *London Gazette* 7 March 1692.

At some time in 1737–38 the Hickford family moved to 41 (subsequently 65) Brewer or Brewers Street (now Brewer Street), a house in a more fashionable area and with a large room built on at the back which was used for the concerts (Harrison, 1906; Elkin, 1955: 44–9; Harrison, 1909; Sheppard, 1963: 121–4). The first concert was advertised there for 7 April 1738 (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 4 April 1738). Hickford's Great Room in Brewer Street became the most fashionable concert room of its day and remained in use long after the end of the period under study. The peak of its popularity was during the 1740s and 1750s; increasing competition from newer venues caused a slow decline from the 1760s onwards which was only hastened by the growing popularity of orchestral works in the 1770s for which purpose the room was too small (Forsyth, 1985: 28; Harrison, 1906: 672).

7.2.2. Theatres

Music formed a major part of theatrical performances in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; many plays included music and dancing within the play, as well as the incidental music and dances that took place before the drama began and between the acts (Price, 1979a: xiv-xv and *passim*; Avery, 1968: cxxx-cxli; Scouten, 1968: clv-clix). Music might be composed specifically for a play, or could be taken from the concert repertoire; Handel's *Water Musick* and concertos by Corelli were especially popular, but a wide variety of both instrumental music and songs were to be found. However, concerts *per se* were also given in the major theatres of the day, often in the form of benefits for musicians associated with the theatre being used as a venue. From 1735 onwards, George Frideric Handel and others also used the theatres as venues for series of oratorio concerts which took place on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent when plays and opera were not permitted. Furthermore, concerts were advertised at theatres as a means of circumventing the terms of the Licensing Act of 1737, which prohibited the acting of drama at any place not sanctioned by a Royal patent or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain (Scouten, 1968: xlvi-lix). The stratagem used was to advertise a concert for which patrons had to pay, between the two parts of which a free performance of a play was given; the phrasing used in the following advertisement, or variations thereon, thus became known as the 'concert' formula:

G O O D M A N ' s - F I E L D S .
AT the *Late* Theatre in AYLIFFE-STREET, GOODMAN'S-FIELDS, on
 Wednesday next, October 14, will be perform'd
 A C O N C E R T
 of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
 M U S I C K .
 Divided into TWO PARTS.
 Tickets at Four, Three, Two, and One Shilling.
 N.B. Between the two Divisions of the CONCERT will be presented
 GRATIS, a Comedy, call'd
 The S T R A T A G E M .
 By PERSONS for their DIVERSION.
 The CONCERT to begin exactly at Six o'Clock.
 (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 10 October 1740)

Table 7-2: Theatres as Concert Venues

Venue	Concert Advertisements Appear
Lincoln's Inn Fields	1702–1741
Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	1703–
Queen's (later King's) Theatre or Opera House, Haymarket	1709–
Little, New or French Theatre, Haymarket	1721–
Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	1735–
New Wells in Goodman's Fields, Lemon Street	1750–

Advertisements for concerts to take place at Lincoln's Inn Fields (Avery, 1968: xxiii and xxxii–xxxiv; Avery and Scouten, 1968: xxxv–xxxvi and xliii–xliv; Gomme, 1912: plates 3 and 4; Hotson, 1928: 120–7; Leacroft, 1988: 79–82) and Drury Lane (Avery, 1968: xxiv–xxvi; Avery and Scouten, 1968: xxxvi–xxxviii and xli–xliii; Hotson, 1928: 242–56; Leacroft, 1988: 82–3 and 89–99; Sheppard, 1970a: 9–70 and plates 1–11) appear only sporadically and are mostly for benefit concerts. The exceptions are those that appear in the 1703/04 season for a subscription series known as 'The Subscription Musick' which was shared between the two theatres;⁴⁶ the 1739/40

⁴⁶ 'The Subscription Musick' series was held both at Lincoln's Inn Fields and at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane in this season: Theatre Royal concerts were held on 30 November and 14 December 1703, 4 and 18 January, 22 February, and 14 March 1704; Lincoln's Inn Fields concerts were held on 21 December 1703, 1 and 29 February, 7 and 30 March 1704. The concert on 29 February 1704 was deferred to another date for unspecified reasons.

series of oratorio concerts given by Handel at Lincoln's Inn Fields; and a few concerts at Drury Lane in 1730, 1738 and 1745.

As might be expected for a theatre that had a strong connection with opera, advertisements for concerts appear more frequently at the Haymarket Opera House than at other theatres (Avery, 1968: xxvi–xxix; Langhans, 1980: 45; Leacroft, 1988: 99–105; Scouten, 1968: xix–xx; Sheppard, 1960: 223–50). Before 1732 the majority of these were benefit concerts for the major singers in the opera; however, from 1732 onwards Handel often presented oratorio concerts here and these dominate the concert advertisements with large numbers of oratorio concerts being given in the 1731/32, 1732/33 and 1738/39 seasons. The 1744/45 season saw the introduction of a Handel oratorio subscription series; of the 24 performances that were originally proposed, 16 were given. After this, benefits were again the only concerts advertised. Handel also gave oratorio concerts at Covent Garden (Sheppard, 1970a: 71–108 and plates 40–41; Leacroft, 1988: 106–110; Scouten, 1968: xxvii–xxxii) but with little or no activity between 1738 and 1742 and in 1745 when he worked at other theatres in London and Dublin. His Lenten oratorio series form the majority of the concerts advertised at Covent Garden, those for the 1742/43, 1743/44, 1745/45 and 1745/46 seasons being on a subscription basis.

As an unlicensed theatre, the Little Haymarket had no permanent resident acting company during its first decade, but was frequently occupied on a short-term basis by a variety of groups, some of them of foreign origin (Avery, 1968: xxxv–xxxvi; Langhans, 1980: 6; Scouten, 1968: xx). Concerts were advertised here regularly, the great majority of them being benefits. There were, however, a few performances where an advertised concert was only being used as part of the 'concert formula' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17, 19 and 23 January 1744).⁴⁷ The theatre at the New Wells in Lemon Street was also unlicensed; concerts other than those given as part of a device to evade the 1737 Licensing Act were only held here during 1750 (Hogan, 1949; Rosenfeld, 1945; Scouten, 1968: xl–xli).

A number of other theatres occasionally advertised concerts but were not used regularly as concert venues (see Appendix J Section J.1).

⁴⁷ For more details on the 'concert formula', see Section 5.7.

7.2.3. Wells, Spas and Pleasure Gardens

The pleasure gardens at Vauxhall and Ranelagh are well known, but there were also a number of other wells, spas and pleasure gardens within easy travelling distance of the centre of London during the period. As mainly outdoor resorts, they opened for the summer season at the beginning of May or earlier and closed at the end of September or later; exact opening and closing dates would depend on the weather in any given year. The majority of these resorts offered musical entertainment, often in the form of music for dancing, though some advertised concerts on a regular basis.

Table 7-3: Wells, Spas and Pleasure Gardens as Concert Venues

Venue	Concert Advertisements Appear
Richmond Wells	1696–1722
Lambeth Wells	1697–1698
Sadler's Wells, Islington	1697–1749
Hampstead Wells	1701–
Marylebone Bowling Green and Gardens	1718–
Great Room on Richmond Green	1722
Belsize House	1722–1723
Vauxhall (Spring) Gardens	1736–
Cuper's Gardens	1740–
Ranelagh House and Gardens	1742–
Ruckholt House and Gardens	1743–
Mulberry Gardens, Clerkenwell	1742–1743
'Sir John Oldcastle' Tavern and Gardens	1743–1746
New Spring Gardens, Greenwich	1750–

Concerts were advertised at Richmond Wells from the initial season of its opening but they were advertised infrequently during the first few seasons and in many years, no concerts were advertised at all. However, in the 1721 season that also saw the building or refitting of the Long Room, weekly concerts to be held on Mondays were advertised from early July until late October (*Daily Post* 7 July 1721; *Daily Journal* 23 October 1721) and in the following year from 14 May until 20 August (*Daily Post* 12 May and 18 August 1722). Thereafter, although advertisements concerning the opening

of Richmond Wells appeared almost every year until the end of the period under study, no further concerts were advertised (Addison, 1951: 55–6; Hembry, 1990: 101–2; Malden, 1911: 538). E Marriott's Great Room on Richmond Green only advertised concerts for the 1722 season; these were in direct competition to those held at the Wells that year as they were also held on Mondays, starting on 14 May and continuing until 24 September (*Daily Post* 12 May and 22 September 1722).

At Lambeth Wells concerts *per se* were not advertised until the season following the opening with weekly concerts being given on Wednesdays, the first taking place on 5 May 1697 (*Post Boy* 11 May 1697), although some Friday and Saturday concerts were also advertised (Addison, 1951: 42–3; Hembry, 1990: 102; Wroth, 1979: 279–80).⁴⁸ The following season a series of Wednesday evening concerts was again advertised commencing on 8 June 1698; the latest advertisement mentioning the concert series appeared on 19 July but the Wells were kept open until Michaelmas so we cannot be certain whether the concerts continued until this late date. After this season, although Lambeth Wells advertised its opening for most seasons, no further concerts were advertised.

The few advertisements which appeared for concerts at Sadler's Wells imply that during the 1697 season weekly concerts were given on Mondays, while in 1698 this was extended to include both Mondays and Thursdays (Addison, 1951: 32–4; Arundell, 1965: 1–18; Forsyth, 1985: 49 and fig. 2.23; Hembry, 1990: 99–100; Wroth, 1979: 43–53). Both sets of concerts were held in the morning, in 1697 from 11 until 1 pm, and in 1698 from 10 until 1 pm. No further concerts were advertised until 1749, when a 'Concert of Musick ... it being intended as an Opening to the Diversions of the Place' was advertised for 22 March (*General Advertiser* 20 March 1749).

The first concert advertised at Hampstead Wells was held on 14 July 1701 at 10 a.m. (Addison, 1951: 47–50; Hembry, 1990: 102–4; Wroth, 1979: 177–83) In the following season, although advertisements for a concert on 11 May 1702 state that the concerts are 'to Continue every Monday (at the same Time and Place) During the Season of Drinking the Waters' (*Daily Courant* 8 May 1702), the statement is not repeated, even though concerts were continuing in late July (*Daily Courant* 25 July 1702). Something of a hiatus in concert advertising between 1710 and 1720 was

⁴⁸ Friday 28 May, Saturday 3 July, Friday 23 July and Friday 30 July 1697.

brought to an end with the renewed activities associated with the opening of a new Long Room in 1721. Indeed an advertisement for the opening of the Wells for the 1722 season states that ‘every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday will be a compleat Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick’ (*Daily Post* 18 June 1722), but no further advertisements are to be found that season, and after 1723, little concert-giving activity is advertised.

The origins of the Marylebone Gardens can be traced back to a bowling green in the gardens of The Rose, a tavern on the east side of Marylebone Town (now numbers 35–37 Marylebone High Street) (Addison, 1951: 42 and plate 20; Sands, 1987; Wroth, 1979: 93–110). Daniel Gough, who had been landlord of the Rose Tavern since 1732, first advertised the opening of the ‘Mary-Le-Bone Gardens’ for evening entertainments on July 12 1738 (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 10, 11 and 12 July 1738);⁴⁹ he was to remain the proprietor of the Gardens for the entire period under discussion. The daily entertainments must have been successful, for in an advertisement for the last concert of that season he is already advertising plans for the following year (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 and 18 August 1738). By February 1739 Gough announced that he had ‘already enlarged and beautified his gardens, having also built an Orchestra according to an elegant Plan’ and the entertainments commenced on 30 April (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 27 February, 13 and 28 March, 6, 11, 13, 25, 27 and 30 April 1739); the Gardens were normally open for three months from late April or early May, depending on the weather.

The New Spring Gardens at Vauxhall were probably opened in the early summer of 1661: Evelyn mentions a visit to the ‘new Spring Garden at Lambeth, a pretty-contrived plantation’ in July of that year (Evelyn's Diary: entry for 2 July 1661. Bray, 1901: Vol. I, 348), and the following year Pepys visited the two Spring Gardens which were then open in Vauxhall and referred to as the Old and the New (Pepys' Diary: entry for 29 May 1662. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol III, 94–5). In 1728 Jonathan Tyers, the true founder of Vauxhall Gardens in the form that were to bring them such fame, took out a thirty-year lease for the Spring Gardens at an annual rent of £250 (Forsyth, 1985: 43 and 48–9; Scott, 1955; Southworth, 1941; Wroth, 1979: 286–305).⁵⁰ Tyers

⁴⁹ Sands (1987: 11) states that Gough opened the gardens in 1737 but I have found no other evidence for this.

⁵⁰ Purchases in 1752 and 1758 subsequently gave him ownership of the estate.

altered and improved the gardens which occupied about 12 acres and were laid out in gravel walks flanked by trees; they opened on Wednesday 7 June 1732 with a 'Ridotto al fresco', an evening entertainment that was repeated several times during the summer (London Evening Post 27 May 1732; Daily Journal 31 May, 1, 2, 3, 5,6 and 7 June 1732). It was not until 1736 or 1737 that the entertainments at the Spring Gardens began to present the characteristics that were to remain typical. The season began in late April or early May and continued for three months or more, both opening and closing dates being dependent on the weather. Concerts were given daily, Sundays excepted, from 1736 onwards, beginning at five in the afternoon and lasting until nine (Daily Post 21 August 1736; Daily Advertiser 29 April 1737).⁵¹ At first the concerts were purely instrumental,⁵² but in 1745 Tyers added vocal music, engaging Mrs Arne, Reinhold and Thomas Lowe to sing (Burney, 1776–89: vol ii 1011).⁵³

The origins of Cuper's Gardens go back to one Boydell Cuper who rented some land in the parish of Lambeth on the south side of the Thames opposite Somerset House, which he opened as a pleasure garden some time about 1691 or earlier (Wroth, 1979: 247–57). The gardens and the attached waterside tavern gained some popularity during the first third of the eighteenth century but increased in prominence when they were taken over in 1738 by Ephraim Evans who improved the gardens, built a 'new Orchestra, erected in a magnificent Manner in the modern Architecture, different from, and superior to any other yet erected; with a large fine Organ fixed therein, by Mr. Bridge.' He employed a 'Band of Musick, inferior to none', which performed every evening from six o'clock, until ten (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 4 April 1740). After Evans' death in October 1740, management of the tavern and gardens was taken over by his widow, and for the next dozen years Cuper's Gardens flourished under the leadership of 'The Widow Evans', being especially famed for its fireworks.⁵⁴

In 1733 James Lacy (patentee of Drury Lane Theatre) and Solomon Rietti purchased Ranelagh house and its grounds for the sum of £3,200 with the aim of making Ranelagh into a place of public amusement (Forsyth, 1985: 49; Sands, 1946;

⁵¹ By 1745, the concerts had moved to a slightly later starting time of six o'clock (*General Advertiser* 19 August 1745).

⁵² Reference is always to a 'Band' or 'Band of Musick' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 May 1736; *Daily Post* 29 March 1737; *Daily Post* 29 April 1744; 27 April 1745).

⁵³ The singers are first mentioned in the last week of the season (*General Advertiser* 19 August 1745).

⁵⁴ Mrs Evans had a canal dug for the 1742 season from which 'Water Fire-works' could be exhibited (*Daily Post* 6 May 1742).

Wroth, 1979: 199–218). A magnificent circular amphitheatre, later called the Rotunda, was built in the grounds for the considerably delayed opening in April 1742. This and other work in the grounds was financed by the issuing of thirty-six shares in the venture to the value of £1,000 each;⁵⁵ the principal shareholder and manager until his death in 1777 was Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., M.P. Ranelagh quickly became fashionable: in 1744 Horace Walpole wrote that it had: ‘totally beat Vauxhall. ... Nobody goes anywhere else; everybody goes there. ...you can’t set your foot without treading on a Prince of Wales or Duke of Cumberland’ (Letter of Horace Walpole to Conway, 29 June 1744; quoted in (Wroth, 1979: 200)). The Rotunda was often open in February or even earlier for breakfasting and dances (*London Evening Post* 17 and 22 February 1743), but the season proper began later. In 1743 a single pre-season rehearsal of the music was held, but in 1748 a series of rehearsals was given in March. From 1747 onwards, morning concerts were given twice a week from mid March, but in 1750 they started as early as February. These morning concerts continued until the daily evening entertainments began in early May; subscriptions were available but were explicitly for the evening entertainments (*London Evening Post* 17 February 1743).

The manor of Ruckholt lay in the south and southeast of the parish of Leyton in Essex. The house that was to be opened to the public as Ruckholt House and Gardens in the eighteenth century was bought together with the manor by the Tylney family in 1731, who converted it into a public breakfasting house (Powell, 1973: 194–5). The first advertised season was in 1743, although Ruckholt is mentioned in advertisements for Mulberry Gardens in the previous year (*Daily Post* 2 and 5 August 1742). The house and gardens were open daily for the summer season from May until the end of August or even into September; however, when William Barton took over in 1748 he advertised that the House would be kept open all the year, with entertainments only during the summer season (*General Advertiser* 2 September 1748). Weekly concerts took place on Mondays both in the morning at nine or ten and in the afternoon at three or four from 1743. Frequent and detailed mention of refreshments in advertisements shows that this was also one of the primary means of generating income (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 16 June 1743 and *General Advertiser* 2 July 1744).

⁵⁵ The shares occasionally came onto the market (*London Evening Post* 23 and 25 May 1745).

Advertisements show that The Mulberry Gardens in Clerkenwell were open in July 1742 (*Daily Post* 28 July 1742) but no record of their earlier history can be traced (Wroth, 1979: 40–2). The Gardens were extensive with a large pond, gravelled walks and avenues of trees; the attractions offered for the summer season included a band of instrumental musicians, illuminations and firework displays, for which no admission was charged. In early August 1742 the proprietor announced that he had ‘erected two curious Pavillions, with sufficient Room to sit dry in case of Rain’ (*Daily Post* 5 August 1742), but later in the month, the evenings growing cool he ‘prepar’d a most commodious long Room for the Entertainment of Company during the Winter Season’ (*Daily Post* 31 August 1742). Vocal music was added to the attractions in June 1743 (*Daily Advertiser* 28 June 1743). No advertisements appeared between 1745 and 1752 during which period the proprietor was probably one Mrs Bray, who died in 1752; nothing is known about the Gardens after this date.

The ‘Sir John Oldcastle’ was originally a wayside inn, but during the first half of the eighteenth century became a well-known tavern. It was in Cold Bath Fields on the west side of Coppice Row; the site can be found today on the west side of Farringdon Road covering what is now the north-eastern end of the Mount Pleasant Sorting Office (Wroth, 1979: 70–1). There were extensive gardens at the rear of the house ‘laid out in the Manner of Vaux-Hall’ and from 1743 to 1746 these were opened during the summer for evening entertainments by the proprietor, one G. Shemeld (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 27 June 1743).

A number of other wells, spas and pleasure gardens advertised occasional concerts but were not used regularly as concert venues (see Appendix J Section J.2).

7.2.4. Taverns

Whilst a number of taverns were used for occasional benefit and individual concerts, the ones that were in most frequent use were those which also acted as venues for concerts given by musical societies. The most prominent of the musical societies were the Academy of Vocal Music (later known as the Academy of Ancient Music) at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Arundel Street off the Strand (Forsyth, 1985: 39, 40 and fig. 2.14), the Castle Music Society at the Castle Tavern, Paternoster Row, and the Swan Society at the Swan Tavern (later the King’s Arms) in Exchange Alley, Cornhill.

However, concerts were also held by other less well-known musical societies such as those at the Buffalo Tavern in Bloomsbury Square, the Ship Tavern behind the Royal Exchange, the Apollo at Temple Bar in the Strand, and The Devil or Golden Lion and Devil Tavern at the Temple Bar in Fleet Street. The latter was also the venue for rehearsals for the regular performances of odes at Court for King George II's birthday and New Year's Day in the 1730s and 1740s. The Buffalo Tavern in Bloomsbury Square played host to celebrations for birthdays of the Duke and the Duchess of Bedford attended by their 'Tenants and Tradesmen', that for the Duchess in 1734 concluding with 'a very fine Concert of Musick performed by the best Masters' (*London Evening Post* 27 May 1732 and 3 August 1734). Entertainments advertised at the Roe Buck Tavern in Bow Lane, Cheapside between 1716 and 1718 were all celebrated by the 'Loyal Society at the Roe-Buck' in commemoration of such anniversaries as that of the birthday of the late King William, or the birthday, accession or coronation of King George I.

Table 7-4: Taverns as Concert Venues

Venue	Concert Advertisements Appear
Two Golden Balls, Great Hart Street, Covent Garden	1690–1721
Roe Buck (Roe Buck and Sun) Tavern, Bow Lane, Cheapside	1716–1718
(Mr Symonds's) Great Room (Assembly Room, Long Room), The King's Head, Enfield	1721–1732
Crown and Anchor Tavern, Arundel Street, Strand	1723–1746
Castle Tavern, Paternoster Row	1729–
Devil (Golden Lion and Devil) Tavern, Temple Bar, Fleet Street	1731–
Swan Tavern (later King's Arms), Exchange Alley, Cornhill	1733–
Apollo, Temple Bar, Strand	1736–1747
Castle Tavern, Richmond	1738
Castle Tavern, Drury Lane	1743–1744
Ben Johnson's Head, Little Britain	1743
Buffalo Tavern, Bloomsbury Square	1744–
Fountain Tavern, Ludgate Hill	1747
Ship Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange	1750–

For some taverns only a single concert advertisement survives (see Appendix J Section J.3).

7.2.5. Livery Company Halls

The livery companies of the City of London had their origins in the medieval guilds or fraternities which controlled the way in which trade was conducted. Most livery companies had their own hall in which to held meetings of their members and which the company would also hire out for various purposes not linked to company activities. Of these, only Stationer’s Hall in Ave Maria Lane off Ludgate was used with any frequency as a concert venue, being the venue for annual concerts on St Cecilia’s day, November 22, as well as other concerts. In March 1718 the Lord Mayor of London forbade the holding of concerts in public halls in the City, as is made clear by a series of advertisements either cancelling concerts or announcing their move to other venues at short notice (*Daily Courant* 3, 4 and 5 March 1718).

Table 7-5: Livery Company Halls as Concert Venues

Venue	Concert Advertisements Appear
Stationers' Hall, near Ludgate	1697–1744
Girdlers' Hall, Basinghall Street	1703–1713
Coachmakers' Hall, Foster Lane, Cheapside	1711
Wax Chandlers' Hall, Gutter Lane	1711
Pewterers' Hall, Lime Street	1711
Clothworkers' Hall, Mincing Lane	1711–1713
Plasterers' Hall, Addle Street, Wood Street	1714–1731
Leathersellers' Hall, Bishopsgate Street	1717
Haberdashers' Hall, Maiden Lane	1718
Merchant Taylors' Hall, Threadneedle Street	1719–1729

7.2.6. Other Venues

7.2.6.1. Churches

As might be expected the majority of concerts taking places in churches were in support of charities of one sort or another. The annual feast of the Corporation for the

Sons of the Clergy was always preceded by a service at which music played an important part. Those holding tickets for the feast were allowed entrance to the Choir of St Paul's Cathedral where the service took place during the eighteenth century;⁵⁶ a collection for the charitable purposes of the Corporation was taken in addition. Moreover, performance of the music for the service became such a popular event that the rehearsal, also held at St Paul's, was opened to the public and advertised along with the feast and service itself, with a collection being taken for the charity.

Founded by Thomas Coram in 1739, The Foundling Hospital, properly the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children, was situated in Lamb's Conduit Fields. From 1749 onwards, the chapel became the venue for an annual grand benefit concert in aid of the foundation, at which Handel directed performances of his own works from 1749 until his death. In 1750, he donated an organ to the Chapel and opened it with a special performance of Messiah which proved so popular that it had to be repeated (*General Advertiser* 4 May 1750).

However, concerts held in churches were not restricted solely to charitable events: for instance, concerts were held to promote the drawing of a lottery in November and December 1699 at the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel, Little Weld Street (*The Post Man: and Historical Account* 17 November, 2 and 5 December 1699; *Flying Post: or the Post Master* 2 and 5 December 1699).

7.2.6.2. Dancing Schools

It has been noted earlier that Hickford's premises in James Street/Panton Street were presumably used as a dancing school before they came to be associated with concert giving. A series of other dancing schools were also used for concerts on a much less frequent basis, possessing as they must have the prime qualification for a concert venue: a large room (see Appendix J Section J.4).

7.2.6.3. Schools and Music Schools

The earliest advertised concerts were held in private houses some of which may also have been functioning as music schools; the term 'Musick School' is associated

⁵⁶ Information about the earliest locations for the service is unclear, but it is likely that it returned to St Paul's soon after the new cathedral was opened for services in December 1697 (Sanders, 1956). Advertisements for the event are to be found in 1719 and regularly from 1731 onwards.

with concerts advertised by John Banister at his various residences in the 1670s. For his first advertised location, it is obvious that this was also his residence: ‘Mr. John Banisters House, now called the Musick-School’ (*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672, see Figure 4-1). When he moved, he used the description again for his new house: ‘At Mr. John Bannister's house in Shandois-street, Covent garden, called the Musick-School’ (*London Gazette* 25 November 1675). Banister’s concert advertisements at two subsequent locations — ‘at the Academy in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields’ (*London Gazette* 11 December 1676) and ‘at the Musick School in Essex Buildings’ off the Strand (Rowe, 1959) (*London Gazette* 18 November 1678) — do not indicate that these were also his place of residence, but this may well have been the case.

Mr Clark’s School in Paul’s Alley near St Paul’s Churchyard, and Loe’s School in Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, were each advertised as the venue for a single concert. The Academy in Chancery Lane was the venue for a number of concerts in 1713, 1714 and 1715 while it was associated with the name of “Mr. Caverley”; concerts held in 1718 and 1732 no longer mention Mr Caverley.

7.2.6.4. Private Houses

While a great number of private concerts were undoubtedly held in private houses, a few public concerts for which admission was charged were advertised in the newspapers as being held in private houses or lodgings, usually those belonging to a musician who was involved in the concert. Most of these were only used for a very few concerts, but some were used more frequently. One Mr Hugh held weekly concerts at his house in Freeman's Court in Cornhill on Wednesday evenings from 8 January 1690 ‘and so to continue every Wednesday for the future’ (*London Gazette* 6 January 1689/90). The German lutenist, violinist and composer, Johann Sigismund Weiss held a series of sixteen weekly concerts held on Wednesdays between 12 February 1718 and 18 June 1718; all but the last were given at his house in Park Place. A range of other residences were used for two or fewer concerts over the period (see Appendix J Section J.5).

7.3. Location

The previous section has illustrated the large number and wide range of venues which were used for concerts in the period under study. In addition, a consideration of the location of concert venues also allows one to ascertain how the incidence of concerts varied over space: how concert locations might have changed over time and how those locations related to the accessibility of concerts to various types of consumers. The first consideration is whether venues were concentrated in any particular part of the metropolis and what this might tell us about the potential audience.

At the Restoration in 1660, London was essentially a medieval town of wooden buildings surrounded by a city wall (McKellar, 1999: 12). According to Finlay and Shearer's (1986) analyses, London's population grew from 375,000 in 1650 to 490,000 in 1700, but did so in an uneven manner. The population in the old area of the City within the walls remained relatively stable while that of London as a whole increased fourfold. It was in the suburbs north of the river that the greatest expansion occurred, until by 1700 the population living here was over three times that of residents in the City proper.

The majority of the development was to the west of the City, a direction which had always been favoured as a location for exclusive housing: the land here was higher and better drained, the prevailing westerly wind blew noxious fumes to the east, and the river also carried sewage and rubbish eastwards to the sea (Brett-James, 1935; McKellar, 1999). According to Brett-James, westward growth between 1660 and 1700 saw changes in the Strand, the growth of Westminster, St James's, St Giles's, Soho and the area to the north of Holborn. Another district which saw development was to the north, again a neighbourhood considered healthy and airy, and developments in Bloomsbury and Lamb's Conduit Fields were still continuing in the 1720s.

Stone (1980) is of the opinion that the expansion of the western suburbs took place due to the increased demand for upper-class housing in the late seventeenth century, which arose from a huge expansion in the numbers of the gentry, an increasing professional class, and a growing trend for both to live in London. The professional class lived in London permanently, while the gentry were spending longer periods in London than they had earlier in the seventeenth century, for reasons of business, politics, law and for the social season.

In his *Survey of London*, Strype (1720) described London as being divided into four main parts:

the City of London within the Walls and Freedom, which is inhabited by wealthy Merchants and Tradesmen, with a Mixture of Artificers, as depending on Trade and Manufacture. Secondly, The City or Liberty of Westminster, and the adjacent Parts, which are taken up by the Court and Gentry, yet not without a mixture of eminent Tradesmen and Artificers. Thirdly, That Part beyond the Tower... Eastward to Blackwall. Which [is] chiefly inhabited by Seafaring Men.... And, Fourthly, Southwark, which... is generally inhabited and fitted with Tradesmen, Artificers, Mariners, Water-men, and such as have their Subsistence by and on the Water.

Other contemporary writers, such as Fiennes (Morris, 1995), Defoe (1724-27) and Addison (1712), also differentiated between the City with its links to trade and money, and Westminster with its long-standing connection to King and Court. Thus, Westminster and the newer suburbs of the West End and Bloomsbury were considered more exclusive than the City and developments in the East End or Southwark.

The venue for Banister's first concerts was his own house, 'now called the *Musick-School*; over against the *George Tavern in White Fryers*'. The George Tavern was in Dogwell Court, a short passage connecting Lombard Street (now Lombard Lane) with Temple Mews (now Bouverie Street). Whitefriars, within the walls of the City, is the location for Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) and it was at the time a sanctuary for persons liable for arrest and thus a far from salubrious area. Banister did not remain at this location for his concerts, but moved several times, going both further west and north: in January 1675 to Shandois [Chandos] Street, Covent Garden; in December 1676 to the Academy in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields; and finally in November 1678 to 'the Musick School in Essex Buildings, over against St. Clements Church in the Strand' (*London Gazette* 25 November 1678). Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields were among areas which had been developed in the period before the Restoration, while the Strand was developed soon after it; indeed the Essex Buildings area was developed in the mid to late 1670s and would have been comparatively new when Banister moved there (Rowe, 1959). None of these is in such a dubious area as Whitefriars, but neither were they in the more distinguished areas of Westminster and the West End (see Figure 7-1).

As concerts started to be held more regularly from the 1690s onwards, an increasing number and range of venues was used, as has been seen in section 7.2, and some of these were now located in the more fashionable West End (see Figure 7-1 and Figure 7-2). An examination of the location of concert venues over time shows an extension continuing further west and north, but it is also accompanied by a spread eastwards into the City proper with concerts being held in at the Livery Company halls or at City taverns (see Figure 7-2). However, the main focus was definitely shifting westwards to venues such as York Buildings at the western end of the Strand, Hickford's premises in Panton Street and Brewer Street, and to the patent theatres in Covent Garden, the Haymarket and Drury Lane. These venues together made up a cultural area in London designed to appeal to the wealthier residents, and where high prices could be charged for a diverse range of evening entertainments. These cultural venues were well located, being in close proximity both to their potential consumers so that they were easy to reach, and to other venues of the same kind so that the synergising effect might help to increase attendance (Colbert, 2007: 213–8).

As might be expected, the wells and pleasure gardens were not to be found in these built-up areas. Well resorts, perforce, could only be located where suitable medicinal drinking waters had been discovered and where there was room to develop the associated buildings. In London, such waters were located in the north at Sadler's Wells, south of the river at Lambeth Wells, and in more outlying areas such as Richmond and Hampstead.⁵⁷ Pleasure gardens also tended to be found in the less crowded or built-up locations on London's peripheries: Marylebone Gardens in the as yet undeveloped area to the north west now known as Marylebone, Mulberry Gardens and Sir John Oldcastle's to the north in Clerkenwell, Vauxhall and Cuper's Gardens in Lambeth south of the river, Ranelagh in Chelsea to the west, Ruckholt far to the east in Leyton, Essex.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The latter two locations are too far out of the centre to be shown in Figure 7-1 and Figure 7-2.

⁵⁸ This location is too far out of the centre to be shown in Figure 7-1 and Figure 7-2.

Figure 7-1: Main London Concert Venues 1672–1750 (by Type)

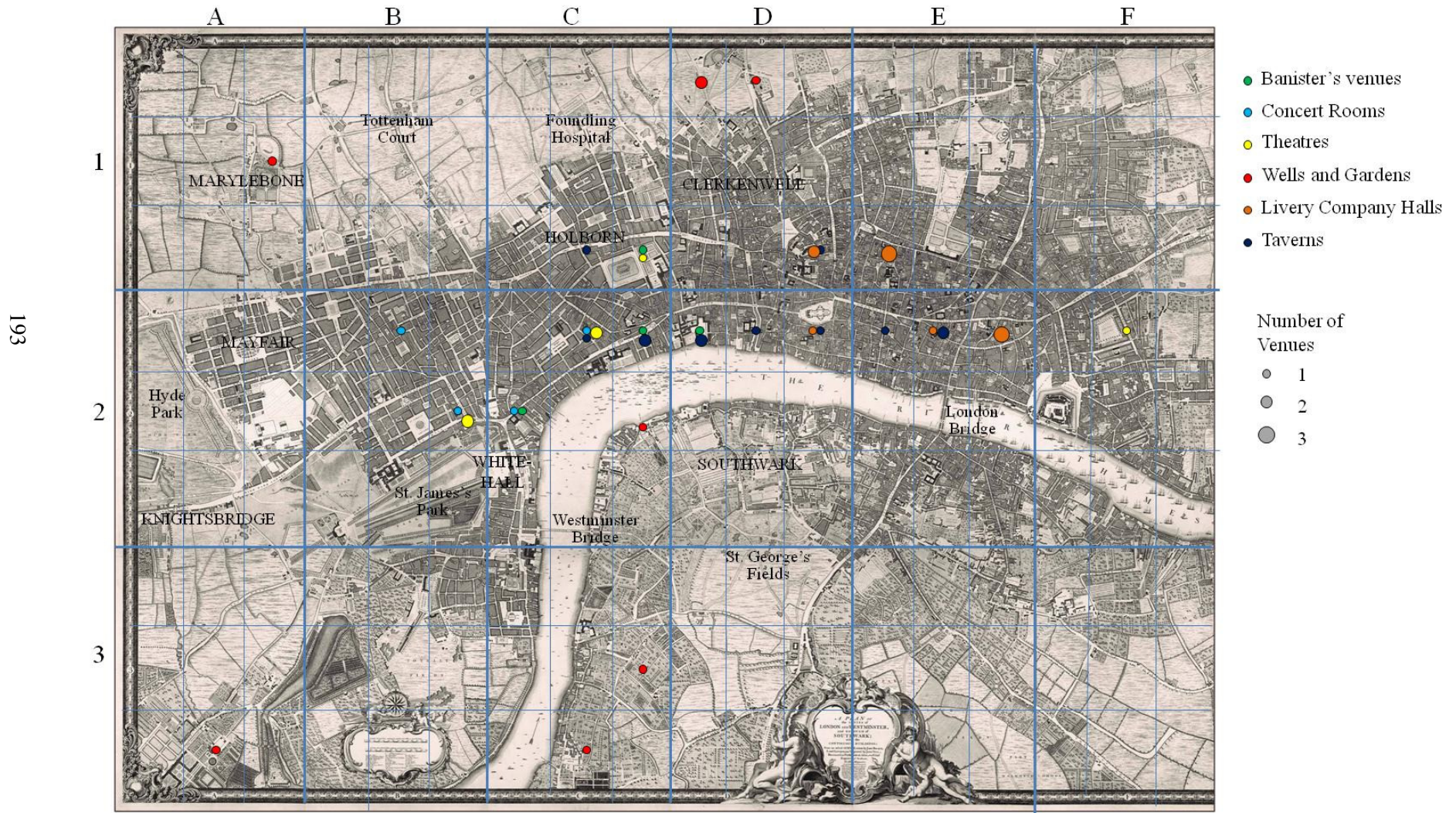
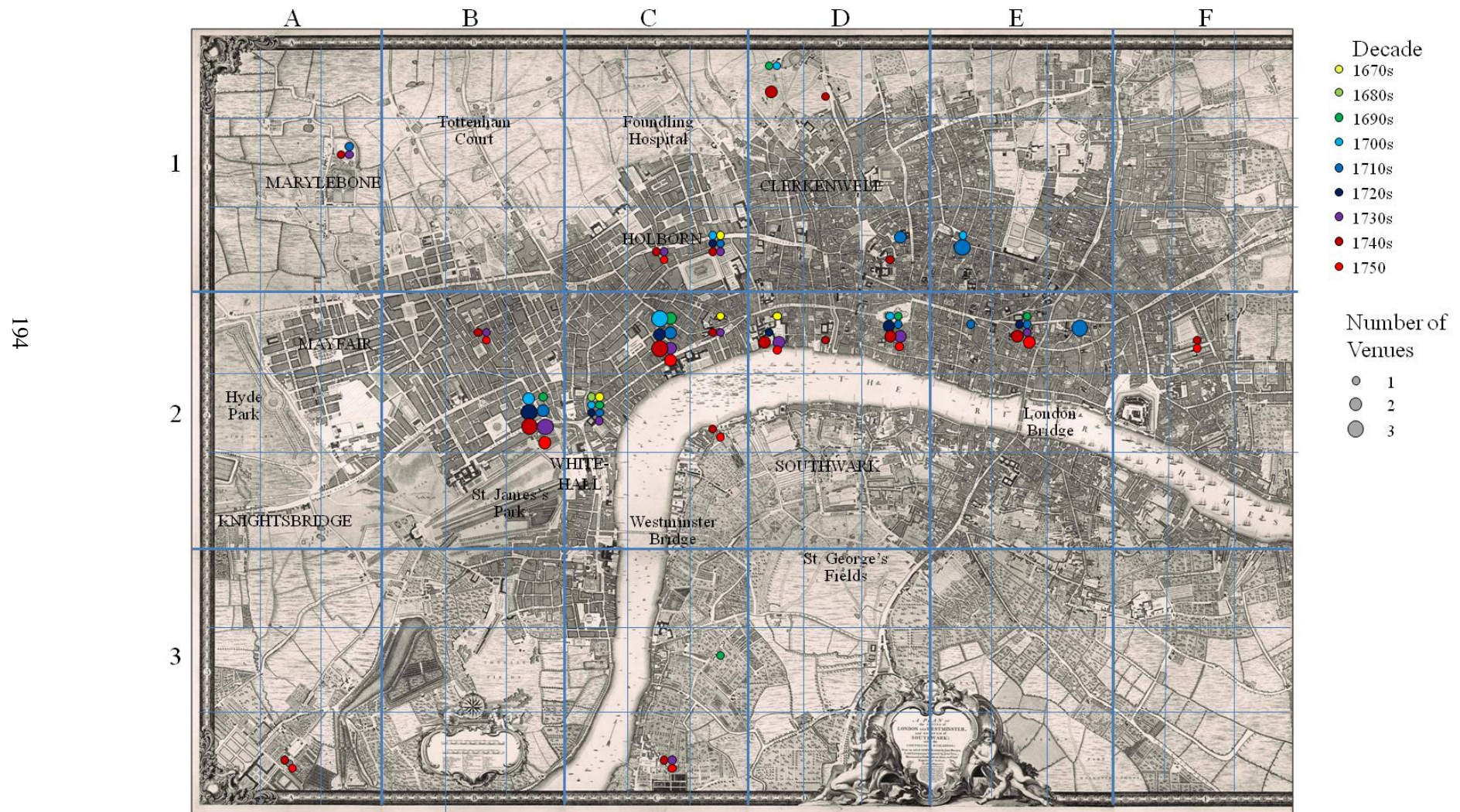


Figure 7-2: Main London Concert Venues 1672–1750 (by Decade)



7.4. Transport

In most concert advertisements, there is little information about how attendees were expected to travel to the venue. Most venues were within easy reach and attendees would walk, hire a hackney carriage or use their own, or be carried in a sedan chair. The following advertisement was careful to give information about access to Hickford's in Panton Street/James Street, so that attendees would know how to direct their coachman or chair.

N.B. Coaches and Chairs may come into James-street, or into Panton-street, there being a Passage into the Room both ways.
(*Daily Courant* 9 February 1719)

For 'the Great Room adjoining to the Castle-Tavern, Drury-Lane'

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)

For more out-of-the way or difficult to reach venues such as the pleasure gardens, concert promoters were at times careful to give details about the phase of the moon, the tide on the Thames or other travel directions which would make it easier for those attending. The following advertisement was for a concert given by John Abell in 'Honour of the Queen's Coronation' at 'the Royal College of Chelsea':

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.
(*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702)

For a concert at Richmond Wells: 'Note, The Tide will serve to come back the same Evening' (*Daily Courant* 19 July 1711) and later 'N.B. There are made a commodious Pair of Stairs for the Convenience of the Company that come by Water' (*Daily Post* 2 June 1722). For the those worried about travelling to such a far-flung destination as Ruckholt House in Leyton: 'N.B. The Marshes are in good Order' (*General Advertiser* 22 June 1745); and in an advertisement for Belsize House in Hampstead: '... for the Safety of the Company, there will be a Dozen Horsemen compleately armed to guard the Roads, to prevent the Insults of Highwaymen and Footpads' (*Daily Post* 9 February 1722).

7.5. Size and Layout

The location of Banister's first concerts, the Musick School opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars, is described by North as being 'a large room' with 'a large raised box for the musicians, whose modesty required curtaines. The room was rounded with seats and small tables alehouse fashion...' (Wilson, 1959). However, we have no detail about its dimensions, the number of performers nor the size of audience it could contain.

Some details are known about the size and layout of the four concert rooms which became popular later. If, as seems likely, the York Buildings Room was the one taken over in 1712 by the essayist Richard Steele for his 'Censorium' then it is described in an advertisement when it was to be let in 1724:

To be LET,

The GREAT ROOM in Villars-street, York-Buildings, 32 Foot, 4 Inches long, 31 Foot 6 broad, 21 Foot high,... 4 Rows of Seats round the Room, stuff'd and cover'd with green Bayes, and rail'd in with Iron; besides an Alcove rais'd four Foot, with a Semicircle of Seats, and stands for Musick, 15 Foot, 9 deep, and 17 Foot in Diameter, towards the Room, a Gallery over-against the Alcove, handsomely rais'd with Iron...

(Daily Post 10 August 1724)

The room was remodelled at various times for the various purposes to which it was put. The majority of concert performances specify only a single price for tickets (where one is specified at all), but for a series of variety performances in July 1703 the promoter William Penkethman mentions that he has 'taken care to provide places for Persons of Quality at Five Shillings each, and the lower at half a Crown.' and the room was remodelled with 'a Stage built for the Performers' (*Daily Courant* 22, 24, 26 and 29 July 1703). According to Bishop George Berkeley, who saw Steele's preparations for his Censorium, the room was then to have 'seats for a company of 200 persons of the best quality and taste' ((Rand, 1914) quoted in (Loftis, 1950)). For a play given in August 1731, ticket prices are given for boxes, pit and gallery (*Daily Post* 20 August 1731), and in the following year for a front gallery, pit and side gallery (*Daily Post* 29 November 1732). It is possible that this reflects a remodelling of the room to provide accommodation in boxes (Scouten, 1968: xxxiii). It is only from 1734 onwards that boxes and pit are occasionally mentioned in concert advertisements.

For the Vendu we have little beyond a report in 1691 that:

The great Room next Bedford-Gate in Charles-street, Covent-Garden, being now Enlarging to a far greater Dimension for the Convenience of Mr. FRANK's and Mr. KING's Musick ; There will be soon held an Auction of more valuable Paintings than the last, and will be continued this Winter.

(*London Gazette* 17 September 1691)

For Hickford's Room when in Panton Street/James Street we have no information on the size or layout of the room. However, an advertisement for a subscription series to be held in 1729 mentions that no more than 200 tickets would be issued but it is not clear whether this means 200 tickets in total, 200 subscription tickets, each of which would also allow purchase of two 'Ladies' tickets, giving a total of 600, or whether it means 200 'Ladies' tickets in addition to the non-specified number of subscribers (*Daily Post* 3 December 1728). About the Brewer Street Room we know far more, as it was not demolished until 1934. The concert room was built out at the back of the house itself with a staircase in the hall of the house giving access to a small gallery (Harrison, 1906; Elkin, 1955: 44–9; Harrison, 1909; Sheppard, 1963: 121–4); it was 49 feet long, 29 feet wide and 23 feet high inclusive of the coving and Forsyth (1985) postulates a capacity of 300 seats. In the south wall there were three tall round-arched windows under which was a low platform where the performers could sit or stand. There were also windows at the north end where the shallow gallery projected. The long walls were interrupted only by a large fireplace in the centre of the east side. As well as the main entrance in Brewer Street, there was also a back door leading into Windmill Street (now Great Windmill Street), where concert-goers were asked to order their sedan chairs to wait (Elkin, 1955: 44-5) (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 13, 16, 17 and 19 March 1739, 27 March 1740; *Daily Post* 27 March 1740).

Precise figures for the capacity of theatres are difficult to determine during the period as individual seats were only to be found in the boxes. Elsewhere seating was on benches, and the exact capacity would depend both on how many people could be fitted onto a bench and how many benches were squeezed in (Milhous and Hume, 1997: 56). Attendance records can give some indication of the possible capacity, but extra seating could have been placed on the stage and backstage space for special occasions, or particular kinds of performances such as oratorios which did not require so much stage accommodation. However, theatres tended to be much larger than the concert rooms discussed above; even the original converted tennis court theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields

was approximately 75 feet in length and 30 feet wide (Hotson, 1928: 123-5; Leacroft, 1988: 80; Scanlan, 1956: 11). Based on these dimensions the capacity of the auditorium has been estimated at 352–400 with the possibility of accommodating 500–600 if there were two galleries. The newly-built theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields was larger, being some 56 feet by 100 feet, and may have seated as many as 1,400 in boxes, pit and two galleries; however this would probably have been an absolute maximum with the audience crammed in at some expense to their comfort (Langhans, 1980: 45; Avery, 1968: xxxiii-xxxiv).

There is no evidence that the first Drury Lane theatre was used as a venue for concerts (Leacroft, 1988: 80-3). The second Drury Lane theatre was a rectangular building slightly longer than its predecessor at 112 feet long and 58 or 59 feet wide. Accommodation in pit and boxes with two galleries was sufficient for an audience of about 1000, although one of the largest recorded receipts seems to imply that 1400 could be squeezed in on occasion (Avery and Scouten, 1968: xlii-xliii; Avery, 1968: xxiv-xxv).

The Opera House in the Haymarket was larger than any other contemporary London theatre, being 130 feet long by 60 feet wide, however this does not seem to have translated into a larger capacity. Attendance records for three performances in late 1710 and early 1711 show a capacity of at least 675, although later reports suggest that even at 900 the theatre was not crowded to its maximum (Avery, 1968: xxviii-xxix). Indeed advertisements for Farinelli's benefit in 1735 state that 'a Contrivance will be made to accommodate 2,000 People' (*Daily Advertiser* 13 March 1734); a more normal capacity was probably not much in excess of 1400 (Scouten, 1968: xx).

Surviving advertisements for the Little Theatre in the Haymarket indicate that accommodation was offered in pit, boxes and a single gallery giving a capacity that has been estimated at 450 to 500, although an enlargement of the gallery in 1744 would have increased this somewhat and certainly by 1752 it could seat 650 (Hume, 1988: 54–5; Milhous, 2003; Scouten, 1968: xx).

Exact figures on the seating capacity of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden are not available, but information from a series of account books has resulted in estimates of between 1300 and 1400 as a maximum (Scouten, 1968: xxxi-xxxii). These figures are confirmed by a report on a performance of Handel's *Alexander's Feast* at Covent

Garden in February 1736 where it is declared that ‘Never was upon the like Occasion so numerous and splendid an Audience at any Theatre in London, there being at least 1300 Persons present’ (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 20 February 1736). As was usual, seating was available in pit and boxes, with two galleries above.

The original Long Room at Hampstead Wells was large and splendid, being thirty-six wide by ninety feet long, with thirty feet partitioned off to serve as the pump room. It could accommodate ‘near Five hundred Persons’ (*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702) and was decorated with figures of the Muses between the long windows. The second Long Room was a substantial two-storey building of red brick. The majority of the ground floor was taken up by a single large room which could be used for dancing, balls, concerts and other entertainments; two small rooms on either side of the entrance were for smaller-scale entertainments such as card playing. The second floor was divided up into a number of rooms, again for cards or private suppers (Addison, 1951: 47–50; Hembry, 1990: 102–4; Wroth, 1979: 177–83).

Concerts at Vauxhall took place in an orchestra in the centre of the grove, the latter being a quadrangle of about five acres formed by several of the walks and surrounded by rows of supper boxes and pavilions decorated with paintings. The first orchestra was an open-fronted wooden structure whose roof was supported by eight Corinthian columns resting on bases connected by a simple balustrade. In 1736 a new orchestra, designed and built by a carpenter and mechanic named Maidman, was opened to the public (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 May 1736). It was large enough to contain fifty people in addition to the organ that was installed there the following year (*Daily Post* 29 March 1737). When the weather was inclement, concerts were relocated to the heavily decorated orchestra in the New Music Room, later known as the Rotunda, an elegant circular building, seventy feet in diameter. Southworth (1941: 43–45) provides a full description of the decoration of both orchestras and the Rotunda.

At Ranelagh the Rotunda was a mainly wooden building 555 feet in circumference with an internal diameter of 150 feet; it was entered via four evenly spaced Doric porticoes. An exterior arcade encircled the building and above it was a gallery reached by steps positioned at the porticoes. Inside a circle of fifty-two boxes separated by wainscoting ran around the wall of the building; each box could

accommodate seven or eight people and their refreshments. Above these boxes was a gallery containing another series of boxes which were entered by folding doors from the gallery outside. In the middle of the building, and supporting the ceiling, was an elaborate structure consisting of richly decorated pillars and arches within which the musicians played. However, the poor acoustic qualities of this arrangement eventually led to the relocation of the musicians to an orchestra built on the side of the Rotunda.⁵⁹

A review of the dimensions and capacity of concert venues (see Table 7-6) shows that while the patent theatres could accommodate large audiences, concert rooms such as York Buildings and Hickford's Room in Brewer Street were much smaller and the audiences here must thus have been much smaller and more select. Stationers Hall is comparable in size to the Tennis Court Theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields and may have been able to hold a similar size audience at the smaller figure listed without galleries. A large audience 'upwards of 1200 Persons of Distinction' is boasted of at the Foundling Hospital Chapel for Handel's concert there in May 1750 (*Whitehall Evening Post* 3 May 1750). An even larger audience is supposed to have graced an outdoor event held at Vauxhall Gardens in April 1749, though the figure given is probably an exaggeration:

Was performed at *Vauxhall Gardens* the rehearsal of the music for the fireworks,⁶⁰ by a band of 100 musicians, to an audience above 12,000 persons (tickets 2s 6d). So great a resort occasioned such a stoppage on *London-Bridge*, that no carriage could pass for 3 hours. — The footmen were so numerous as to obstruct the passage, so that a scuffle happen'd, in which some gentlemen were wounded.
(*Gentleman's Magazine* Vol 19 April 1749 p. 185)

⁵⁹ These could be the alterations that were advertised as having been made to the gardens and Rotunda for the 1743 season: *Daily Post* 22 February 1743. Alternatively they could have taken place for the 1748 season (see footnote 61 below).

⁶⁰ Handel's Music for the Royal Fireworks.

Table 7-6: Dimensions of Concert Venues

Venue	Length	Width	Height	Capacity
York Buildings	32' 4"	31' 6"	21'	200
Hickford's Brewer Street	49'	29'	23'	300
Stationers Hall	73' 5"	33'		350–400?
Lincoln's Inn Fields Tennis Court	75'	30'		352–400 (500–600 if 2 galleries)
Little Theatre, Haymarket				450–500
2nd Drury Lane	112'	58-59'		1,000–1,400
Theatre Royal, Covent Garden				1,300–1,400
2nd Lincoln's Inn Fields	56'	100'		1,400
Opera House, Haymarket	130'	60'		1,400
Long Room, Hampstead Wells	90'	36'		500
Crown and Anchor Tavern	81'	36'		
Foundling Hospital Chapel				1,200
Vauxhall Orchestra post 1736				50
Vauxhall Rotunda	70' diameter			
Ranelagh Rotunda	150' diameter			

7.6. Facilities

7.6.1. Decoration

Concert rooms were evidently decorated in a grand manner as befitted their status as resorts of the wealthy elite. An advertisement that appeared when the York Buildings Room was to be let in 1724 contains the following information:

To be LET,
The GREAT ROOM in Villars-street, York-Buildings,... the Sides and Roof adorn'd with Painting, Gilding, Pillars, Capitals, and other Decorations, 4 Rows of Seats round the Room, stuff'd and cover'd with green Bayes, and rail'd in with Iron...
(*Daily Post* 10 August 1724)

In Hickford's premises in Brewer Street there was an organ in situ at the very least during the spring of 1739, when advertisements for subscription and other concerts announced that organ concertos would be performed (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 1 and 9 February, 1 and 8 March 1739).

At Vauxhall, Maidman's new orchestra of 1736 was painted in white and bloom colour, it was decorated with elaborate carvings and surmounted by a plume of feathers

in honour of the Prince of Wales (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 May 1736).

Above the gallery in the Rotunda at Ranelagh were sixty windows and above this the ceiling, painted an olive colour, supported numerous chandeliers to supplement the light from the lamps in the boxes. The central area was mostly open so that patrons could stroll about or sit on one of the benches covered with red baize that were dispersed here and there. After the relocation of the orchestra to the side of the Rotunda, four fireplaces and a chimney were constructed within the central structure to warm the building on cold days.⁶¹ An organ by Byfield was set up behind the orchestra in 1746.

Stationers Hall featured carved oak panelling originating from the 1600s together with huge stained glass windows. At the south end a carved screen was surmounted by a minstrels' gallery, which may have been used for small bands or choirs. Merchant Taylors Hall was restored after being damaged in the Great Fire of London and was embellished with tapestries, stained glass windows, chandeliers and panelling.

7.6.2. Comfort

Keeping warm at certain venues was obviously a matter of concern. Venues which were more open to the elements, such as the Rotunda at Ranelagh often referred to keeping the venue warm at the colder ends of the summer season.⁶² However, even the more conventional indoor venues had at times to stress that they could be kept warm. For a St Cecilia's Day concert to be held at the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields on Thursday 22 November 1739, it was noted that 'Particular Preparations are making to keep the House warm; and the Passage from the Fields to the House will be cover'd for better Conveniency' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 15, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 22 November 1739).⁶³ Indeed 1739/40 was a notoriously cold winter: advertisements for three concerts held at Hickford's in Brewer Street in January 1740

⁶¹ The 1748 season was the first time that it is explicitly mentioned that the 'Amphitheatre is made warm': (*General Advertiser* 7 March 1748).

⁶² Frequent advertisements for concerts at Ranelagh in March/April 1748, November 1748, March and April 1749 refer to this.

⁶³ Concerts later in the month, and also in November 1740 contained similar advice: *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 26 and 27 November 1739; 7 and 8 November 1740.

also mention that the room would be kept warm (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 10, 11, 17, 18, 24 and 25 January 1740); and in the same year, following the postponement of a concert at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on 7 February, the following appears for a concert there on 14 February: 'Particular Care has been taken to have the House survey'd and secur'd against the Cold, by having Curtains plac'd before every Door, and constant Fires will be kept in the House 'till the Time of Performance' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 11 February 1740).

7.7. Ticket-Selling Outlets

As today, in the period under study there was a range of different locations where tickets for concerts could be obtained.⁶⁴ Not all concert promoters thought it necessary to include information about ticket-selling outlets on their advertisements: only 39.72% of concert advertisements gave details of where tickets might be bought; 18.92% mentioned a single ticket-selling outlet; 17.85% mentioned between two and five outlets, whilst the remaining 2.95% mentioned more than five outlets (see Figure 7-3). Looking at longitudinal development, we can see that the average number of ticket-selling outlets listed per advertisement increased over the period under study, from 0 in the 1670s, to 1.73 in the 1690s and 3.37 in 1750 (Figure 7-4). As time went by, concert organisers obviously realised that it was a good idea to make it easier for potential attendees to hear about a concert and obtain a ticket by increasing the number of outlets where they could be purchased.

⁶⁴ Full details of the ticket-selling outlets used for each concert venue are given in Appendix L.

Figure 7-3: Advertisements Containing Details of Ticket Selling Outlets

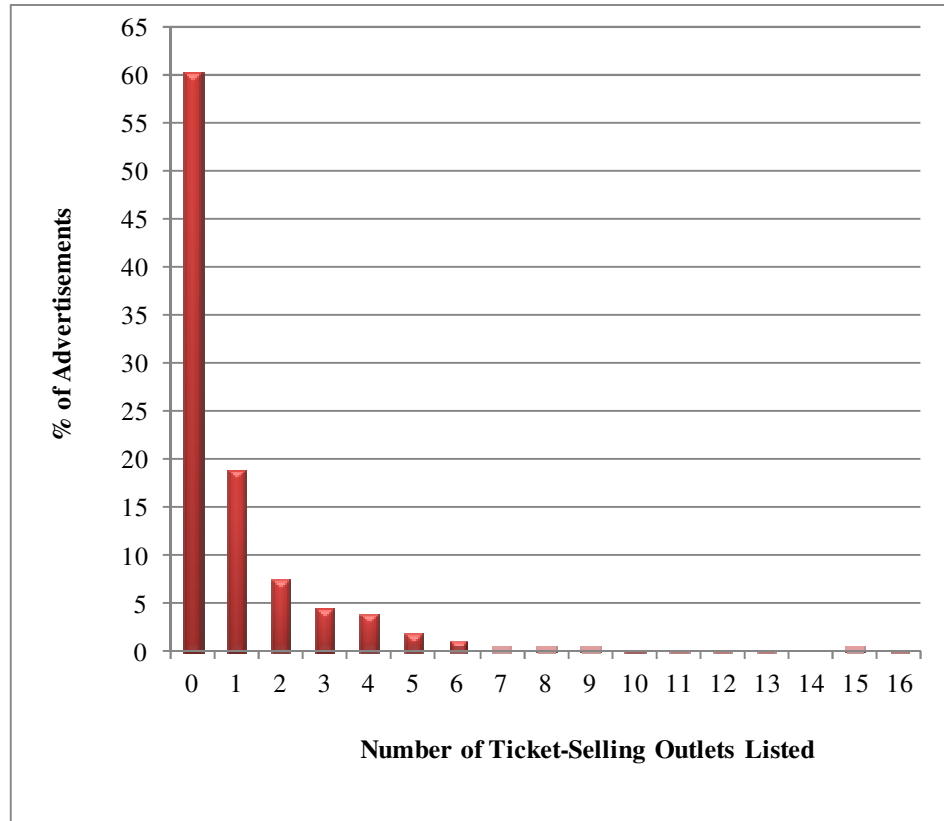
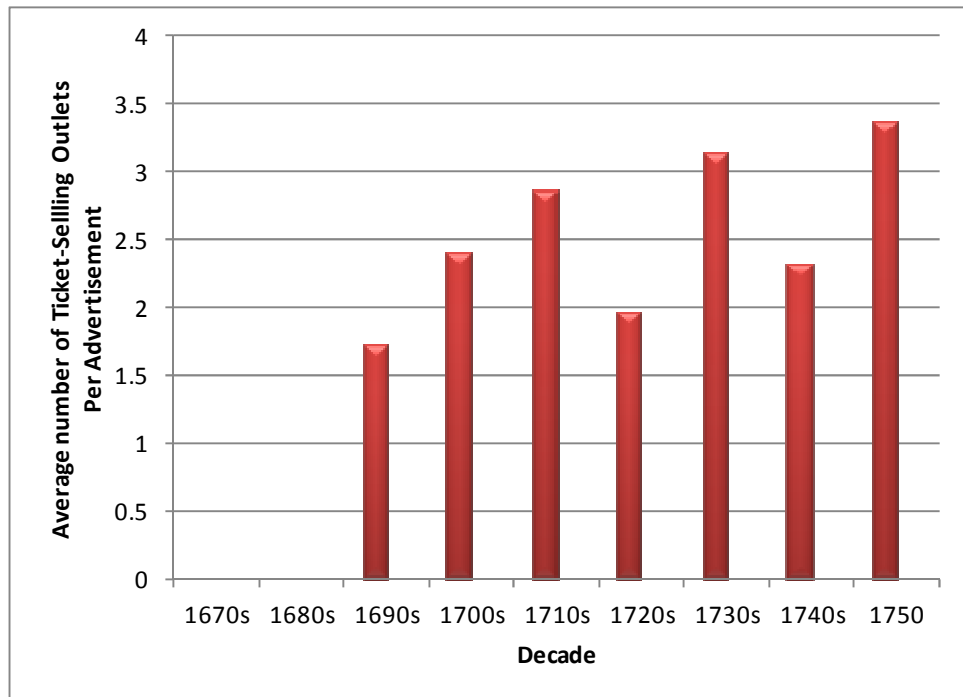


Figure 7-4: Average Ticket Selling Locations Per Advertisement, by Decade



7.7.1. Types of Ticket-Selling Outlets

Lacking our modern methods of easy communication, concert promoters in the period under study had to ensure that tickets were on sale in places where potential purchasers would be able to access them in the course of their daily activities. In excess of 650 different ticket-selling locations are mentioned in the advertisements which have been examined as part of this study. These can be grouped together into eight different categories (see Table 7-7). The most obvious place where tickets could be sold was the place where the concert was taking place and, indeed, many concert performance venues would sell tickets either in advance or on the door at the time of the performance. Contrary to what one might have expected, even where an advertisement only listed a single location where tickets might be bought, this was not always the place of performance, but it may have been that this was just taken for granted. Other popular places at which concert tickets could be obtained were coffee houses, taverns, and shops: the sorts of places people might visit as they went about their daily round. To a present-day concert-goer, the idea of buying a ticket for a concert at a private dwelling or someone's lodgings would seem very peculiar; however, it was obviously quite commonplace during the period under investigation. In most cases, the house or lodgings from which tickets could be obtained would be that of the musician who either benefited from the concert, or had made the arrangements for it to take place. In the case of child performers, the house or lodgings would normally be those of the parent.

Table 7-7: Categories of Concert Ticket-Selling Outlets

Category	Number Recorded
Coffee House	187
Tavern	102
Residence	100
Shop	96
Place of Performance	60
Chocolate House	14
Dancing School	2
School	1
Uncertain	97

An array of different shops sold concert tickets, and while music shops were not the only shops where one might buy a ticket, these together with bookshops were most frequently mentioned in advertisements as ticket selling locations (see Table 7-8). This

is not unexpected as there were close links between musicians, music shops, printers and bookshops, all of whom might share in the activity of printing and selling music and music books. The large number of toy shops which sold concert tickets is more surprising, but can perhaps be explained by the fact that in the period under study toyshops sold not only toys in the modern sense of the word, but also buttons, buckles and other small manufactured articles and trinkets; these were luxury goods and toyshops would thus only be visited by the relatively well-to-do (Defoe, 1726; Johnson, 1755; Mui and Mui, 1989: 221; Robinson, 1963). In fact, the majority of the types of shops listed below sold luxury goods at the more expensive end of the spectrum.

Table 7-8: Types of Shops Selling Concert Tickets

Type of Shop	Number
Books	26
Music	26
Toys	12
Unspecified	3
Goldsmith	2
Hosier	2
Linen	2
Perfumer	2
Snuff	2
Stationer	2
Watch	2
Wig	2
Brazier	1
Cabinetmaker	1
Draper	1
Drug	1
Food	1
Gloves	1
Joiner	1
Optician	1
Printer	1
Prints	1
Silk	1
Sword cutler	1
Upholder	1

Many ticket-selling outlets only appeared in advertisements for a small number of concerts,⁶⁵ but there were some which appeared more frequently (see Appendix N).

⁶⁵ Appendix M lists ticket-selling outlets and the venues for which they sold concert tickets, together with the dates of the concerts concerned.

These included many places of performance (PoP), but also coffee and chocolate houses, taverns and shops, most of the latter being music shops.

Some performance venues sold tickets for concerts to take place at other venues as well as at their own, examples of this are the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row which also sold tickets for Hickford's 41 Brewers Street, Stationers' Hall, Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre and York Buildings, Villiers Street; or the Swan Tavern in Exchange Alley which also sold tickets for Hickfords 41 Brewers Street, Stationers' Hall and the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row.

7.7.2. Location of Ticket-Selling Outlets

In an effort to ensure that tickets were on sale in places where potential purchasers would be able to access them in the course of their daily activities concert promoters used ticket-selling venues which might be geographically distributed around the City of London and Westminster. This spread of ticket selling outlets appears to have increased as time went on. Figure 7-5 shows the locations at which tickets were sold for concerts to take place in Hickford's Great Room in its first location in Panton Street/James Street, just off the Haymarket (shown by a yellow star in the figure). In the 1700s, tickets for concerts at this venue were advertised as being for sale at the place of performance and at only two other places, the Smyrna Coffee House in Pall Mall and White's Chocolate House in St James's Street, both of which were fairly close to Hickford's, being in an adjacent segment on Rocque's 1746 map of London, Westminster and Southwark (Hyde, 1981; Roque, 1746).⁶⁶ By the following decade, both the number and breadth of distribution of ticket-selling locations for concerts at Hickford's had increased: in addition to selling tickets at the place of performance, a further 22 ticket-selling outlets were used at some point in the 1710s.⁶⁷ The majority of these were coffee houses (13), together with three chocolate houses, a single tavern, a snuff shop, the residences of two musicians, and a further two addresses which may also

⁶⁶ Rocque's map consists of twenty-four sheets, in three rows of eight. They are referenced A-H horizontally and 1-3 vertically. Thus, sheet 2C is the third sheet from the left-hand side, second row from the top. Each sheet is divided into nine segments, three horizontally and three vertically; this is the same segmentation as used by Rocque for his original index (see Appendix K). Each segment is about a quarter of a mile wide and just under a third of a mile high. Thus, a concert venue and ticket-selling outlet in segments adjacent horizontally will be at most half a mile apart, while in segments adjacent vertically they will be at most just under two thirds of a mile apart.

⁶⁷ Full details of the ticket-selling outlets used for each concert venue are given in Appendix L.

be residences. In the 1730s, up to 1738 when Hickford moved to a different address, 38 different ticket-selling outlets were used in addition to selling at the place of performance, stretching from Grosvenor's Coffee House in Audley Street in the far west in what we would now call Mayfair, to the Newcastle Coffee House in Billingsgate to the east of London Bridge.

After Hickford's relocation to 41 Brewers Street, further to the west of the original position, the increase in number and breadth of distribution of ticket-selling outlets for concerts at the new venue continued with 50 different locations being used (see Figure 7-6), now extending to the far north of London with two outlets in Hampstead, which was not even included as part of London on Rocque's map.

Figure 7-5: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Hickfords, Panton Street/James Street, 1700s to 1738

209

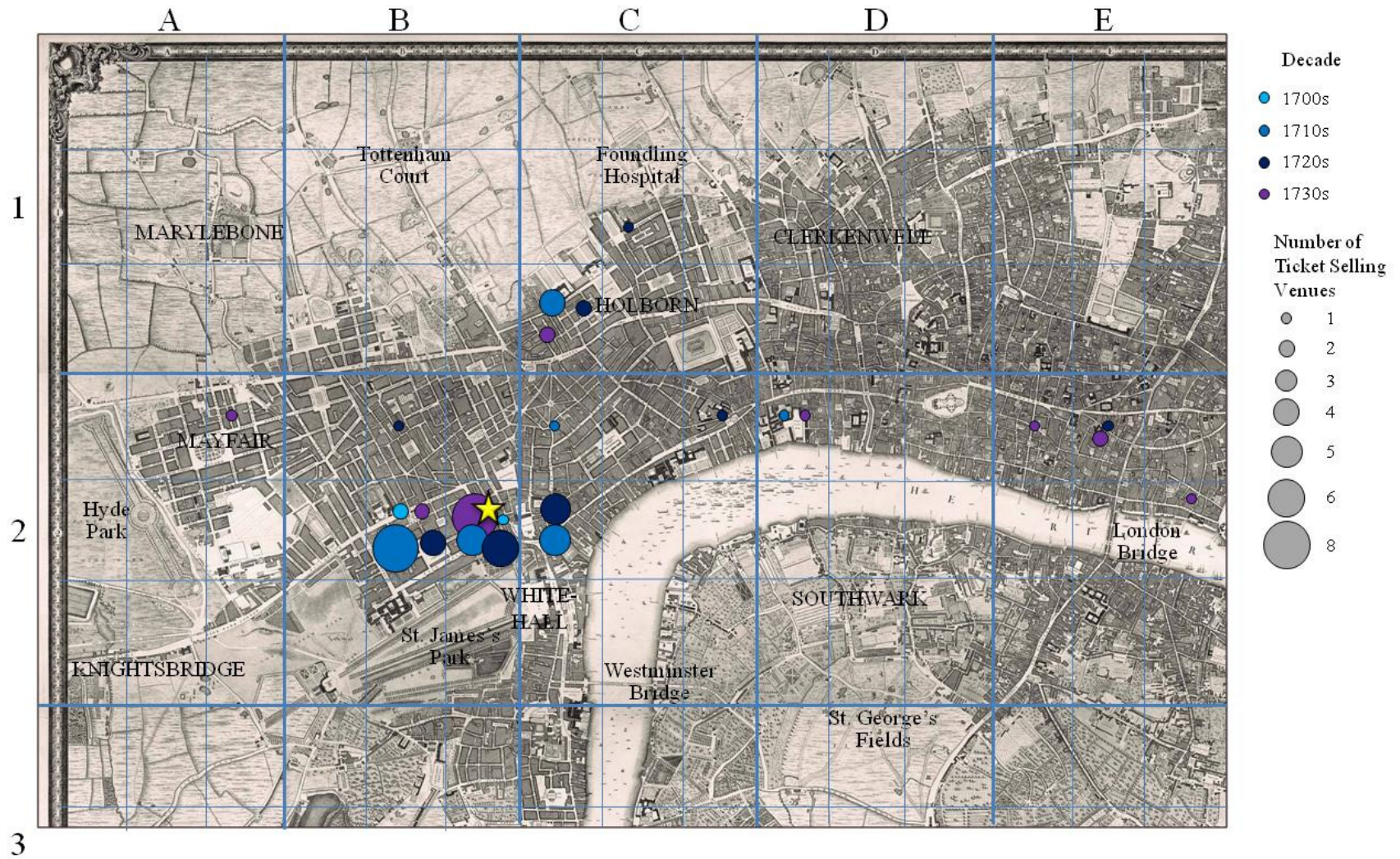
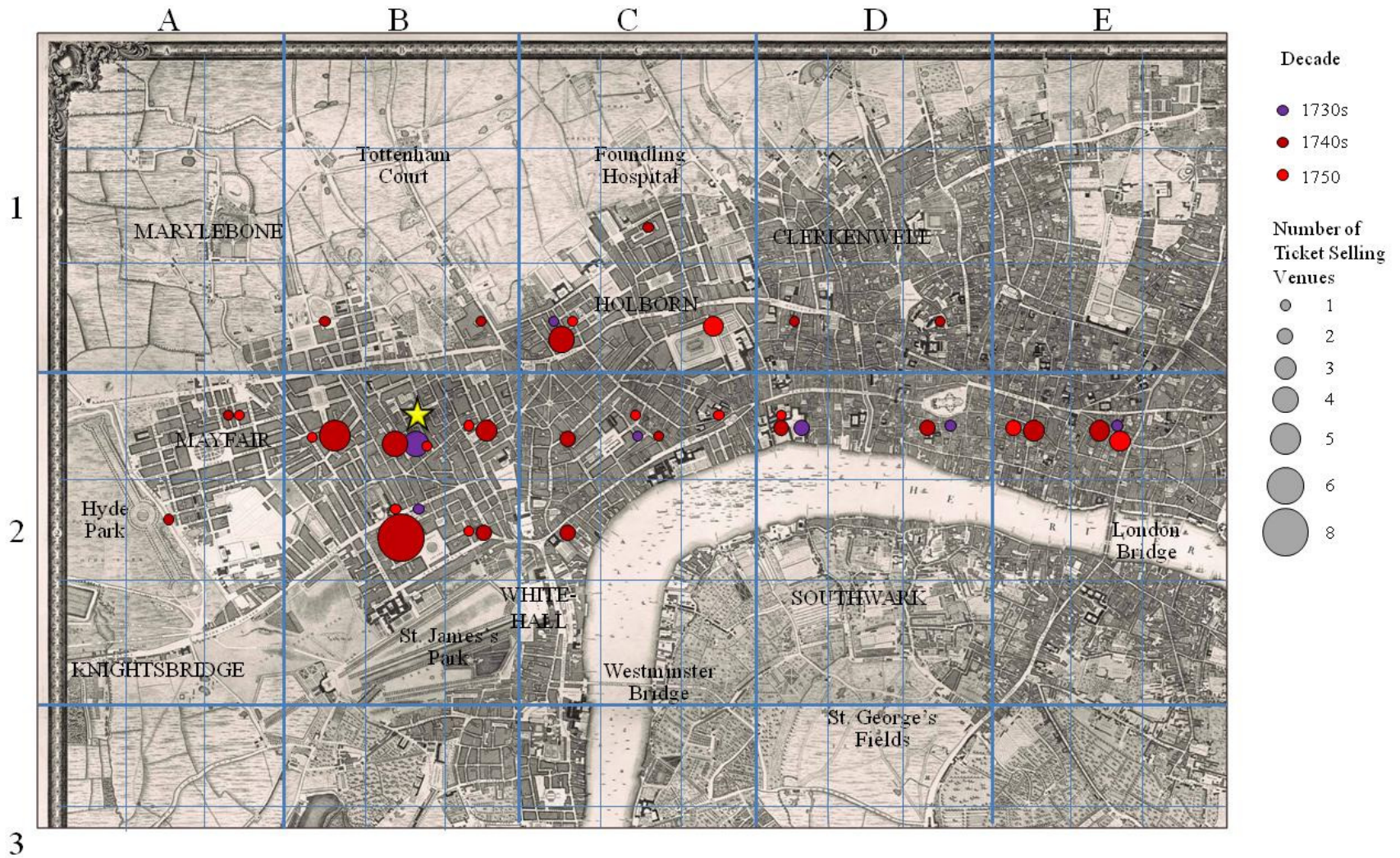


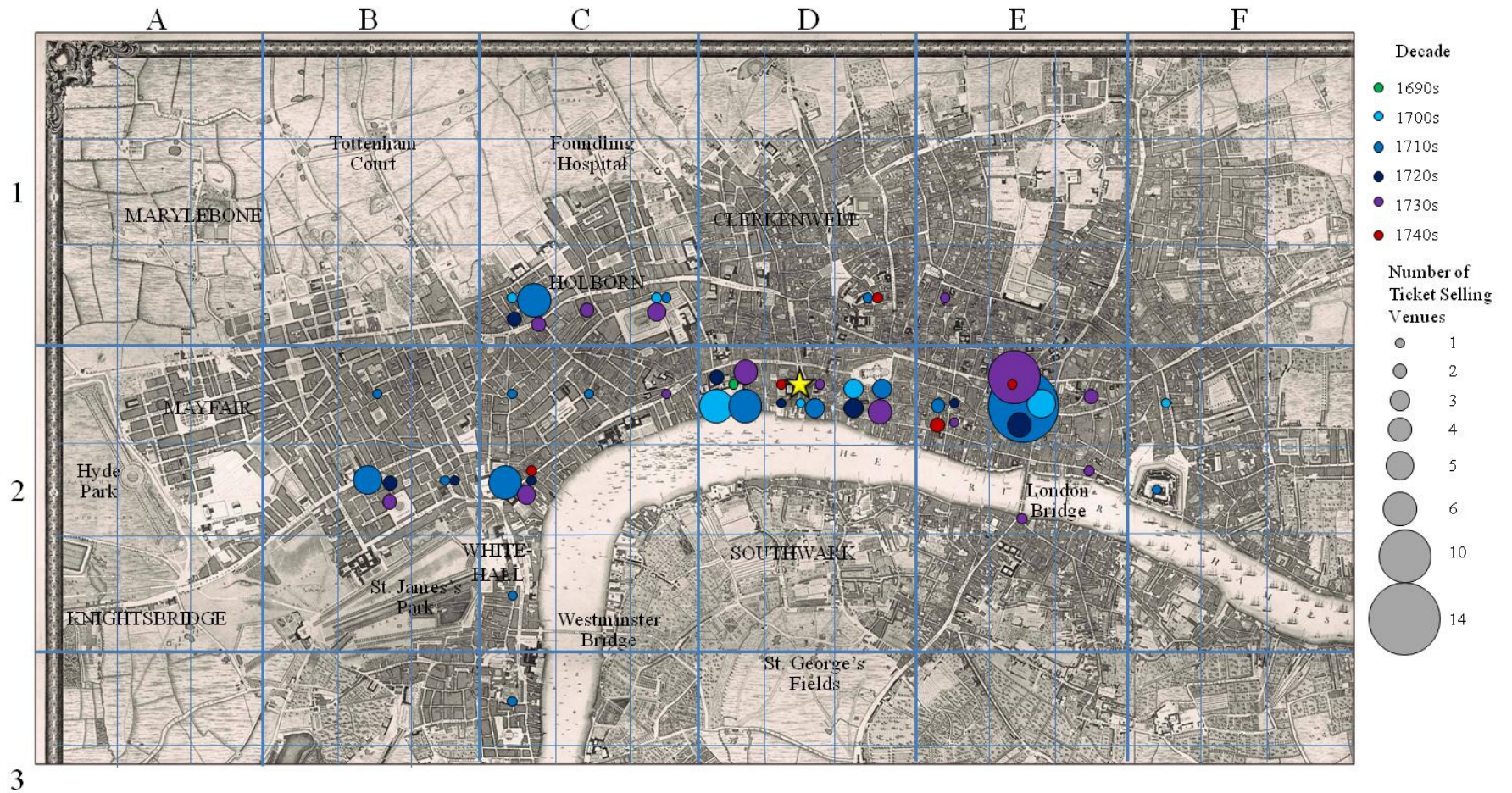
Figure 7-6: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Hickford's, Brewers Street, 1738 to 1750



In a similar way to Hickford's, Stationer's Hall, another popular venue just off Ave Maria Lane in the City of London, started by using ticket-selling outlets which were close by, but gradually extended both in number and geographical spread (see Figure 7-7). However, its highest concentration of ticket-selling outlets was further to the east than those of Hickford's, and it never penetrated the fashionable far western area surrounding Grosvenor Square. This would seem to imply that this venue was seeking or attracting a slightly different audience to that of Hickford's — one that was not so likely to include the fashionable elite living in the far West End; the difference in the standard price for the two venues strengthens this supposition (see section 8.2).

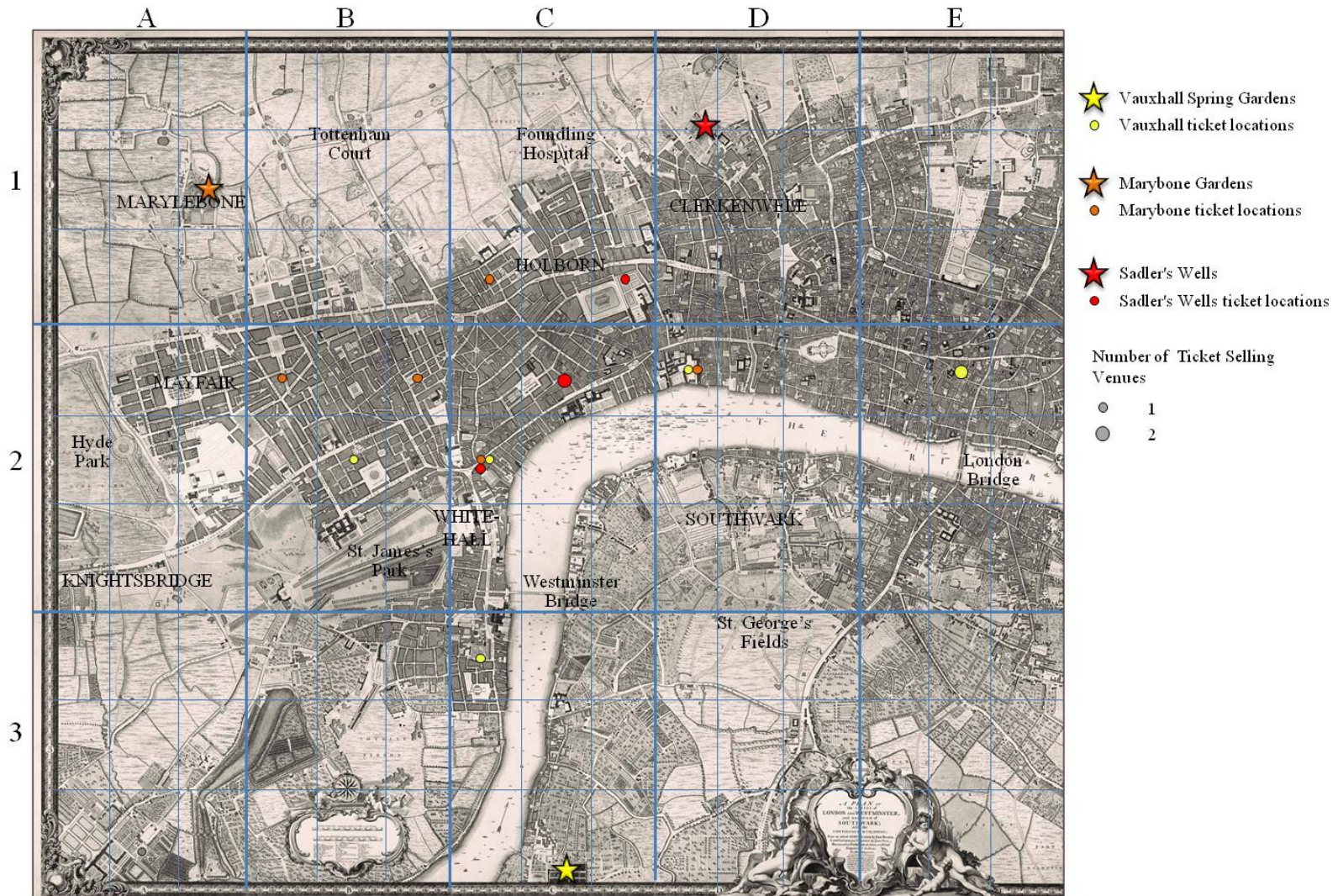
Turning to ticket selling-locations for concerts held at pleasure gardens and spa resorts or wells, such as Vauxhall Spring Gardens, Marylebone Gardens and Sadler's Wells, (see Figure 7-8), one can see a different pattern. Here there seem to be far fewer outlets and few are close to the concert venue apart from tickets sold at the place of performance. Venues for pleasure gardens and spa resorts tended to be on the peripheries of the metropolis and were thus not so close to where their potential audience lived; having numerous ticket-selling outlets close by would serve no purpose. Indeed, these leisure resorts were slightly different to other concert venues in that the concert was not the only entertainment on offer and attendance numbers were thus not limited by the number of seats. Also, from some references given within concert advertisements, it would seem that the concerts given at spa resorts and in pleasure gardens were more likely to be organised by their proprietors than by musicians. For these venues it might have seemed less important to have tickets available widely as it was less necessary to purchase a ticket in advance for a particular day and purchase of season tickets was also a possibility.

Figure 7-7: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Stationers' Hall, 1690s to 1740s⁶⁸



⁶⁸ No concerts were advertised at this venue between 2 February 1744 and the end of the period under study.

Figure 7-8: Ticket-Selling Locations for Concerts at Vauxhall Spring Gardens, Marylebone Gardens and Sadler's Wells



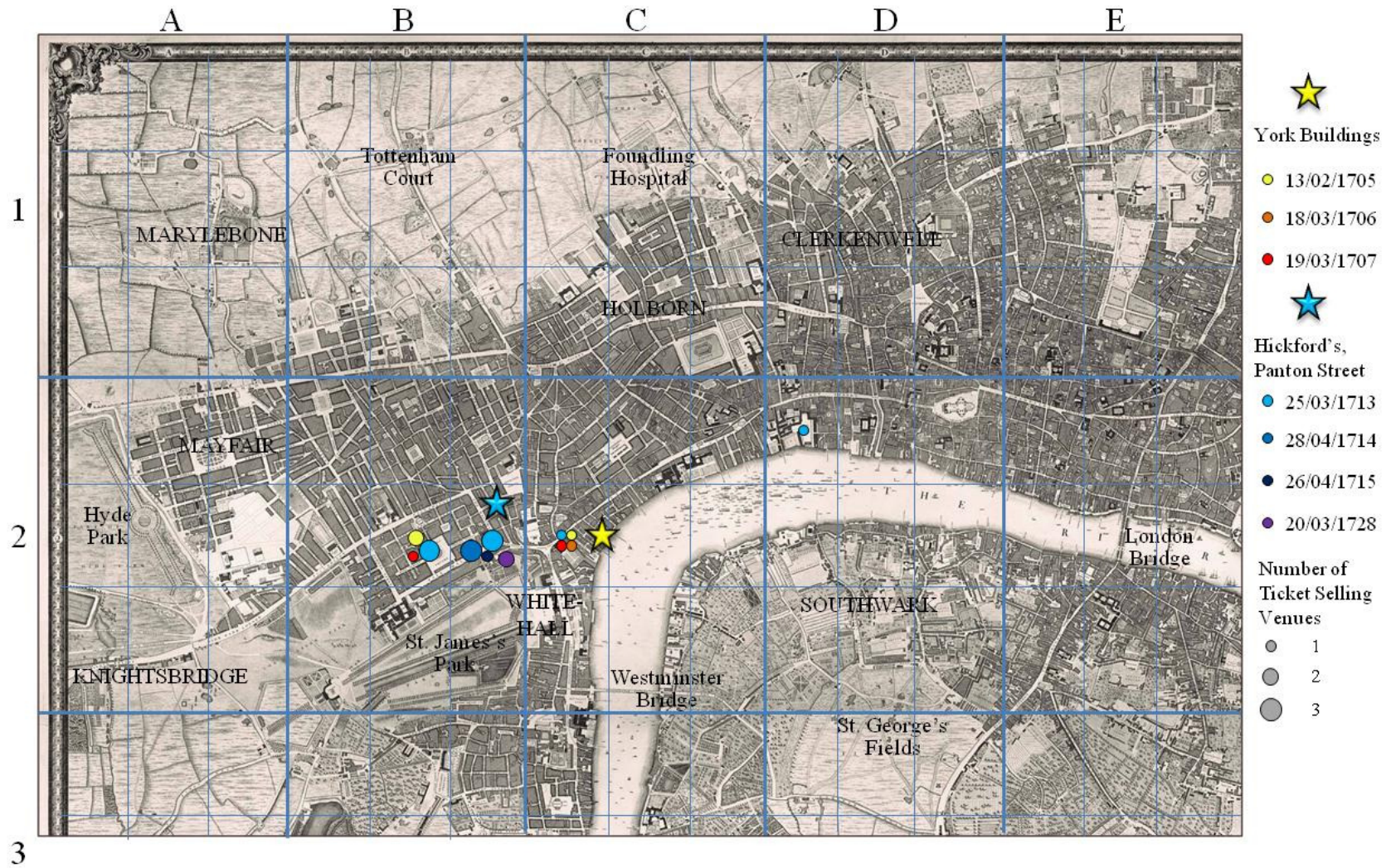
Examining ticket selling from a different perspective, it is interesting to look at the concert venues for which a single ticket-selling outlet sold tickets. White's Chocolate House was situated in St James's Street, running from St James's Palace northwards to Piccadilly. It appeared in advertisements as a concert ticket-selling outlet from 1702 onwards for a range of venues both close by and further afield, without there being any particularly noticeable change to the geographical spread of venues it served over time (see Figure 7-9). For instance, as early as the 1700s it was selling tickets for concerts held as far apart as Chelsea College in the far south-west and the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row close to St Paul's Cathedral in the City of London.

It is important to remember, however, that ticket-selling outlets were not usually selling tickets on behalf of the venues at which concerts were held, but for the musicians who organised them. Benefit concerts, for example, were often organised by individual musicians on their own behalf; they hired the venue and musicians to take part, and arranged for tickets to be sold. William Corbett was a violinist and composer who appeared regularly at a number of London concert venues, often in benefits the majority of which were for himself and sometimes his wife, the singer Anna Lodi. A benefit concert for Corbett at York Buildings on 17 March 1699 did not include details of ticket-selling outlets; however, those he organised from February 1705 onwards at both York Buildings and Hickford's in James Street/Panton Street do so (see Figure 7-10). The ticket-selling outlets he chose were almost all very close to the venues at which he was playing; the only exception was for a concert at Hickford's on 25 March 1713 when he used the Temple Tavern in Fleet Street to sell tickets.

Figure 7-9: Concert Venues for which White's Chocolate House Sold Tickets

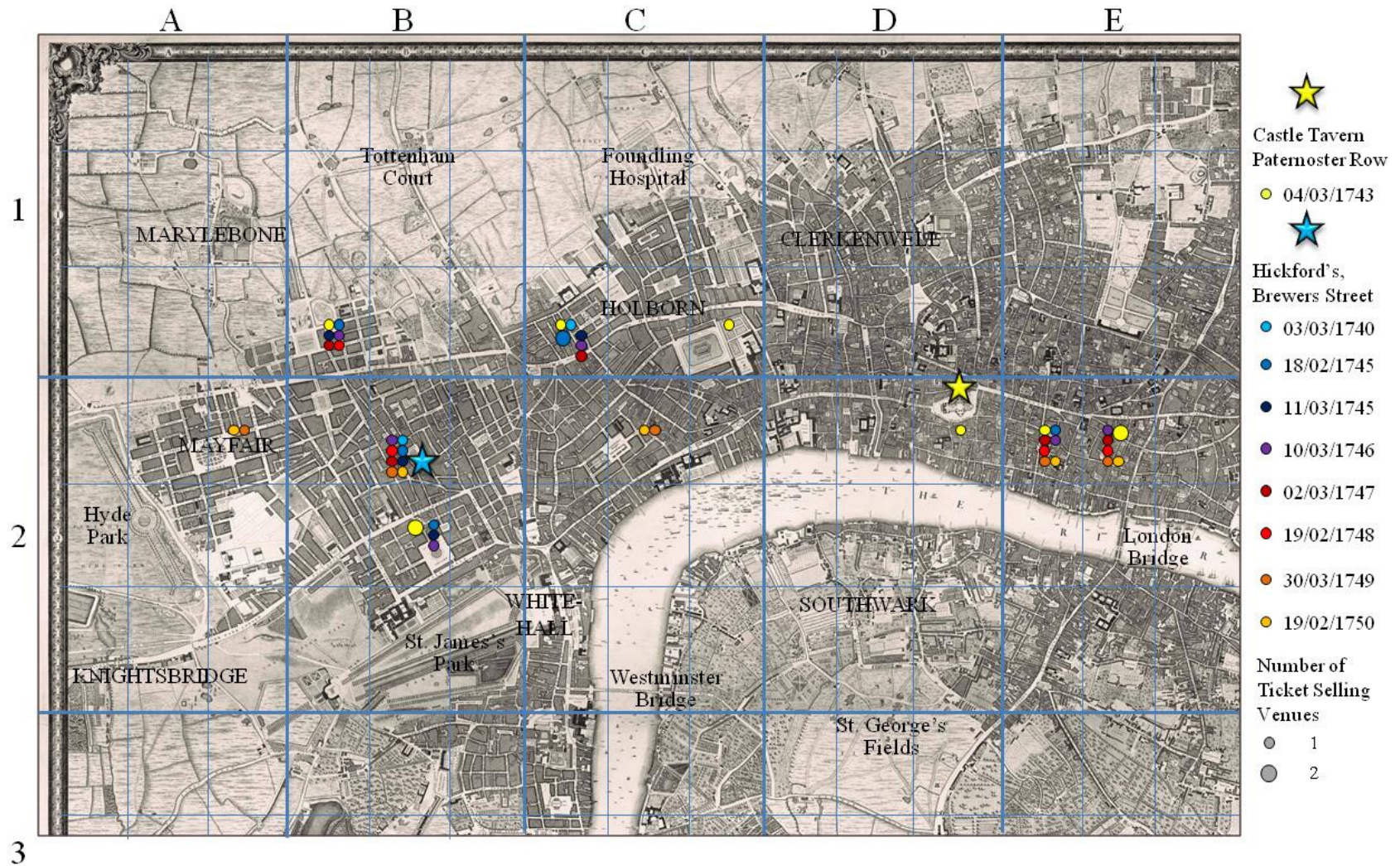


Figure 7-10: Ticket-Selling Outlets for William Corbett's Benefit Concerts



During the 1740s the violinist Abraham Brown appeared regularly in benefit concerts at a variety of venues, frequently playing solos or concertos; he also organised a number of concerts for his own benefit at the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row and at Hickford's in Brewers Street. His choice of ticket-selling outlets was more widespread than those for Corbett, extending from the Mount Coffee House in Grosvenor Street in the extreme west to Simpson's Music Shop in Cheapside in the east (see Figure 7-11). Another noticeable difference is that while Corbett's ticket outlets are dominated by drinking establishments such as coffee and chocolate houses or taverns, Brown focused more on music shops, such as those run by John Simpson, John Walsh, and the Walmesley's. Both violinists also sold tickets for their benefit concerts at their own places of residence; this being a common practice in the period under study.

Figure 7-11: Ticket-Selling Outlets for Abraham Brown's Benefit Concerts



7.8. Conclusion

This investigation of concert venues shows how the development of commercial concert giving in London helped to move formal music making further into the public sphere. This was accompanied by a growth in the number and type of public venues: pleasure gardens and wells flourished as leisure resorts where music formed a part of the entertainment on offer, and a wide variety of venues for concerts was used (Brewer, 1995; Bridge, 1903: 60; Habermas, 1992: 39–40; Love, 2004). In this relatively early period in the development of public concert giving, few venues were built exclusively for concert performance; however, some venues were adapted and developed to make them more suitable for the purpose.

The location of concert venues and the location and types of ticket-selling outlets both lead one to conclude that concerts were designed to appeal to the relatively affluent. This conclusion is strengthened by what is known about the decor of some venues, and the unfortunately scanty advice given on transport to and from venues. Larger audiences could be accommodated at the patent theatres, but it was only at the pleasure gardens and spa resorts that both the size of the venue and a relatively low admission price made it possible for a wider stratum of society to hear concert music.

Then as now, there was a perceived hierarchy of performance spaces: one would expect certain performers to perform at particular venues, but not at others; particular types of concerts were associated with specific venues; and, as we will see in the following chapter, some venues could charge higher prices than others. The highest status concerts would be held at venues in the West End, such as Hickford's in Panton Street off the Haymarket, or at its later premises at 41 Brewer Street. The West End theatres also presented concerts of some standing. Slightly less prestigious, and thus cheaper concerts might be held at one of the halls of the London guilds in the City, such as Stationers' Hall in Ave Maria Lane off Ludgate Hill, or Merchant Taylors' Hall in Threadneedle Street. Some taverns gave concerts of quality; examples would be the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, or the Crown and Anchor at the top of Arundel Street in the Strand, both of which were associated with musical societies. Prestigious concerts were given as part of the entertainment at pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall

and Ranelagh. At the other end of the market were lower-class taverns and pleasure gardens.

Chapter 8. Price and Promotion

8.1. Introduction

As discussed elsewhere (see section 2.4.2), modern-day organisations implement a marketing strategy by planning the details of the marketing mix (Kotler et al., 2001: 97–8; McCarthy, 1960) an adapted version of which is being used to aid discussion of London's early concerts. This chapter will focus on the third and fourth elements, price and promotion.

8.2. Price

... here it was that the masters began to display their powers afore the wise judges of the towne, and found out the grand secret, that the English would follow musick and drop their pence freely; of which some advantage hath bin since made.

(Roger North, *An Essay of Musicall Ayre c.1715–20* in Wilson (1959: 305))

Setting a price for a cultural event sends a signal about the value of the product to the marketplace and will thus influence consumer perceptions and the level of product consumption. A range of different pricing strategies can be employed (Colbert, 2007: 186–192; Kolb, 2005: 188–90; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 231–6) but the following comment leads one to believe that at least some concert organisers adopted a prestige pricing strategy as one of the means of ensuring that it was an activity reserved for the wealthy during this period:

‘... at Consorts of Note the Prices are extravagant, purposely to keep out inferiour People’

(*The Female Tatler* September 1709 quoted in (Morgan, 1992))

However, as with theatre-going, the range of concerts given in London at an assortment of venues and with a concomitant variation in price makes it likely that audiences across London concerts as a whole consisted of a slightly broader spectrum of society than might be indicated above. A concert by a celebrity musician at Hickford's where tickets would cost 10/6 each would be beyond the reach of many, but an older contemporary of the milliner who in 1766 scraped together 2/- for a seat in the gallery at the Drury Lane playhouse and who stated ‘I seldom miss on a Saturday night’ would, if she so desired, have been able to afford a concert by a lesser musician at a cheaper

venue (Hughes, 1971: 57)). A passage in Southerne's *Wive's Excuse* of 1691 indicates that the custom pertaining at certain playhouses of allowing footmen into the gallery *gratis* for the fifth act was not customary for concerts:

Act I, Scene I. *The outward room to the musick-meeting. Several footmen at hazard, some rising from play.*
I Foot. A pox on these musick meetings; there's no fifth act
Here, at free cost, as we have at the play-houses,
To make gentlemen of us, and keep us out of
Harms way.
(Jordan and Love, 1988: 274)

There are also instances where a more dynamic or discriminatory pricing policy was followed. For instance, prices were changed because of demand:

On the 13th Instant there were a great Concourse of Persons of Quality at Richmond New Wells, to hear the Consort of Musick then perform'd, and that it was desired the Rate at coming in should be doubled, viz. to make it 6d. each.
(*Post Boy* 18 July 1696)

☞ This being the last Time of performing, many Persons of Quality and others, are pleas'd to make great Demands for Box Tickets, which encourages me (and hope will give no Offence) to put the Pit and Boxes together, at Half a Guinea each. First Gallery 5 s. Second Gallery 3 s.⁶⁹
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 31 March 1741)

Except for its last decade, the eighteenth century was a period of relatively low inflation in England and many prices remained fairly stable (Milhous and Hume, 1993). Theatre admission prices remained relatively constant from 1660 to the 1790s except for an increase of 1s. for the most expensive box seats in the 1740s (Hume, 2006); likewise tickets for the opera showed little change between 1720 and 1790 (Milhous and Hume, 1993). It is thus not surprising to find that in general concert ticket prices remained fairly stable over the period; concert organisers appeared to adopt a competitive pricing strategy with prices which 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: liv–lviii; Avery and Scouten, 1968: lxx–lxxiv; Hunter, 2000; Scouten, 1968: lxxviii–lxxix). The concerts held as part of the attractions

⁶⁹ This was an increase from 'Boxes Half a Guinea. Pit 5 s. First Gall. 3 s. Second Gall. 2 s' for the previous concert in Handel's Lent oratorio series (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 18 March 1741).

at pleasure gardens, wells and spa resorts, however, were more cheaply priced, presumably in order to attract a larger audience — something akin to a market-penetration strategy.

Examining the prices charged for one type of concert at a single location, that of benefit concerts held between 1713 and 1750 at Hickford's in both its locations — off the Haymarket until 1736, and in Brewer Street from 1738 — it can be seen that there is no significant change in prices over the period (see Figure 8-1). The majority of performers charged 5 shillings per ticket, while a few famous names warranted a higher price of half a guinea (10 shillings and sixpence); but these two rates stayed the same over time. This dual rate illustrates the careful distinction that was made between the prices charged for different qualities of performer, a question which will be considered further below.

Figure 8-1: Prices of Benefit Concerts at Hickford's, 1713–50



Although the prices at a single venue did not change over the period, differential rates were charged for different types of venue. Looking in detail at the prices of tickets for benefit concerts at a range of venues in 1750 (see Table 8-1), fairly clear groupings

of venues can be seen based on the minimum and maximum price that could be charged. Those belonging to the lowest-status venue group, such as the less prestigious pleasure gardens and taverns could charge a maximum of 3 shillings per ticket. Medium status venues, such as higher class pleasure gardens and taverns went up to a maximum of 5 shillings per ticket. The most prestigious venues, the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, West End theatres and Hickford's in Brewers Street, could charge up to half a guinea per ticket.

Table 8-1: Prices for Benefit Concerts at a range of Venues, 1740–50

Venue	Minimum Price	Maximum Price
Cuper's Gardens	1s.	1s.
Angel and Crown Tavern, Whitechapel	2s.6d.	2s.6d.
New Wells, near the London Spa, Clerkenwell	1s.	2s.6d.
Sadler's Wells, Islington	1s.6d.	2s.6d.
Dog Tavern, near Garlick Hithe	3s.	3s.
Fountain Tavern, Ludgate Hill	2s.6d.	3s.
Half Moon Tavern, Shadwell Dock	3s.	3s.
New Spring Gardens, Greenwich	1s.	3s.
Richmond Theatre	1s.	3s.
Ruckholt House and Gardens	6d.	3s.
Wells in Goodman's Fields, Lemon Street	1s.	4s.
Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand	5s.	5s.
Devil (Golden Lion and Devil) Tavern, Temple Bar	3s.	5s.
Hickford's, James Street/Panton Street, Haymarket	5s.	5s.
Marybone Gardens	3s.	5s.
Stationers' Hall, Ave Maria Lane, off Ludgate Hill	5s.	5s.
Swan Tavern (later King's Arms), Exchange Alley, Cornhill	3s.	5s.
Castle Tavern, Paternoster Row	3s.	6s.
Chapel, Foundling Hospital, Lamb's Conduit Fields	5s.	10s.6d.
Hickford's 41 Brewers Street near Golden Square	1s.	10s.6d.
Little, New or French Theatre, Haymarket	2s.	10s.6d.
Queen's (later King's) Theatre (Opera House), Haymarket	5s.	10s.6d.
Theatre (later Theatre Royal), Lincoln's Inn Fields	2s.	10s.6d.
Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	3s.6d.	10s.6d.
Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	1s.6d.	10s.6d.

To return to the prices that individual performers could command for their benefit concerts, one can detect a definite correlation between the status of the performer, the status of the venue and the amount that could be charged per ticket. The cheapest tickets, for lower status performers at an inferior venue, such as one of the city guild halls, might be 2s.6d. or less, equivalent to a good seat in the pit for an old play or

a poor seat in the upper gallery for a new opera at one of the large theatres. Whilst the presence of a star performer at a more high status venue, such as Hickford's, could command what Kolb (2005: 189) describes as a 'prestige' price of as much as half a guinea, equivalent to the best seats for an opera at a large theatre.

Re-examining the prices for benefit concerts at a range of venues 1740–50 but now including the names of those for whom the benefit was being given (see Appendix O), it can be seen that the concerts were mainly given for the benefit of musicians, but with a few charitable benefits. What is striking is how the number of foreign names increases towards the more expensive end of the list. This is even more noticeable if there were room to give the names of the performers as well as that of the beneficiary. The concert given as a benefit for the Fund for Support of Decay'd Musicians & Families on 10 April 1750 boasted a glittering array of Italian vocalists, with instrumental soloists, including the German-born Handel who also directed the concert. This is not to say that indigenous musicians could not command the highest prices, the harpsichordists Miss Biddle and Cassandra Frederick (only 6½ at her benefit in March 1750) are cases in point. However, it is to be expected that only the best musicians would travel outside their native land, and thus foreign performers could normally be assumed to be of a higher standard than the majority of home-grown instrumentalists and singers. Being of a higher standard, they played at the more prestigious venues and commanded the highest prices.

From the first decade of the eighteenth century the subscription system used since the early seventeenth century for publishing some, but by no means all, books or music was adapted by musicians to individual concerts or concert series, with payment usually expected before the event (Clapp, 1931; 1932; Hunter and Mason, 1999). No information has been found on whether subscribers for individual concerts received a price reduction, but for concert series that was definitely the case. For Geminiani's concerts held at Hickford's in 1731/2 the price of subscription for the 20-concert series was four guineas; a subscribing lady might bring another lady with her for 5 shillings per concert, but non-subscribing gentlemen or ladies not accompanying a subscribing lady had to pay half a guinea (*London Evening Post* 16 November 1631). Thus, subscribers saved 6 guineas if they attended all 20 concerts; moreover, they were

permitted to lend their subscriber's ticket to another if they did not wish to attend (see Table 8-2).

Table 8-2: Ticket Prices for Geminiani Series 1731/2

Ticket Type	Subscription Cost	Price per concert	Saving per concert for subscriber
Subscription	4 guineas	4s. 2¼d.	6s.3¾d.
Lady Guest		5s.	5s.6d.
Non Subscriber		10s.6d.	0

To whom would concerts have appealed at this range of prices? Hume (2006) considers that there were probably quite a number of Londoners and visitors who could have afforded the shilling required to sit in the gallery at a theatre, but that far fewer would have been able to run to a place in the pit or boxes. Surviving records show that the theatres were rarely full in either the cheap or the expensive seats and that opera performances were no better attended (Hume, 2006; Hunter, 2000; Milhous and Hume, 1978). Hume (2006) is doubtful as to whether concerts could have competed with the theatres, which included large amounts of music within their theatrical performances in the form of a specially-composed overture and act-tunes as well as other music between the acts; he also points out that music could be heard *gratis* in church or cheaply in taverns. Concerts, however, were available at a range of prices to suit a range of incomes. At 1 shilling, the cheapest concerts or those given as part of the entertainments offered at pleasure gardens, wells or spa resorts might have suited the pocket of the middle class if they wanted to attend on anything like a regular basis (McVeigh, 1993: xiii–xiv; Scherer, 2004: 48). High-quality music and musicians could be heard at some of these venues which provided ‘an elite product for mass consumption’ (Hume, 2006), others provided a mixture of singing, dancing, acting and gymnastics which was more akin to what was on offer at Edwardian music halls or variety theatres. Handel’s oratorios, sometimes represented as signifying a move toward middle-class taste and greater affordability than opera, would have been far out of the middle-class price range except as a very occasional treat (Hume, 2006; Hunter, 2000). Indeed, Hunter (2000) quotes a letter from *Common Sense*, 1738, probably written by Henry Fielding, which states that ‘every Body knows that his [Handel’s] Entertainments [oratorios] are calculated for the Quality only, and that People of

moderate Fortunes cannot pretend to them'. Mid-range concerts at 5 shillings were as expensive as the best seats at the theatre, those at half a guinea were as expensive as opera: only the wealthy elite could have afforded to attend such concerts regularly.

8.3. Promotion

Promotion refers to the methods which are made to communicate with the public in order to get a message across and to produce a change in the consumer; promotional methods include personal selling, public relations, sales promotions and advertising (Kotler et al., 2001: 98). While musicians did carry out personal selling, usually when selling tickets for their benefit concerts either by selling them at their place of residence, or by visiting the residences of likely purchasers, the majority of this section will focus on the techniques used when advertising concerts. As discussed above, present-day advertising is usually typified by two characteristics: pervasive coverage through the use of a wide variety of media and a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption (Leiss et al., 2005, Goldman, 1992). However, McFall (2000; 2002b; 2002a; 2004a; 2004b) refutes the idea that pervasiveness and persuasion in advertising are contemporary inventions, and indeed both of these characteristics are to be found in advertising for concerts in the period under discussion.

8.3.1. Increasing Pervasiveness

Plumb (1982: 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 the number of printers. There was an immediate and rapid increase in the number of newspapers in London and elsewhere and a boom in publishing generally. The single official newspaper that had been allowed previously under the Act, the bi-weekly *London Gazette*,⁷⁰ was joined in 1695 by three new London newspapers: the *Flying Post: or the Post Master, Post Boy*, and *Post Man*. These were published three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, to tie in with departures of the Penny Post from

⁷⁰ 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.

London. The first successful daily paper, the *Daily Courant*, began publication in London in March 1702 and others followed (Harris, 1978: 82-97; Black, 1991: 12-22; 2001: 1-24).

This great growth in the printing industry and the concomitant increase in the number of newspapers provided a new channel by which the fledgling public commercial concerts could be advertised, a method which had not been available to older established commercial entertainments such as theatrical performances and opera. While this increase in the pervasiveness of entertainment advertising may seem small by today's standards, it is only by taking into account the historical perspective that we can judge its effect (McFall, 2004a; 2004b).

The *London Gazette*, the only licensed newspaper before 1695, initially carried very few advertisements. It was not suitable for theatre advertisements as its weekly appearance was not appropriate for the rapidly changing theatrical programmes. Thus, before the introduction of tri-weekly and daily newspapers, theatre advertising had been carried out by means of flyers, bills posted in prominent places, announcements at the end of a performance and word of mouth (Avery and Scouten, 1968). As well as making use of these traditional methods still favoured by the theatres, concert promoters, however, also advertised in the newspapers, with concert advertisements appearing in the weekly *London Gazette* as early as 1672 and expanding to the more frequently published titles as they appeared. These newspapers were not only purchased by individuals within London, but could also be read in newsrooms, coffeehouses and clubs, and were distributed to purchasers across the country via the Penny Post. 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 by this time was not inconsiderable, ranging from 1,600-2,600 on the least popular days (Friday and Wednesday), to 14,000 on a Thursday (the most popular day). 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 8-3, all but the last two carried concert advertisements on a more or less regular basis.

Table 8-3: London Newspaper Circulation

	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/ 1000–11000 ⁷¹
<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>Observer</i>			1000			1000	–
<i>Review</i>		400				400	425–500

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 4-1); this advertised a series of concerts to take place daily thenceforth. Banister continued his concerts for the next seven years and generally advertised little more than the beginning and end of his concert series each year. The *London Gazette* was the only newspaper licensed during this period, so he had no choice but to place his advertisements there.

When the Licensing (Printing) Act lapsed in 1695 the number of newspapers started to increase and concert promoters quickly took advantage of this increased opportunity for advertising. Gottfried Finger held a series of concerts beginning on the 7 December 1696 which was advertised three times and in two different newspapers: the *Flying Post: or the Post Master* and the *Post Boy*. A performance of Handel's oratorio *Deborah* on Saturday 17 March 1733 was publicised by 21 advertisements placed in three different newspapers: the *Daily Journal*, the *Daily Post* and the *London Evening Post*. The first advertisement appeared on 6 March and the text was changed twice and increased in length before the concert took place.

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

⁷¹ The smaller figures are for paid copies, the larger for the print run as a certain number of copies were given away.

8-2). The wide variety of titles in which concert advertisements appeared is quite remarkable, though the majority of them were only used for a very short period (see Figure 8-3).

Figure 8-2: Newspaper Titles Containing Concert Advertisements, by Decade

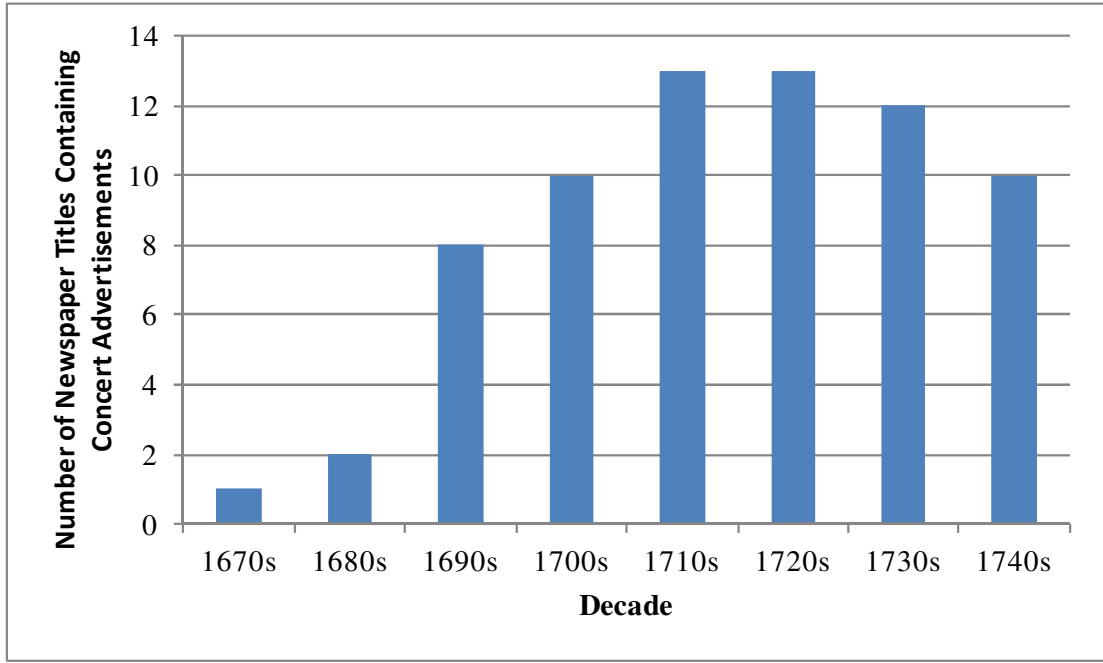
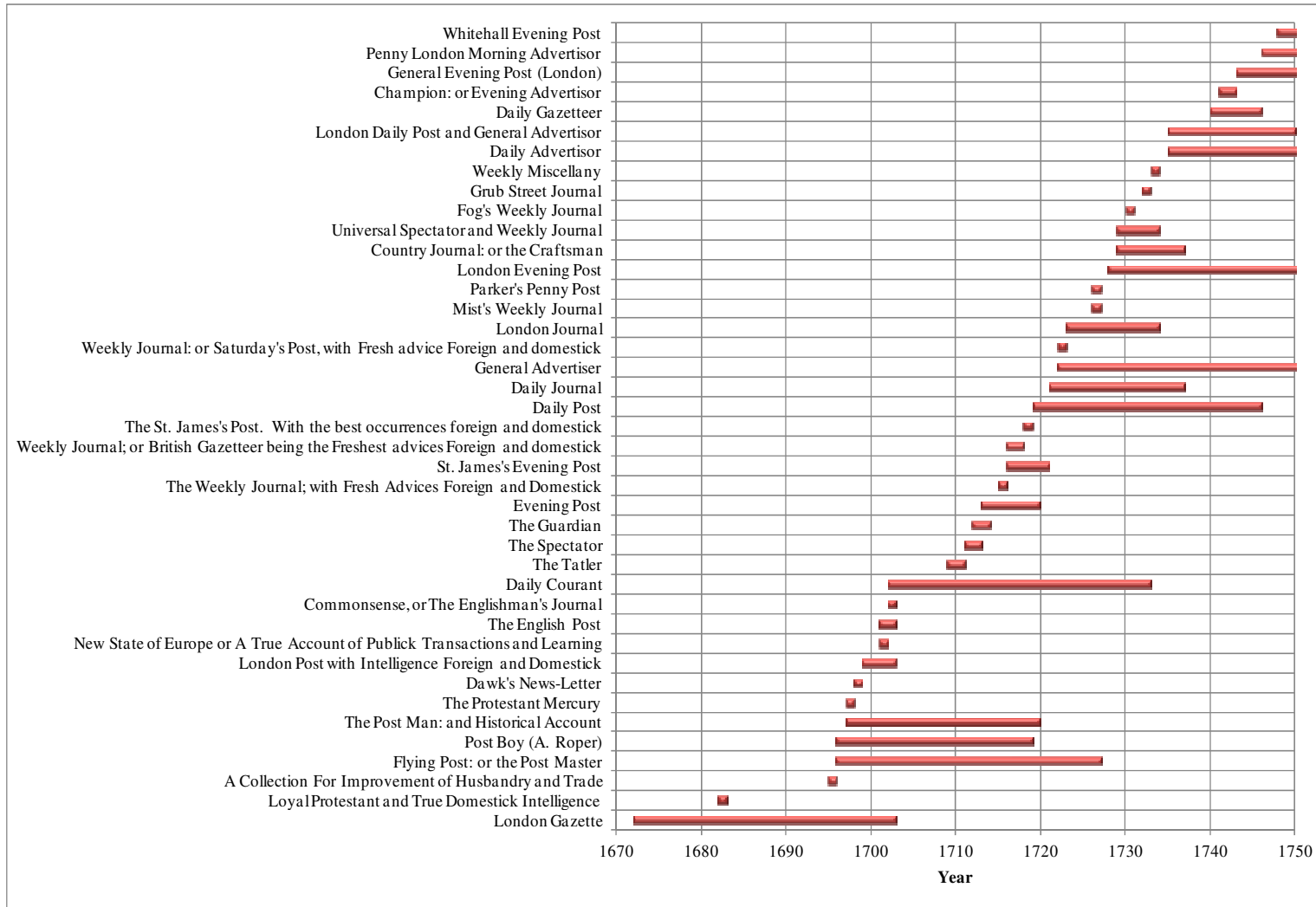
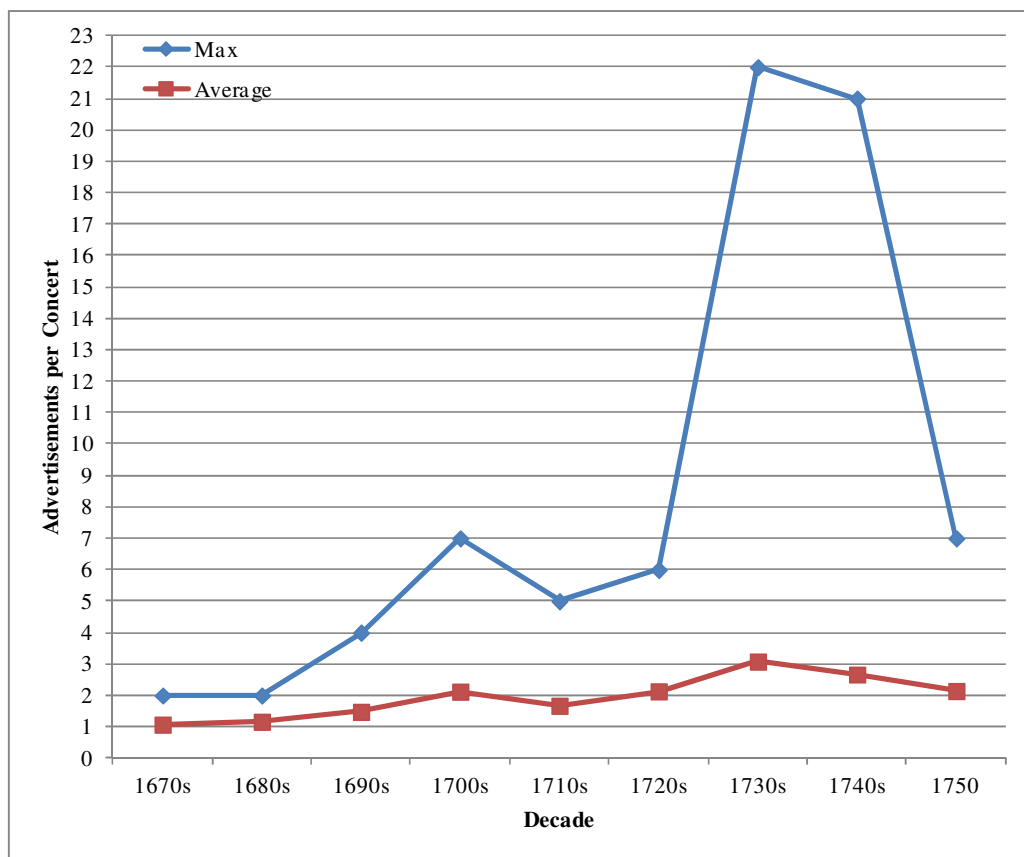


Figure 8-3: Newspaper Titles Containing Concert Advertisements — Length of Use



As can be seen in Figure 8-4, the average number of advertisements per concert rose from something close to zero in 1672, to 3.5 by 1750. While the majority of concerts still only received small numbers of advertisement throughout the period, the maximum number of advertisements for a single concert in any year increased steadily so that between 1740 and 1750 only three years showed a maximum lower than eight. Thus over the period under consideration the pervasiveness of concert advertising shows a remarkable increase.

Figure 8-4: Advertisements per Concert, by Decade



8.3.2. Attracting Attention

While the pervasiveness of concert advertising was increasing, concert promoters were also making use of different methods to persuade the audience of the attractiveness of attendance at concerts. Following the AIDA model, a present-day sequential model of persuasion in advertising, the first task is to attract the consumer's attention, in this case that of the reader of the newspaper to the advertisement itself (Hackley, 2009: 92–3; Kotler et al., 2009: 694–5; Moore, 2005). This was

accomplished by use of the range of typographical devices that were available in newspapers of the day.

As early as 1710 Joseph Addison drew attention to the efficacy of various typographical devices to draw the attention of readers to advertisements:

The great Art in writing Advertisements, is the finding out a proper Method to catch the Reader's Eye; without which, a good Thing may pass over unobserved, or be lost among Commissions of Bankrupt. Asterisks and Hands were formerly of great Use for this Purpose. Of late Years, the N.B. has been much in Fashion; as also little Cuts and Figures, the Invention of which we must ascribe to the Author of Spring-Trusses. I must not here omit the blind Italian Character,⁷² which being scarce legible, always fixes and detains the Eye, and gives the curious Reader something like the Satisfaction of prying into a Secret.

Joseph Addison, *The Tatler* No. 224, Thursday, September 14 1710 in (Bond, 1987)

Pictures were very rare in early newspapers, so the impact of typographical devices was much higher than we might give credit for today. Concert advertisements were not backward in their use of typographical devices to attract the attention of the reader. If we look again at the first advertisement placed by Banister (see Figure 4-1), we can see that already attention is drawn to the fact that a new advertisement is beginning by the use of the two-line dropped initial capital; within the text important words or phrases are emphasised by use of italics.

The next few examples show the use of various non-textual devices in place of the dropped initial capital: indented asterisks in Figure 8-5, daggers (also known as obelisks) and a larger font for the first line in Figure 8-6, and a pointing hand (in this case upside down) also with larger font for the first line in Figure 8-7.

⁷² 'Blind italic character' refers to the italic font.

Figure 8-5: Indented Asterisks

Europe, and the Volumes of Philosophical Transactions, likewise the Volumes of Government and Parliamentary Tracts, and other scarce Books not easily to be met with again, beginning at ten a Clock.

* * At the desire of several Ladies of Quality. At the Great Room in York-Buildings on Monday next, being the 18th, Instant will be Performed a Consort of Vocal, and Instrumental Musick, by the best Masters, for the Benefit of Mr *William Williams* (late Master of Musick) his Widow and three small Children; the performance Consisting of all new Musick; part of it being his own, and to begin at Eight in the Evening.

Lost on Monday night last, about *Pal-mall* or *St Albans-street*, a white Crystal Seal set in Gold, engraven on three sides, the one is the Coat of Arms,

(*Post Man* 24 April 1701)

Figure 8-6: Daggers (Obelisks) and Asterisk with Larger Font for First Line

ness, Power and Strength. Also an account of Commonwealths, relating to the same heads. The Second Edition much amended and enlarged, with the Addition of the Styles or Titles of the several Potentates and Republicks. Printed for John Jones, at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church yard.

†*† On Wednesday next, being the 24th Instant, at the Request of several Persons of Quality, will be a Consort of Musick at York-Buildings, which was performed at St. James's on His Majesty's Birth Day, Composed by Dr. Staggins, beginning at 7 in the Evening.

* * Mr. William Read, an Experienced and Approved Oculist, and His Majesty's Sworn Servant in Ordinary in that Station, having performed with good Effect and Success several curious Operations, as well in Couching of Cataracts as Curings

(*London Gazette* 22 March 1696/7)

Figure 8-7: Pointing Hand with Larger Font for First Line

for Funerals. He also preserveth the grossest of Human Bodies without exposing them to any indecent usage, that the Corps may be kept as long as desired. All which he performs at reasonable Rates both in City and Country, and hath all sizes of the richest Coffins and others ready made.

☞ The Consort of Musick is again removed into Viller's-street in York-Buildings, where it will be continued ev'ry Munday night, at the usual hours.

This is to give notice to all Persons concerned in the Statute of Bankrupt against Benjamin Brewster of Norwich, who have not received their Dividends of 7 s. and 3 s. and 6 d. per l. may receive them at the House of Samuel Brewster in Threadneedle-street, London.

(*London Gazette* 10 March 1689/90)

However, this was not enough for one concert enthusiast. A correspondent to the *Guardian* of 16 April 1713 signing himself Nestor Ironside, considers that a certain concert advertisement has not received sufficient prominence, and writes:

To the PRINTER.

S I R,

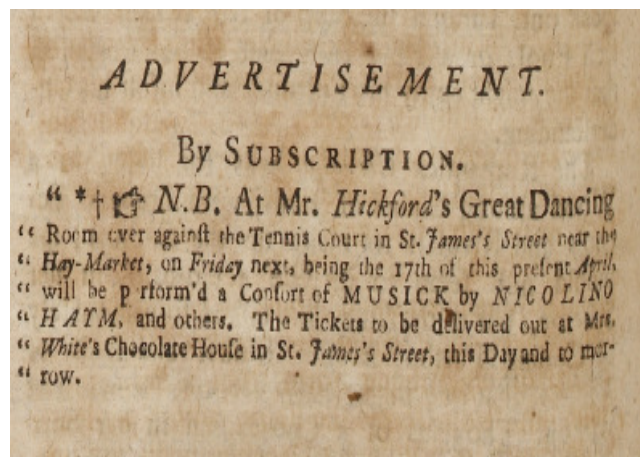
I Have frequently taken great Satisfaction in hearing the Composures of *Nicolino Haym*, a Man of great Merit and Skill in his Profession, accompanied with so much Modesty, that he loses the Force which our Affectation of Foreigners might have towards his Advancement, and is, by his Deference and Respect to us, under the same Disadvantage as if he were born among us; therefore I direct you to insert his *Advertisement* with all the Stars, Daggers, Hands, Turn'd Comma's and *Nota Bene's* which you have in the House, and to omit no Variation of Letter, by way of Capital, Small Capital, Italick, or any other recommendatory Artifice in Printing, which I have privately ordered you to use from time to time to set off my own Writings.

NESTOR IRONSIDE.

(*Guardian* 16 April 1713)

The advertisement which appears below his letter follows the advice he gave to somewhat dubious aesthetic effect (see Figure 8-8).

Figure 8-8: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym



(*Guardian* 16 April 1713)

This was not enough to satisfy Mr Ironside, who wrote again the next day with further instructions:

To the PRINTER.

S I R, April 16, 1713.

BEsides the Directions which you had Yesterday for to Day's Paper, I desire you to adorn the Advertisement with *Two Line Great Primmer, Two Line English, Double Pica, Paragon, Great Primmer, English, Pica, Small Pica, Long Primmer, Brevier, Nonpareil* and *Pearl* Letters. I mention also to you *French Cannon*, tho' I know you cannot make use of it.⁷³ But the Business is to make my Readers take all the Notice of it imaginable; therefore pray put the Advertisement in an *Island of Stars, Daggers, Double Daggers, Crosses, &c.* that the Reader may know the Value of what is so well Distinguished and Guarded.

(*Guardian* 17 April 1713)

Again the advert appeared below the letter (see Figure 8-9).

Figure 8-9: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym

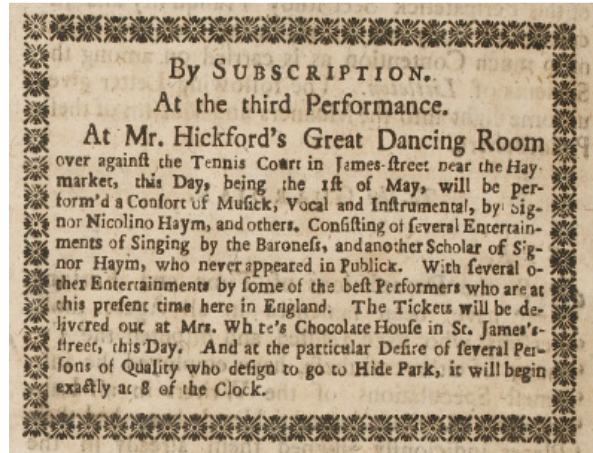


(*Guardian* 17 April 1713)

Subsequent advertisements have a more sophisticated though no less arresting appearance (see Figure 8-10).

⁷³ Hand-set type was originally produced in named sizes instead of numbered as today. The names given here are a range of different font sizes from 'Two Line Great Primmer' at 36pt down to 'Pearl' at 5pt; 'French Canon' is at 48pt.

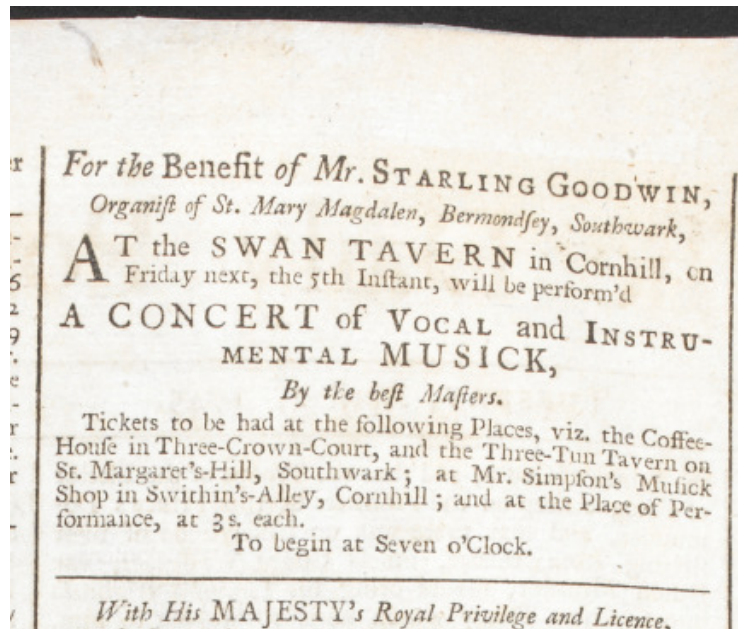
Figure 8-10: Advertisement for Concert by Nicolino Haym



(*Guardian* 1 May 1713)

By the end of the period, advertisements were starting to use white space and other sophisticated techniques more effectively. Here we see the use of rules or lines to set off the advertisement, a two-line dropped initial capital, spaced out capitals and small capitals which are centred, centring of sections of the text, as well as contrasts between italic and roman fonts (see Figure 8-11).⁷⁴

Figure 8-11: Display in Concert Advertising



(*Daily Post* 2 April 1745)

⁷⁴ On the development of display in English advertising, see (Presbery, 1929: 56–73)

8.3.3. Persuasion in Concert Advertisements

Following the AIDA model, the next stages are Interest, Desire and Action (Hackley, 2009: 92–3; Kotler et al., 2009: 694–5; Moore, 2005). Thus, having attracted the attention of readers to the advertisement, it was then necessary for the text to persuade them to attend the concert by arousing their interest and creating a desire for attendance which is translated into the action of purchasing tickets. The wording of the text was one of the ways of attracting an audience. Samuel Johnson comments in 1759 that:

Advertisements are now so numerous 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 pathetic. Promise, large promise is the soul of an advertisement.

((Johnson, 1759) quoted in (Bate et al., 1963))

It is commonly held that at this period advertisements were solely informational in content, presenting only what Kolb (2005: 165–6) would term the features of the product: time and date of the concert, venue, performer, and programme. Examples of this type of advert can be found, presenting more or fewer of these basic details about the concert. The tendency is for the number of details given to increase over the period.

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 details of the date and time, venue and perhaps the performer(s), is the exception rather than the rule. While the blatant exaggerations or falsehoods of eighteenth-century advertisements for medicines and the like may not have found their way into contemporary 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. Without having knowledge of the theory behind the idea, concert promoters were making 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, Holbrook, 1986, Holbrook, 1994, Holbrook, 1996, Holbrook, 1999, Holbrook and

Corfman, 1985, Zeithaml, 1988). They also used a variety of methods of persuasion which can be likened to some of the techniques described by O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2004: 63–83 and 145–49) as characteristic of effective present-day advertising: attempting 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; and using endorsements to enforce the persuasive message.

The following advertisement may be taken as an example:

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)

Here several themes emerge. The advertisement starts with a lifestyle motif: by referring to 'Ladies of Quality' it is emphasising the prestige and exclusivity of this event and implying that attendees will be or aspire to be of the same social class. The long final sentence is dominated by the idea of novelty: 'Several New Cantata's', 'lately brought from Italy' and 'being the first time of appearing in Publick'. The idea of the quality of the performers is demonstrated by the assertion that the concert will be performed 'by the best masters'; while Mrs Hemmings' particular and unusual skill in being able to accompany herself on 'on the Harpsechord' while singing is also brought to the attention of the reader. The appeal of the foreign receives some notice as 'Italian Pieces, lately brought from Italy' will be sung. Some of these themes will now be considered in more detail.

8.3.3.1. Features of the Concert

Basic information about the concert and venue form the first of Kolb's (2005: 165) types of product knowledge. All concert advertisements include details about the date and time of the concert and the venue. Some will 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, indeed the phrase 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick'

is found so frequently from the very earliest concert advertisements as to be more noteworthy in its absence than its presence. Anderson et al. (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:

THE Consort of MUSICK, lately in Bow-street, is Removed next Bedford-Gate in Charles-street, Covent-Garden, (where a Room is newly built for that purpose)...
(*London Gazette* 19 February 1690/1)

...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)

...*The Hall to be well Illuminated...*
(*Daily Courant* 21 May 1702)

For certain venues which were not so easily reached, advertisements might strive to allay worries about the possible difficulties in travelling there. 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 this might be the last chance to hear a particular concert was also used as means of encouraging attendance:

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

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

... will be Sung a new French Pastoral, at the Musick-Meeting in York-buildings, where the words Printed will be distributed: it being to be Sung but this one time.
(*London Gazette* 11 May 1693)

Although the majority of concerts consisted only of music, in others, especially those given at pleasure gardens and spas, attention is drawn to extra variety in the entertainment offered:

Note, beside the Consort will be perform'd several Entertainments of Dancing, particularly the Ladder Dance by Mr. Robinson.
(*Daily Courant* 8 August 1706)

...will be perform'd by Masters from the Theatre in Drury-Lane; an extraordinary Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. With several diverting Dialogues; and Comical Dancing by Monsieur De la Hay and Mr. Newhouse: Also Sword-Dancing by the Original Mistress in that Art.
(*Daily Courant* 1 August 1707)

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 and can be thought of as being one of the features of the concert. 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)

Note, That the good Company Mr. Tenoe had at his last Consort at that Place, has encourag'd him to be at extraordinary Charges to procure good Voices for their Entertainment.
(*Daily Courant* 17 March 1711)

...an extraordinary Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, particularly that celebrated Song, set by the late Mr. Henry Purcell, (for the Yorkshire Feast) the best Masters of each Profession in *England* performing their Parts.
(*Post Man* 8 March 1701)

...where a Gentlewoman Sings that hath one of the best Voices in England, not before heard in publick...
(*London Gazette* 11 June 1694)

...a Concerto Grosso by Mr. Bastons's two Sons, who perform'd the same lately with great Applause.
(*Daily Courant* 24 August 1709)

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)

...a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, all entirely new, and Compos'd by the best Masters...
(*Daily Courant* 17 April 1710)

Quality may also be stressed by naming particular pieces that are to be performed, or by giving the names of performers or composers. 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 8-12 lists every piece and performer, even showing the division of the concert into its component three sections, and the composer of each song.

Figure 8-12: 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
MUSICK.

As Follows.

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

Air. *Io Son quell Pellegrino*, compos'd by Sig. Terradellar, sung by
Sgra Giacomazzi.

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

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

Air. *La Dolerza dell' Ador*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sig.
Guadagni.

Air. *Infelice in Van milagno*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sgra
Fras.

Part II. Concerto by Mr. Dubourg.

Air. *Qual Nottiero*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sgra. Mellini.

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

Air. *Oh diò marcar mi Sento*, compos'd by Sig. Chiampi, sung by Sgra
Fras.

Concerto by Mr. Miller.

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

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

Part III. Concerto by Mr. Vincent.

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

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

Air. *Se torna il geo usato*, compos'd by Sig. Fulli, sung by Sgra Gia-
comazzi.

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

Duct. *O Fairest of Ten Thousand Fair*, compos'd by Mr. Handell,
sung by Sgra-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)

8.3.3.2. Benefits Provided by Attendance

Another way of attracting attendees is to allude to the benefits, both functional and psychosocial which will be provided to those who purchase a ticket and go to the concert (Kolb, 2005: 165). In addition to the concert itself, other inducements to attendance are also mentioned on occasion. These might include extra activities or attractions in addition to the concert itself which would add to the prospect of relaxation and entertainment (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 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 CONCERT OF MUSICK.
With several New Songs by Master MATTOCKS, composed by the
best MASTERS.
To which will be added, The FIREWORKS.
(*General Advertiser* 27 August 1750)

...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 enthusiasts 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, Henry Purcell was a name used to attract an audience for some time after his death, but he is the exception rather than the rule. The appeal of novelty offers the attendee the opportunity to increase his or her awareness of music by hearing unfamiliar pieces, thus satisfying the thirst for cultural knowledge (McLean, 1995; Paswan and Troy, 2004; Slater, 2007; Slater and 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.
... the performance Consisting of all new Musick.
... a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick... not yet perform'd.

Novelty in terms of the performer is also used to attract an audience. This might be additions to the usual list of performers, performers who are appearing for the first time, or child prodigies.

... with some new Voices...
... being the first time of appearing in Publick.
... lately arrived from Italy.

... 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)

... and a Boy of about Eight Years of Age, will perform an Italian Sonata on the Trumpet, who never yet perform'd in publick.
(*Daily Courant* 22 February 1703)

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)

With two new Minuets, and a Chorus out of Atalanta, for French-Horns and Trumpets, the two French-Horns to be perform'd by two little Negro-Boys, Scholars to Mr. Charles, who never perform'd before.
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 3 March 1738)

A novel method of performance or the use of unusual instruments might also be mentioned, but this is a far rarer occurrence:

...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)

...Composed for 3 Quires, and in a quite different way to the others, not used here before...
(*London Gazette* 2 February 1701/2)

...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)

ARare Concert of four Trumpets Marine, never heard of before in England...
(*London Gazette* 4 February 1674/5)

And in order to make the Performance still more entertaining, there will be Four Instruments more than there was before, viz. the Viol d'amour, the Eccho Flute, the German Flute, and the Serpent.
(*Daily Courant* 13 March 1717)

In which will be Introduced several Pieces on a new-Invented
Instrument, call'd
The C O R N O C R O M A T I C O.
Never heard in Publick before.
(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 18 February 1741)

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 increase one's knowledge of different performers and musical styles. Foreign performers and foreign composers had long been known in England, but with the restoration of King Charles II after his prolonged sojourn in France, the numbers of foreign musical imports increased apace. The vogue for foreign music and musicians seems only to have increased over time, with Charles' 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:

...by Performers lately come from *Rome* and *Venice*.
(*Daily Courant* 30 October 1702)

...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.... The whole being entirely new composed and accompanied by Seignior Gioseppe Saggion.
(*Daily Courant* 19 April 1704)

... where Signior Rampony, an Italian Musician, belonging to the Prince of Vaudemont, at the Request of several Persons of Quality, will for once Sing in the same in Italian and French...
(*London Gazette* 28 March 1698)

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)

...will be performed, for the last time,

E S T H E R :

AN

ORATORIO in ENGLISH.

Formerly composed by Mr. Handel, and now revised by him, with
several Additions...

(*Daily Journal* 19 May 1732)

8.3.3.3. Values Associated with Attendance

In addition to the benefits that attendance at a concert might offer as described above, concert advertisements attempted to indicate the types of values that might be shared by those who purchased tickets (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Lury, 2011; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 63–83). Large numbers of concerts were held to benefit either the performers themselves or for various charitable purposes; thus one could assume that those attending might share in a wish to support the arts or other charities.

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

For the Benefit of Miss CECILIA YOUNG, a Scholar of Signor
GEMINIANI, who never yet sung in publick.
(*Daily Post* 4 March 1730)

For the Benefit of a DISTRESS'D GENTLEMAN...
(*Daily Journal* 13 May 1730)

*For the Benefit and Increase of a FUND establish'd for the Support of
DECAY'D MUSICIANS, or their Families.*
(*General Advertiser* 10 April 1745)

Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted
Young Children,⁷⁵ May 10, 1749.

G E O R G E - F R E D E R I C K H A N D E L L,
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)

Attendance at a concert could also be considered as participating in a form of social ritual which affirmed membership of a particular social class (Botti, 2000: 63–83; Colbert, 2003; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000; Gainer, 1993b; 1997; Kelly, 1987; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004). In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries those who attended concerts would in the main be of the aristocracy and gentry, whilst there were some also from 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). As 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 et al., 2002; McVeigh, 1993). Like 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 and 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. Phrases used referred to the concert being:

At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality/Gentlemen/Gentlemen and
Ladies/Persons of Quality/Nobility and Gentry...

...by Her Royal Highness's Command.

...by the Command, and for the Entertainment, of her Royal Highness
the Princess of Denmark.

...by Their Majesties Authority

⁷⁵ The Foundling Hospital in Coram Fields.

For the Entertainment of several Persons of Quality

For the Entertainment of several Foreign Ministers.

...for the Entertainment of his Highness Prince Lewis of Baden

For the Entertainment of the Agents lately arrived from the Emperor of Morocco

For the Entertainment of his Highness, Prince Eugene of Savoy, at Staioner's Hall, his Highness having promised his Presence there...
(*Daily Courant* 21 January 1712)

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 already been played before the monarch or at court:

...the same that was performed before her Majesty...

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

...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 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. The relatively high prices charged for concerts can only have served to emphasise this point.

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)

Tickets to be had at the Hall Door the Night of Performance, and Footmen will be allow'd to keep Places.
(*Daily Post* 29 April 1725)

N.B. Coaches and Chairs may come into James-street, or into Pantons-street, there being a Passage into the Room both ways.
(*Daily Courant* 9 February 1719)

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...

To all Lovers of Musick.

Mr. Abell, being return'd to this his Native Country, after having had the Honour of Singing in most Parts of Europe to the greatest Princes and the Nobility, humbly gives Notice, That he intends shortly to perform in a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick...

(*Daily Courant* 26 May 1715)

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)

...Mr Harris intends a further Division of half a Note, *viz.* into One Hundred parts (and this, as before, not Mathematically, but purely by the Ear) all Masters and others of curious and Nice Ears, are invited to the said Mr Harris's House, in Wyne Office Court, Fleetstreet, on the 10th of May, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, to hear and see the Performance, and to be inform'd (if any doubt) of its Usefulness.

(*Post Boy* 30 April 1698)

It could be said that references to named performers, composers or pieces of music (see section 6.2) 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.

8.3.3.4. Endorsements

One of the advertising techniques of which eighteenth-century London concert promoters took advantage in an attempt to attract an audience was the endorsement, a persuasive method which is frequently used today (Harbor, 2009; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 145–49). Endorsements and testimonials in present-day advertising are generally carried out in one of three formats: typical consumer, celebrity or expert (Martin et al., 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). Present-day endorsements require the permission of, and often payment to, the endorser, but at the period under study this was not a legal necessity (Nevett, 1982: 165–7). As will be seen, these endorsements 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 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 1691 (see Figure 8-13).

Figure 8-13: 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 Highness the Princess of Denmark.

(*London Gazette* 9 April 1691)

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: 147–8) 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.

Endorsements of one type or another are to be found in a significant minority of concert advertisements in the period under study. Of the 5079 advertisements for concerts of any type to take place in London between 1672 and 1750, some 890 contain various types of endorsement, a rate of 17.52%. The use made of endorsements differs according to the type of concert being advertised. It is highest for single concerts, benefit concerts, concerts which formed part of a series, and concerts held in pleasure gardens, lower for oratorio concerts, concerts at wells or spa resorts and concerts in a subscription series. Whilst advertisements for club concerts and oratorio subscriptions do not contain any endorsements at all (see Table 8-4).

Table 8-4: Endorsements in Concert Advertisements

Type of Concert	All Adverts	Adverts with Endorsement	%
Single concert	382	84	21.99%
Gardens	812	169	20.81%
Concert in a series	344	68	19.77%
Benefit	2097	408	19.46%
Oratorio	602	93	15.45%
Wells/spa resorts	332	49	14.76%
Subscription concert	204	19	9.31%
Club	54		0.00%
Oratorio subscription	252	84	0.00%
OVERALL	5079	890	17.52%

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. A musician organising a concert for his or her own benefit would enlist the

support of fellow musicians 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, 2008a). 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), so it is slightly puzzling to see a difference in the rate of endorsements. Perhaps at Wells the inducement of the waters itself was seen as more important, whereas for pleasure gardens the proprietors would be keen to stress the elite nature of the concerts held there.

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, the endorsement is thus considered to be from an ‘attractive’ source (O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy, 2004: 147–8). Lengthier encomiums are occasionally to be found in texts which may be found in the news section but sometimes seem more like ‘puffs’. 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 be 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 Highness, Prince Eugene of Savoy, at Stationer's Hall, his Highness having promised his Presence there...

(Daily Courant 21 January 1712)

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

(Daily Courant 6 November 1706)

For the Entertainment of His Excellency the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador extraordinary from France...

(Guardian 5 August 1712)

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 extreamly 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 perhaps particular to concert advertisements is a modification of the celebrity theme, a variant on 'as used by...'. 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:

...the Entertainment of Musick which was performed before Her Majesty upon Her Birth Day...
(*Daily Courant* 17 March 1712)

...and play'd by him and Mr. Paisible often before her Majesty, and at the Theatre.
(*Daily Courant* 26 March 1708)

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)

...particularly a Song Sung by him before Her Majesty, in Congratulation of Her Majesty's Happy Accession to the Crown.
(*Daily Courant* 17 May 1703)

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)

...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 Majesty's Return from Hanover (both perform'd at St. James's Chapel-Royal)...

(Daily Journal 23 March 1733)

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. 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 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.

Focusing on the use of endorsements in advertisements for a single venue, Mulberry Gardens in Clerkenwell, opened in 1742, will now be considered. 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* in 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.
(Joseph Addison, *The Tatler* No. 224, Thursday, September 14 1710 in Bond (1987: 168–9))

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).

8.4. Conclusion

While 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. Although the methods used are not as sophisticated as the multimedia productions used today, given the technological limitations of the time they were the best that were available. Samuel Johnson's (1759) 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: 165–6). However, the advertising techniques used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as illustrated by this investigation into advertisements for public concerts, are not so purely informational and simplistic as has been assumed hitherto. That concert organisers did not mention all the benefits of attendance was probably not by design but was as a result of constraints imposed by the cost of advertising and the space available in the newspapers. However, many advertisements presented a promotional message that was more than purely informational, building up a customer value proposition which enabled the reader to evaluate available alternatives or using persuasive techniques to encourage attendance. Concerts, after all, were not the only entertainments on offer in a thriving metropolis such as London where the business of leisure was flourishing.

By today's standards, the pervasiveness of concert advertisements in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century might also 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 had an impact on the potential audience. Newspaper advertisements in general had increased in number from the few mainly non-commercial notices to be found in the early London Gazette, to the situation in 1750 when up to 75% of a title such as the *General Advertiser*, a four-page newspaper which appeared daily, was made up of adverts for a huge range of products and services.

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. The innovation was that the commercial concert made use of newspaper advertising to promote concerts and this in turn helped to facilitate the growth of the publishing industry. Concert promoters may only have helped to support newspapers in a small way through the payments they made to insert their advertisements, but their larger role was in helping to form a market for the large amount of published music and instrumental or singing tutors that were starting to roll off the presses.

A wide range of persuasive techniques is to be found in advertisements for London concerts in the eighteenth century. This 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.

Chapter 9. London Concerts and the Professional Musician

9.1. Introduction

As discussed elsewhere (see section 2.4.2), modern-day organisations implement a marketing strategy by planning the details of the marketing mix (Kotler et al., 2001: 97–8; McCarthy, 1960) an adapted version of which is being used to aid discussion of London's early concerts. This chapter will focus on the last element, people, and especially on composers and performers.

It is a matter for debate as to whether music should be considered as a profession or an occupation. The term 'profession' appears in the titles of both Ehrlich's (1985) and Rohr's (1983) studies of British musicians 'since the eighteenth century' and '1750–1850', respectively. Today the term professional can mean 'expert' or 'paid', in contrast with 'amateurish' or 'amateur', in addition to being used for a particular type of occupation. However, the earliest use of the word 'profession' meant a public declaration or vow, often in a religious context. Even though it is increasingly found in reference to specific occupations, particularly the law, the church, teaching, medicine and the armed forces, it is still most commonly used in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to describe a declaration and what is declared rather than a particular form of organisation. In the earlier period under discussion, there was no real semantic distinction between the terms 'profession' and 'occupation', 'trade' or 'vocation; all these words were commonly used to describe an individual's main source of employment and income. A profession was not thought of as being more than the sum of the individuals who followed it (O'Day, 2000: 13–14).

It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the modern specialist meaning began to develop: Johnson's 1755 *Dictionary* included a quotation about the 'learned professions' and by the fourth edition of 1773, this had been expanded to note that 'the term profession is particularly used of divinity, physick and law' (Corfield, 1995: 19–20). Holmes (1982) describes music as one of the 'nascent or fledgling professions' in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, a development which grew out of the changes in the social and economic climate of the time which saw a 'maturing society of growing complexity [generating] demands which the existing professions could not meet'. The rising demand for publicly performed music and the higher levels of

technical accomplishment which were now expected, partly as a result of the number of quality performers visiting from Europe, led to a drop in the emphasis on amateur music-making, at least in London and a recognition of music as something approaching a profession, earning musicians a kind of ‘corporate recognition as something more than the collection of isolated individuals their predecessors had been just after the Restoration’. Although there was no single organisation which could give the musical professional coherence or maintain standards, some of the cathedrals still provided good training, and the establishment of the ‘Fund establish'd for the Support of decay'd Musicians, or their Families’ in 1738 (see p.281) ‘was a step of some significance along the road to a formal corporate identity’ (Holmes, 1982: 19–21, 28–31).

The important distinction in the period under discussion was between the professional ‘masters of musick’, who earned a living from composing, performing or teaching music, and the amateur ‘lovers of musick’, for whom music was a pleasant pastime which cost them both time and money. It was during this period that the division between professional and amateur musicians began to become more clear-cut, in London at least. Here, the increase in virtuosity of performers and the development of the commercial concert resulted in a gradual enlargement in the market for musicians and an increasing dominance of the professional musician in public performances. The widening gap between amateur and professional performers, between listeners and performers, was a concomitant of the rise in virtuosity and skill which served to both demonstrate and justify musicians’ professional status (Ehrlich, 1985: 3–5; Rose, 2005). North laments this development:

But it is so unhappy that gentlemen, seeing and observing the performances of masters, are very desirous to doe the same; and finding the difficulty and the paines that is requisite to acquire it, are discouraged in the whole matter, and lay it aside.
(Wilson, 1959: 15)

At the beginning of the period under study professional musicians might reasonably have expected a return to the conditions which had pertained before the disruptions caused by the Civil War, with the court returning to its accustomed rôle as the focus and principal patron of elite culture in all its forms (Hume, 2006). Indeed, 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. Charles II even

raised the salaries of royal musicians to a more realistic level; however, his chronic shortage of money meant that such payments were usually seriously in arrears (Ashbee, 1986: vol. i, 2–4; Holman, 1993: 282–7; 292–3; Hume, 2006; Raynor, 1972: 256). However, the decline of the court as a centre for high culture started with the money problems of Charles II and James II and continued under subsequent monarchs: neither William III nor Queen Anne had much interest in such matters, and George I's patronage was largely restricted to opera (Hume, 2006). This, together with the effect of the English Reformation on church music and musicians, had left what Brewer (1995) has termed a 'cultural vacuum' in post-Restoration England. Fewer musicians could rely solely on a position at court or in a great household and many were thus forced to find other ways to earn a living or to supplement what they could gain from court or aristocratic patronage.

As musicians moved from positions where they acted as live-in servants to a status more akin to that of freelance professionals, from 'musician-valet' to 'musician-entrepreneur' (Attali, 1985: 47), they had to learn new skills to find work, acting in a more entrepreneurial fashion, negotiating fees and contracts, undertaking a variety of enterprises, advancing themselves by self-promotion and manipulation of a market through social networks. Distinctions between musicians also developed, between virtuosic soloists who could demand high salaries and rank-and-file performers who had to make do with far less. Patronage was still important to a musician in early-eighteenth century London and musicians thus needed to curry favour with the powerful individuals who made up the audiences at concerts, or who required their services for private gatherings or as teachers. Indeed, appearing at public concerts was a way of advertising and affirming their status and suitability for the private activities of teaching and house-concerts (McVeigh, 2001: 153; Rose, 2009; Weber, 2004c).

This chapter will examine the growing dominance of the professional musician in London's concert life as compared to the situation in other parts of Britain and in Europe, where public concerts were much more likely to be either strongly linked to court musicians or organised to a great extent by amateurs. It will discuss the social and financial position of professional musicians in London focusing on an examination of musicians' places of residence in London as well as their income. Parallel to the earlier discussion of the importance in advertisements of information about the pieces to be

performed (see Section 6.2), this chapter investigates the importance given to information about performers. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the provenance of concert promoters, and, at more length, the provenance of violin soloists and the hierarchies which were starting to arise among these performers in terms of the parts they played and the venues in which they performed.

9.2. The Amateur/Professional Divide

Within London, freelance professional musicians dominated in the organisation of concerts; the only notable exceptions to this were music clubs and societies which might be run by amateurs or have some amateur performers (see Section 5.2.4). This professional dominance was not so evident in British towns and cities apart from London at such an early stage, with the notable exception of Bath, nor in Europe.

9.2.1. Performances outside London

The customs of the London 'season' dictated that concerts were given there from October to May, but that during the rest of the year performances at concert rooms and theatres were much less frequent or even non-existent. Pleasure gardens and spa resorts, mostly on the peripheries of the metropolis, provided music for dancing and concerts proper during the 'summer season'. However, many of London's wealthier winter residents returned to their country estates or travelled elsewhere in the summer and advertisements for concerts outside London sometimes appeared in the London newspapers, often well in advance of the date of performance indicating that these events were trying to attract an audience which was based in the metropolis for at least some of the time. The presence of visitors, many of them from London itself, was no doubt the cause for at least some of the concert activity in the provinces in the summer months.

The increasing number of spas throughout England often boasted music and dancing as part of the entertainment provided, though concerts proper performed by the 'best masters', often having travelled from London themselves, were only to be heard at the bigger resorts. Formal concerts had evidently started at Tunbridge Wells by 1703 where 'that famous Italian Lady Signiora Francisca Margareta de L'epine... gives every week Entertainments of Musick, all Compos'd by that great Master Signior Giacomo

Greber' (*Post Man* 12 August 1703). Epsom Wells was open by 1707 but single concerts were only advertised in the London newspapers in 1708, 1713, and 1716, and in 1714 a consort was given 'every Monday during the Season... at Mrs. Bowes's House call'd the High Green...' (*Daily Courant* 12 and 13 May 1714).

Another resort of the wealthy were the horse race meetings held around the country during the summer months. At some of these concerts might be provided, sometimes described as 'for the ladies'; occasionally performers were mentioned in the advertisements whose names were familiar from London concert advertisements. Concerts were sometimes held as part of the celebrations held for the 'opening' of a new organ and advertised in the London newspapers although only a Cecilia's Day concert to be held in Winchester in 1703 mentions ticket prices (*Post Man* 13 November 1703) and it is possible that few St Cecilia's Day festivities were given solely by professional musicians charging an admission fee.

In addition to the examples above, which are of towns and events trying to attract audiences who were only transient visitors by advertising in London newspapers, other towns and cities also held concerts for their own populations or for more long-term visitors. In contrast to the dominance of professional musicians in London, these tended to be much more dominated by amateurs, either as organisers or as performers or in both roles, and concerts were often arranged by amateur music societies, with or without professional participation: '...outside London, concerts were predominantly amateur, and if when visiting a town one felt like going to a concert, one could as well take an instrument and join in as sit in the audience' (Sadie, 1958–1959).

Music making in Oxford was dominated by its Musical Society which provided public or subscription concerts where professional musicians played alongside amateurs (Burchell, 1996; Crum, 1974). East Anglia, one of the wealthier parts of the country, supported a flourishing musical life from an early date with regular music meetings in Norwich, Bury St Edmunds, Great Yarmouth and Ipswich from the 1720s. Even such small East Anglian towns as Swaffham and Dedham had subscription concerts or a musical society before the middle of the eighteenth century (Sadie, 1958–1959). The first documented concerts in Manchester were subscription meetings held by a Manchester Musical Society in 1744 and 1745 which were organised by amateurs (Burchell, 1996). Occasional concerts were advertised in Newcastle as early as 1712,

but it was not until 1736 that regular subscription concerts began at the Assembly Rooms, although effectively under the musical directorship of Charles Avison they were ostensibly managed by a group of ‘twelve Gentlemen’ (Burchell, 1996; Southey, 2001). A regular series of winter concerts was established by 1730 in the new Assembly Rooms in York and may have grown out of an earlier ‘musick-club’, probably a gathering of gentlemen which met (possibly weekly) to sing catches and glees from around 1724 (Southey, 2001). Edinburgh had few commercial concerts before the end of the eighteenth century, instead they were organised almost exclusively by the amateur-run Edinburgh Musical Society (Burchell, 1996).

Bath was the exception to the more common amateur dominance. Concerts were held regularly at the spa resort of Bath for both the transient visitors and long-term residents, but the absence of local newspapers before 1744 makes it difficult to trace these early in the period. Music would have entertained the visitors as they bathed or took the waters, ate, drank, and socialised at least since the time of Charles II, as was the custom at the similar but smaller London spa resorts. Richard ‘Beau’ Nash, the Bath Master of Ceremonies, introduced professional musicians into the Pump Room from about 1710 and it was they who gave Bath’s first regular public concerts there, held in the morning. By 1726, concerts, in addition to other activities, were described as being ‘the common Entertainment of the week’; these may have been breakfast concerts held in Harrison’s Assembly Rooms at noon. By 1745 evening concerts were well established at the two main Assembly Rooms (James, 1987). Unlike most other towns and cities, excepting London, the emphasis in Bath was on public rather than private entertainment, and concerts arranged by amateur music societies, with or without professional participation, were not properly established before the death of Nash in 1761 (Burchell, 1996).

9.2.2. Europe: Court and Amateur Dominance

Unlike London, where freelance professional musicians dominated in their organisation, concerts in Europe tended to be associated either with court musicians or with societies of amateur music lovers. What may have been the earliest commercial concert series was established in Paris in 1641 by the composer and harpsichordist Jacques Champion de Chambonnières with a group of ten musicians calling themselves

the *Assemblée des Honnêtes Curieux* (Assembly of the Honourable and Interested). The performers received an annual salary of 150 livres for two performances a week and the description of the concerts as '*consers de musique en consequence de l'accademye instituée par le roy*' indicates royal support (Rose, 2005; Fuller, n.d.). No more is heard of concerts in Paris until 1725 when the *Concert Spirituel* series of instrumental and sacred works was held in the Palace of the Tuileries as an alternative to opera when this was forbidden by religious law. Although established under a privilege granted by the Opéra, this again had court links as it was directed by court musicians. A few professional musicians put on concerts in the second half of the eighteenth century but the government severely restricted their frequency and groups of wealthy amateurs who hired musicians for private performances were denied licenses for public concerts (Weber, 1975: 4).

In Germany, public concerts developed from what were originally private performances given by associations of amateur and professional musicians known as *Collegium Musicum* or *Akademie* (Morrow, 1989: 35). The collegium established by Telemann while a student in Leipzig in 1702 was still in existence in 1743 when a rival *Grosse Konzerte* were founded in 1743 by some enterprising merchants and later expanded into the famous *Gewandhauskonzerte* ((Balet and Rebling, 1936) quoted in (Habermas, 1992: 259 note 28); (Stauffer, n.d.)). *Liebhaber Gesellschaft* (Friends of Music Societies) became providers of public concerts for a number of towns and cities in Germany during the eighteenth century: regular public concerts were held in Frankfurt from 1723, in Hamburg from 1724, in Strassburg from 1730, and in Lübeck from 1733; the smaller towns of Gotha, Halle and Schweignitz in Schlesiens, all had concert associations ((Balet and Rebling, 1936) quoted in (Habermas, 1992: 259 note 28); (Morrow, 1989: 35). The initiative for public concerts in Berlin also came from civic groups, with court musicians organising private gatherings; it was not until the late eighteenth century that Berlin concert life began to be dominated by professional rather than amateur musicians as the music became increasingly demanding (Becker et al., n.d.). Public concerts arose in Vienna in the 1740s, but as no strong Friends of Music Society emerged to take control of the concert organization, the impetus came from the court theatres and concerts remained dependent on them and their performance calendar for more than a quarter of a century (Morrow, 1989: 36–7).

Thus we can see that unlike London, and to a lesser extent Bath, which could support a large number of professional musicians performing in the various commercial entertainments as well as amateur-controlled musical societies, few towns or cities in Britain or even in Europe, could support purely professional performances and ‘the distinction between amateur and professional concerts was much less obvious’ (Burchell, 1996: x). It was not until later in the eighteenth century that professional musicians were able to take a more prominent rôle in concert giving.

9.3. Social and Financial Status of Musicians

Over the period during which music was beginning to be established as a business through the presentation of commercial concerts, the social status of the musician continued a process of decline which had begun with the English Civil War and was only beginning to be reversed by the mid-nineteenth century, and then only for particular parts of the profession (Rohr, 2001: 178). As had been the case for centuries, seventeenth-century musicians did not comprise a single homogeneous group but instead came from socially diverse backgrounds and were part of a recognisable, if disputed, hierarchy (Gouk, 1996).

A small group of elite musicians at the top of their profession earned a relatively adequate and stable income and had a secure social status. Most of this elite acquired formal musical skills either by means of training in Church establishments or via the more practical training provided by a formal or informal apprenticeship with an urban guild or in an aristocratic household. Those who had a church-based training shared many of the attributes of a traditional profession: a career path firmly associated with the church and universities; an established basis of theoretical knowledge which was reinforced by recognition of music as a liberal art by the universities⁷⁶; and essential social value due to their rôle in the cathedral and collegiate services of the Anglican Church. The church had long been the leading provider of practical musical training in England: the cathedral choirs and the collegiate foundations provided their boy

⁷⁶ The degree of doctor of music was introduced at Cambridge in 1463 with the Mus.B. first granted 1500–1; at Oxford the BMus. was introduced in 1505 and the doctorate in music in 1515 (Williams, 1894); the Heather Professorship in Music was established in 1626. Music also formed part of BA degrees: according to Oxford statutes of 1564–65, the four-year BA comprised two terms of grammar, four of rhetoric, five of dialectic, three of arithmetic and two of music, although this would be the study of music as a speculative and mathematical subject, rather than practical music-making or composition (Gouk, 1996).

choristers with a basic literary education and trained them to sing and play instruments, some of them also mastering the skills of reading and writing music. The Church was gradually losing its rôle as the leading patron of musicians as the court increasingly provided a central focus to which men of talent were drawn. Royal patronage in the form of employment in the Chapels Royal or the King's Musick, or as an individual performer or teacher to the royal family, conferred enormous social and professional prestige, which often resulted in further non-court engagements as performer and/or teacher (Gouk, 1996; Rohr, 2001: 42–3; Spink, 1992: 51). Late seventeenth and eighteenth-century English musicians such as John Blow, Maurice Greene, Pelham Humphrey, Henry Purcell, William Turner, John Weldon and William Boyce were trained as choristers in collegiate churches, cathedrals or the Chapel Royal; many subsequently gained court appointments, Turner and Greene both received the degree of MusD from Cambridge, and Greene was Professor of Music there.

Non church-trained musicians were thought of more as artisans and many of them increasingly sought employment in cities, primarily London. Outside the Church, urban centres were the primary provider of musical education by means of the highly practical apprenticeship system of the various guilds and companies of waits. These musicians had no formal link with the universities or cathedrals, and only the very best of them might hope to perform for the aristocracy or at court. It is these latter musicians who might be expected to benefit from the growth of commercial concert-giving with its associated activities of purchasing instruments and printed music, and taking private lessons (Gouk, 1996; Rohr, 2001: 9). John Banister, John Ravenscroft, William Saunders and the three brothers Edward, John and Robert Strong, were all associated with companies of waits in London; all but Ravenscroft eventually gained court appointments.

At the bottom of the heap was the huge majority of musicians who could not earn enough from music to be able to devote themselves to it full time, but who had to combine music-making with some other non-musical occupation in order to make a viable living.

After the Restoration, the group of high-status musicians with their links to church and university lost much of their former prestige, together with the social and financial advantages of careers in church and university, and became a much less

significant part of the music profession. Moreover, as it was the recognition by the universities of music's intellectual foundation together with music's essential rôle in the church which had been the primary legitimizing features for the musical profession, the decline in these areas undermined musician's claims to be a profession at all. It was the urban musicians with their links to theatres, concert rooms and pleasure gardens who started to dominate the 'profession' both musically and economically, even though many of them were financially insecure, had poor long-term economic and social prospects, and were regarded as artisans rather than having a middle-class social and professional status (Rohr, 2001: 9–10).

9.3.1. Musicians' Places of Residence in London

One way in which musicians' social status might be ascertained is from an examination of their places of residence in London. However, it is not possible to ascertain where musicians lived in all cases as, with the exception of those at the top of the profession such as Handel, 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. The earliest London directory (Lee and Major, 1677) only records the names of merchants and goldsmiths, and it is not until Mortimer's 1763 *Universal Director* that a list of London 'Masters and Professors of Music' and 'Musical Instrument-Makers including Organ Builders' was published (Anon., 1949; Corfield and Kelly, 1984; Langwill, 1949; Mortimer, 1763). In these circumstances, one means of ascertaining at least some musician's places of residence is by examining advertisements for benefit concerts as tickets for these could sometimes be obtained from the benefitting musician at his/her house or lodgings. Musicians also occasionally sold tickets at their own residence for concerts which do not seem to be benefits and a very few concerts were held at musician's houses (see Appendix P and Figure 9-1). Occasional references to musician's residences are included in advertisements for publications which might be bought there.

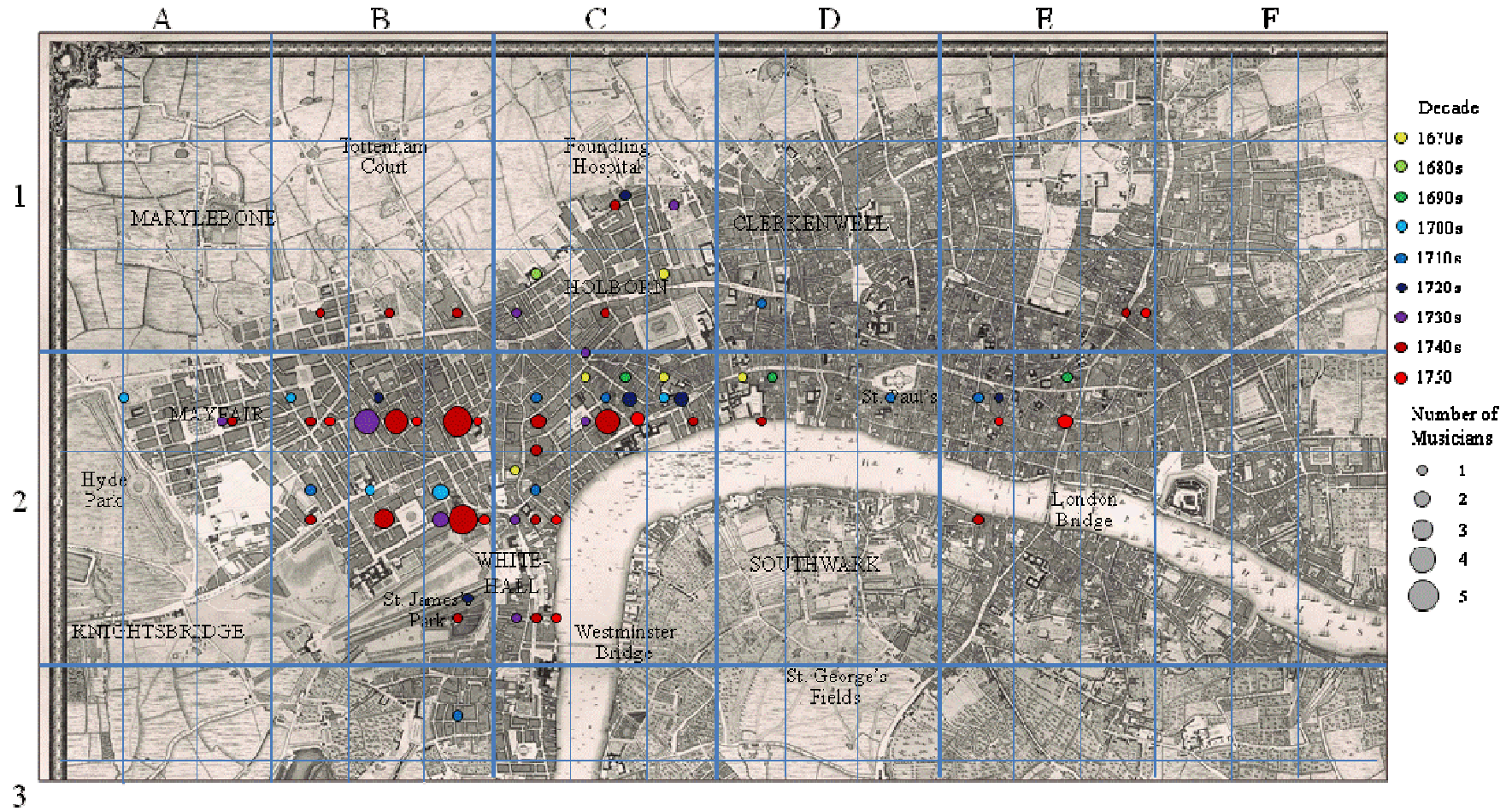
However, even this data does not yield as much information about the social status of musicians as one might suppose, as there was not at this period a strict division between poor and wealthy areas in the capital. The twin cities of London, the centre of the production of wealth, and Westminster, the centre of its consumption, did not yet

exhibit that characteristic of the later, industrial city which is exemplified by a marked social segregation with social separation being clearly reflected in spatial separation (Jones, 1980; Power, 1986). The somewhat medieval characteristic of a 'social intermingling of rich and poor not yet segregated into clearly distinguished neighbourhoods' pertained well into the seventeenth century (Pearl, 1979). It was only by the end of the eighteenth century that social segregation in London had increased to a significant extent. By then, the higher income group influenced quite a large area, comprising the City of London within the walls, and parts of Westminster, with a definite concentration in the central, western and north-western parts of London. Nevertheless, even by the late eighteenth century, wealthy residents did not dominate even the wealthiest of the London parishes: 'the process of residential segregation was sufficiently recent, towns were not yet sufficiently large, transport too poor and the demand for labour intensive services too great to permit their total domination of areas larger than a few squares or streets' (Schwarz, 1982).

An examination of the data given in Appendix P and summarised graphically in Figure 9-1 shows that musicians for whom such information is available tended to live in the wealthier areas of the City Within or Westminster rather than in the poorer eastern areas of London. In the 1670s, the only information we have is for John Banister, whose earliest recorded place of residence was in the rather dubious area of Whitefriars close to the City walls at the west. His subsequent concert locations, which may or may not have also been his places of residence, were either closer to the Strand, the thoroughfare which linked the City where wealth was produced and Westminster where it was consumed, or in one case closer to the higher status residential area around Lincoln's Inn Fields. Information for concert givers in the 1680s and 1690s is similarly scant, with locations in Great Russell Street (Bloomsbury), Cornhill in the City, Fleet Street and Covent Garden. As the eighteenth century progresses, we can see an increase in the number of musician's addresses which are known, a direct result no doubt of the increasing number of concerts which were taking place and being advertised. Although a very few musicians lived within the City walls 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.

Figure 9-1: Musician's Recorded Residences in London by Decade

271



However, this does not necessarily imply that musicians listed in Appendix P were wealthy, but they were likely to be better off than some of their fellows. The majority of the musicians listed were soloists who held benefit concerts, rather than the rank and file *ripieno* players who would not be likely to earn as much for their performances, nor to gain the financial rewards of a benefit concert. Furthermore, as stated earlier, even the wealthier parts of London were not the exclusive domain of wealthy inhabitants. Schwartz (1982) has examined in detail information given in the returns sent to the government by the collectors of assessed taxes in 1798 for three wealthy parishes in Westminster, eighteen wealthy and small wards of the 'City Within' (the most prosperous part of the City of London) and fifteen predominantly poor parishes in the Tower Division of the East. The wealthy parishes in Westminster contained a higher proportion of shops than areas in the City Within or the Tower Division: the proportion of shops to residential houses without shops in them was about 100:100 in Westminster, in the City Within 100:245 and in the Tower Division 100:187. The number of shops and houses with lodgers was also high in the Westminster parishes: 69% of shops and 52% of houses in the three Westminster parishes examined by Schwartz had lodgers, and one must also take into account the fact that the Westminster parishes already had a higher proportion of shops than other parts of London. Writing in 1776, Adam Smith explains the reason for the abundance of cheap lodgings:

There is no city in Europe, I believe, in which house-rent is dearer than in London, and yet I know no capital in which a furnished apartment can be hired so cheap. ... A dwelling-house in England means every thing that is contained under the same roof. In France, Scotland, and many other parts of Europe, it frequently means no more than a single storey. A tradesman in London is obliged to hire a whole house in that part of the town where his customers live. His shop is upon the ground floor, and he and his family sleep in the garret; and he endeavours to pay a part of his house-rent by letting the two middle storeys to lodgers. He expects to maintain his family by his trade, and not by his lodgers. (Smith, 1776: 102–3)

What has this to do with where London musicians chose to live? Many shopkeepers chose to live in the wealthy Westminster parishes so as to be close to their customers and the same obviously held good for musicians. Some concerts were held in the City at the Livery Company halls or at City taverns, but the focus was definitely

shifting westwards to venues such as York Buildings at the western end of the Strand, Hickford's premises in Panton Street and Brewer Street, and to the patent theatres in Covent Garden, the Haymarket and Drury Lane. Thus, the majority of venues at which musicians played frequently were to be found towards the fashionable West End and so it would make more sense to live closer to the theatres and concert rooms of Westminster. Moreover, few musicians could make a living just by giving concerts or performing in theatres or at the opera; most earned a proportion of their living from playing at private dances, balls and other gatherings and by giving lessons to the sons and daughters of the well-to-do. They formed part of the small army of service providers who had to live in close proximity to the clients they served, and as we have seen above, there were plenty of cheap lodgings to be had above the many shops, coffee houses and taverns in the area.

9.3.2. Financial Status of Musicians

It is almost impossible to glean any but the vaguest information on the financial status of musicians from concert advertisements. One might hope to gain some financial information from the incidence of benefit concerts. The benefit system developed during the 1690s as a way in which short-paid actors could be compensated and quickly became a basic part of the financial arrangements for theatres in eighteenth century London (Hume, 1984; Troubridge, 1967). For most benefit concerts, the price of the ticket was given in the advertisement and for some concert venues we have some idea of the maximum number of seats. However, even for theatres for which more records survive than for other concert venues, it is impossible to know how much a performer collected as a result of their benefit. In theatres, some benefits were awarded without house charges being deducted, others would have some house charges withheld by the management which might or might not be related to the actual cost. Furthermore, even though the ticket price and sometimes the attendance figures may be known, as is sometimes the case for Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatrical/operatic benefits, it is difficult to know the proceeds exactly as the beneficiary was free to give tickets away, sell them at face value, or for a premium (Hume, 2006). For concert venues other than the theatres, surviving records are scarce to non-existent.

Some information is available from the diaries and financial documents of musicians and others. Writing in his commonplace book in 1703 or 1704,⁷⁷ the German composer Johann Sigismund Cousser included a section headed ‘Was ein virtuose, so in London kommt, zu observiren sol’⁷⁸ which contained information he had obtained either directly or indirectly from the German composer Jakob Greber, who gave recitals in England in 1703 and 1704 with his then mistress, the Italian singer Francesca Margarita de l'Epine. In his book, Cousser includes some information about pay and contracts:

Mr Greber was granted 400 guineas for a six-week series of three recitals a week. He received half, that is 200, immediately, half of the remainder at the middle of the period, and the last 100 when all the recitals had been given.

Mr Greber had a contract for 26 concerts, one each week, in the York Building Room, for which he grossed a thousand guineas. The expenses were 286 guineas. In addition to this, he had a day for a benefit concert [‘hat er einen Tag vor sich ausgedungen’]. The best musicians are paid one pound for each performance less important musicians are paid ten shillings and the least important are paid five shillings.

Don't forget to select a day for a benefit concert, but for this you must pay the expenses, namely 30 guineas for the large theatre and 20 for the small.

When all the concerts are over and the instrumentalists have been paid, invite them to dinner. One must not neglect to do that, for in return one gets them to do the last [?benefit] concert without pay.

(Samuel, 1981)

Even though Cousser received his information second-hand and we cannot vouch for its absolute truth, we have here a clearly defined hierarchy: the best musicians receive £1 per concert, the less important 10s., and the least important 5s. Greber, who was a composer and concert organiser, received 400 guineas for his six-week series of 18 recitals, which works out at just over 22 guineas per concert; and for the series of 26 concerts in the York Buildings Room he received 714 guineas after expenses, about 27½ guineas per concert. It is also interesting to note that the expenses seem only to have included the hire of the room, that is 30 guineas for the ‘large’ theatre and 20 guineas for the ‘small’; from the figures given, hire of the York Room thus appears to have cost 11 guineas per performance. As the pay which Greber is supposed

⁷⁷ Acquired in 1954 by the James Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

⁷⁸ ‘What a virtuoso should observe upon arriving in London’.

to have received appears quite high on a per concert basis, it seems possible that he would also have paid for the hire of musicians to perform at the concerts out of this. Although we cannot be certain of how many musicians would have performed, this would make the figures for his income seem more credible and more in line with those given elsewhere.

Another source of information are the vocational guides to various careers published in the eighteenth century. One such is Campbell's (1747) *London Tradesman*, which comments:

If a Parent cannot make his son a Gentleman, and finds that he has got an Itch of Music, it is much the best way to allot him entirely to that Study. The present general Taste of Music in the Gentry may find him better Bread than what perhaps the Art deserves. The Gardens in the Summer Time employ a great Number of Hands, where they are allowed a Guinea a Week and upwards according to their merit. The Opera, the Play-Houses, Masquerades, Ridottoes, and the several Music-Clubs, employ them in the Winter.

Quotation from (Ehrlich, 1985: 9)

Again we have intimations of a hierarchy according to the skill of the performer, with payment being 'according to... merit'.

Payment for performing at public commercial concerts formed only part of a musician's income at this period and earnings from a variety of sources would usually be required to make a living. These might include: a paid position at Court, employment as a vicar choral or organist in a cathedral or church, a salaried or occasional position at one of the theatres, playing at private concerts, giving lessons, earnings from publishing musical compositions, collections of pieces and tutors to assist amateurs in learning to play an instrument, and so on. Non-musical activities might also be used to supplement a musician's income. The various activities of three London-based musicians, the English counter-tenor Francis Hughes, the French oboist Peter Latour, and the Italian violinist Nicolo Cosimi will be tracked to show how they might have made up at least some of their income from various sources.

Even though court influence was in decline during the period under discussion, government jobs were still of importance in the economics of cultural production as a court appointment could provide a living, even if it were not a generous one, or more likely, would make up a part of a musician's livelihood (Hume, 2006). Handel is one

well-known example of a musician who held court appointments which gained him a significant annual income, but he was not unique in this, even though the amount he received was larger than most. For instance, Peter Latour served at court between 1699 and 1731, first as a member of the 'Hautboys to his Royal Highness', Prince George of Denmark, receiving occasional payments for particular events, and then on the death of Prince George in 1708 receiving a pension from the Crown of £56 a year in addition (Ashbee et al., 1998: vol. 2, 701–705). The counter-tenor Francis Hughes was appointed as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal with the usual fee of £73 a year from 1708 and was allocated a second Chapel Royal place in 1730, holding both until his death in 1734 (Ashbee et al., 1998: vol. 1, 603–6). On a slightly more informal basis, on 16 June 1704, the violinist Nicola Cosimi was paid thirty guineas for having played both nights that the Austrian claimant to the Spanish throne (the later emperor, Charles VI) was at Windsor Castle; Cosimi's travel and other expenses during his trip to Windsor totalled only £1 4s (Lindgren, 1982).

The number of musicians performing at public concerts who were also employed in churches or cathedrals was not large and they were, in the main, singing men. Francis Hughes, mentioned above in connection with the Chapel Royal, was also admitted as a vicar choral at St Paul's Cathedral in 1708, and subsequently as a lay vicar at Westminster Abbey in 1715, which post he held until his death.

Employment in the theatre guaranteed a good income only for a few privileged performers, mostly principal singers in the opera; earnings for the majority of less prominent singers and orchestral musicians ranged from levels of bare subsistence to modest comfort. About 1703 Vanbrugh drew up a 'Company Plan' for the combined theatre/opera company he was planning to run as a monopoly under his ownership in the Haymarket Theatre he was building. While six senior actors and actresses were noted down at £120 to £150 per annum, the musicians fared less well: the music director John Eccles was to receive a £40 salary, twenty orchestral musicians were to get £1 per week, and six singers were provisionally allocated a total of £150 with an extra £200 for additional singers and extra pay on performance nights (Hume, 2006; Milhous, 1976; Milhous and Hume, 1993). However, Vanbrugh could not achieve a monopoly of opera performances, and competition with Drury Lane to recruit competent singers led to rapid salary inflation. When Vanbrugh did achieve an opera

monopoly at the Haymarket in January 1708, he had to pay four principal singers £400 or more each for a total of only twenty-nine or possibly thirty performances, with £70 to each of the principal instrumentalists and £750 for the rest of the instrumentalists which equated to daily payments ranging from 15s down to 8s (Milhous and Hume, 1982: 76–79). In November 1707 Latour's name had been included as the prospective 2nd oboist for the opera orchestra of the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket; he requested payment of £1 5s per night but was eventually appointed at a rate of 11s 3d per night and held this position until at least the 1710/11 season (Milhous and Hume, 1982: 30–1 and 78–9). The stratospheric salaries commanded by the top opera singers caused Vanbrugh to go bankrupt within four months, but the pattern was set and later companies followed suit.

After the collapse of Heidegger's company in 1717, Italian opera was re-established on the London stage under the patronage of George I, who granted a charter to the Royal Academy of Music in 1719 which attracted a pledged capital in excess of £20,000, with a £1,000 per annum subsidy provided by the king himself. Various projections of expenses were drawn up which give useful information on the salaries for singers and orchestral performers: the principal castrato (Senesino) and the leading lady were each to have £1,500, with seven secondary singers at salaries ranging from £300 to £1,100. Handel directed the opera orchestra which had projected salaries from £30 for a player of the lowest rank to £100 for the leader of the band, Pietro Castrucci, for a projected sixty-night season; Handel's salary is not known but has been estimated by Deutsch (1955: 97) as not more than £800 a year (Hume, 2006; Milhous and Hume, 1983).

Turning to the theatres where opera was not dominant, we find that the Italian violinist Nicola Cosimi was paid £47 for seven concerts at the Lincolns-Inn-Fields Theatre during the 1701/2 season, and £30 for having played at five concerts in the subscription series of 1703/4, which was organised by the singer Katherine Tofts (Lindgren, 1982). Francis Hughes sang at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, appearing in performances between 1700 and 1708 while Peter Latour was a member of the band at Drury Lane Theatre by 19 April 1703.

Information on performances at private concerts, other than those held at Court, is difficult to obtain. In 1703 or 1704 Cousser comments that 'the usual honorarium for

performing at the home of a nobleman is ten guineas' but 'when one performs for the queen, the usual honorarium is 100 guineas' (Samuel, 1981); while the former is a substantial sum, the latter is astronomical for a single evening's work. These figures are certainly much in excess of those noted in the careful financial records of the Italian violinist Nicola Cosimi, who, after playing several times at the home of the earl of Manchester, the English ambassador in Paris, was given twenty luigi d'oro (equal to £17), five of which he gave to the cellist Nicola Haym who played with him. Likewise, five days after his arrival in England in 1701 at the invitation of Wriothsley Russell, 2nd duke of Bedford, he was given four guineas for playing for the duke of Devonshire, of which he gave one to Haym. Cosimi records playing at other noble homes for which the customary gratuity was one guinea. Musicians could also be employed in noble houses on a more permanent basis than is implied by performing at the occasional private concert. According to receipts in the Bedford archive in London, both Cosimi and Haym received a salary of 100 guineas a year for three years, 1701–1704; while from 1704 to 1711, Haym was paid only 50 guineas a year. Presumably their duties included playing for the Russells whenever they requested music. In January 1704, Cosimi apparently became the leader of a concert series at the home of Baron Baltimore and was paid either a jacobus (about 23s.) or grand jacobus (about 30s.) per concert; three times in 1704–5 he was paid twenty or more jacobus for a concert series that lasted 'per 5 mesi' (for 5 months) (Lindgren, 1982).

While many professional musicians taught their craft to younger aspiring performers, little or nothing is known of the financial basis for this; however, the paid teaching of amateurs definitely formed a part of the earnings of many musicians. Pepys paid his wife's music teacher 10s. for each song he taught her, this was a huge sum which can only have been afforded by the gentry (Pepys' Diary: entry for 31 August 1667. Latham and Matthews, 1995: Vol VIII, 411). Playing at concerts and publication of compositions were both accepted as being good ways of attracting more paying pupils. In an advertisement for his 'famous and long-expected Musicks of Two Parts' advertised in December 1676 Nicola Matteis informed prospective purchasers that the work could be obtained at his residence 'Where such as desire to learn Composition, or to Play upon the Violin, may be instructed accordingly' (*London Gazette* 11 December 1676). Nicola Cosimi also used publication as a way of attracting new paying pupils:

before the publication of his opus 1 Violin Sonatas in 1702 he only had two violin students, but afterwards he had twenty, mostly amateurs of gentle or noble birth. Students usually received three lessons a week, for which Cosimi charged three guineas a month, earning £369 in about two and a half years from his violin pupils (Lindgren, 1982).

Another form of noble patronage was that of luxury subscription publication which was used for music publications as it was for their literary counterparts (Hume, 2006; Krummel, 1975: 159–60). An early instance is Thomas Mace's (1676) *Musick's Monument*, a volume of musical criticism 'tending to the advancement of Musick in general' which was published by the author with the aid of 'above 300 worthy Subscribers', whose names he printed (Clapp, 1932). Performing musicians also used this method of publication. For instance, Matteis' above-mentioned 'famous and long-expected Musicks of Two Parts' contained '190 Copper-Plates' which had been 'Cut at the Desire, and Charge of certain Well-wishers to the Work' (*London Gazette* 11 December 1676). No price is given, but an advertisement early the next year states that 'the first Impression ... are almost all sold; and the remainder of them will be disposed of at 12s. a Book; or the first Part only, at 7s.' (*London Gazette* 15 February 1676/7). Likewise in 1683, Henry Purcell advertised to:

'... all Gentlemen that have subscribed to the Proposals Published by Mr. Henry Purcel for the Printing his Sonata's of three Parts for two Violins and Base to the Harpsecord or Organ, That the said Books are now compleatly finished, and shall be delivered to them upon the 11th of June next: And if any who have not yet Subscribed, shall before that time Subscribe, according to the said Proposals, (which is Ten Shillings the whole sett) ... for the said Books will not after that time be Sold under 15 s. the Sett.'
(*London Gazette* 28 May 1683)

After Henry Purcell's death, his wife again set out a proposal for 'Printing a Collection of Sonata's, and another of Ayres, composed by her late Husband Mr. Henry Purcell; To pay for both 20s. which will not be Sold (but to Subscribers) under 30s.' (*London Gazette* 9 April 1696). Much later, Handel was also publishing his works by subscription, and linking them to concert performance as a method of cross-selling:

Proposals for Printing by Subscription Twelve Grand Concerto's for Violins, &c. in 7 Parts. Composed by Mr. Handel.

1. The Price to Subscribers is Two Guineas, One Guinea to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and the other on the Delivery of the Books.

2. This Work will contain 400 Plates, engraven in a neat Character, and be ready to deliver to Subscribers by April next.

N.B. Two of the above Concerto's will be perform'd this Evening at the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

(*London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 22, 27 and 28 November 1739)

The music publications mentioned were at the top end of the book price range: using evidence taken from Term Catalogue lists, Hume (2006) states that of the 236 books listed in Easter and Trinity terms 1670 only seven were offered at £1 or more with 196 costing less than 4s and 139 no more than 2s. By 1709, the situation was not much changed: for the equivalent terms, 152 titles were listed and of these only one was offered at over a £1 (Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's works published in six quarto volumes by Tonson at 30s.), while 104 were 2s. or less (Arber, 1903).

Interesting information on patronage of subscription publication can be gleaned from the records of Nicola Cosimi. On 9 November 1702 he published his *Sonate da camera a violino e violone o cembalo opus 1* 'humbly Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Bedford. Curiously Engraven on Copper-Plates. To be had at Mr. Banister's in Brownlow-street in Drury-lane, and at Mr. King's in Villers-street in York-buildings, at a Guinea a Book' (*London Gazette* 5 November 1702). Cosimi had two copies expensively bound for presentation to the dedicatee, another 11 less expensively bound for presentation to other influential friends and 25 stitched in blue paper. He presented his volume of sonatas to illustrious friends or sold them, mainly to his violin students. His friends usually honoured him with more than the guinea mentioned in the advertisement: receiving sometimes two, four, or five guineas per volume, and he earned 93½ guineas for the 55 copies he mentions in his diary between November of 1702 and June of 1704 (Lindgren, 1982).

Some musicians also earned income from music-related or non-musical activities: William Corbett built up a valuable collection of music and instruments during his sometimes lengthy stays in Italy which he then sold on his return to England (see p.738 in Appendix Q); Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli, a violinist pupil of Corelli, devoted his energies in later life to importing wine, at which he was so successful that

he was appointed a purveyor of wine to the King (see p.731 in Appendix Q); the account books of Nicola Cosimi show that he had earned income from as many as twenty students as well as from publication of his compositions, but even so his musical activities could not always supply him with sufficient income and his financial independence at times rested on his secondary activity as a picture dealer (Lindgren, 1982).

Advertisements for charity concerts for musicians and their families who had fallen on hard times show that being a musical performer was not necessarily a stable profession financially, especially in old age, sickness, or for musician's widows and their families (see Table 9-1). This lack of security is emphasised by the foundation in 1738 of the 'Fund establish'd for the Support of decay'd Musicians, or their Families',⁷⁹ on the initiative of three London musicians: Michael Christian Festing, Carl Friedrich Weideman and one of the Vincent family of musicians (probably Thomas, a bassoonist). They had been prompted to take action after seeing the impoverished children of the oboist Jean Christian Kytch, a colleague who had recently died, herding asses along the Haymarket (Matthews, 1984). An initial meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern on Sunday 23 April 1738 and as a result they and a further 225 musicians put their names to a Declaration of Trust, with the aim of caring for their members in need and looking after their widows and children. In 1738, the annual subscription was ten shillings (10/-) *per annum* which produced about £150 to be distributed to those in need: £5 to cover funeral expenses, 7/- a week for a widow and not more than 10/- a week for a sick man without dependants. Royalty, nobility and gentry added their support to the Society by becoming honorary subscribers, their names heading the published lists of members (Coleman, n.d.).

Table 9-1: Charitable Benefits for Musicians or their Families

Concert Date	Charitable Beneficiary
03/03/1701	the Widow to the late Mr. Will. Hall, who formerly had the Consort of Musick at his House in Norfolk-street
10/03/1701	the Widow of Mr. Thomas Williams, who perform'd in the Theatre Royal
28/04/1701	Mr. William Williams (late Master of Musick) his Widow and three small Children
18/06/1701	the Widow and Seven Children of Mr. Charles Powel, late Servant to His Majesty, and His late Highness the Duke of Gloucester

⁷⁹ Still in existence as The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain.

Concert Date	Charitable Beneficiary
25/07/1702	Mrs. Wroth, Widdow of Mr. Tho. Wroth Musician, lately Deceased
05/05/1715	the Widow and Children of Christian Steffkins
03/04/1733 17/04/1733	for augmenting a fund for the Widow, &c. of the Gentlemen of the Chapel-Royal, who die in his Majesty's Service
19/05/1738	Mr. Winch under Misfortunes
02/02/1741	For the Benefit of Mr. Christopher Smith, Sen. Who at his own Expench hath provided for, and brought up the Children of the late Mr. Dahuron, ever since the Time of his Death (being near Five Years) and still continues to take Care of the said poor Children, who would otherways be destitute of all Support
03/02/1743	For the Benefit of Mr. Clegg, (Who has been in a bad State of Health for some Time past)
20/03/1739 28/03/1740 14/03/1741 30/03/1743 28/03/1744 10/04/1745 25/03/1746 14/04/1747 05/04/1748 21/03/1749 10/04/1750	For the Benefit and Increase of a Fund establish'd for the Support of decay'd Musicians, or their Families

Like Nicola Cosimi, Geminiani was another prominent musician who sold paintings to supplement his income, but even this could not prevent him from being thrown into the Marshalsea Prison for debt, from which he was quickly released on application to his patron, William Capel, Earl of Essex (Careri, 1993: 27–9; Hawkins, 1853: vol 2, 847). In 1728, another violinist, John Jones, had to seek lodgings in Queen Street, Southwark, in the area known as ‘The Mint’ which was a debtors’ sanctuary. His friend the trumpeter John Grano was thrown into the Marshalsea on 30 May that same year and remained there for 480 days until the spring of 1729 when he applied for release under the Insolvent Debtors’ Act (Ginger, 1998).

When looking at musician’s earnings, they have to be compared to contemporary incomes. Writing in 1734, Vanderlint calculates that the ‘annual charge of maintaining’ a labouring man and his family in London would be about £55 *per annum*; for a ‘family in the middling Station of Life’ £315 (plus £75 *per annum* needed to secure the future of wife and children); and for a ‘gentleman’ the minimum annual income is £500 ((Vanderlint, 1734) quoted in (Hume, 2006)). However, it is difficult to calculate musician’s annual incomes as they would come from a variety of sources of

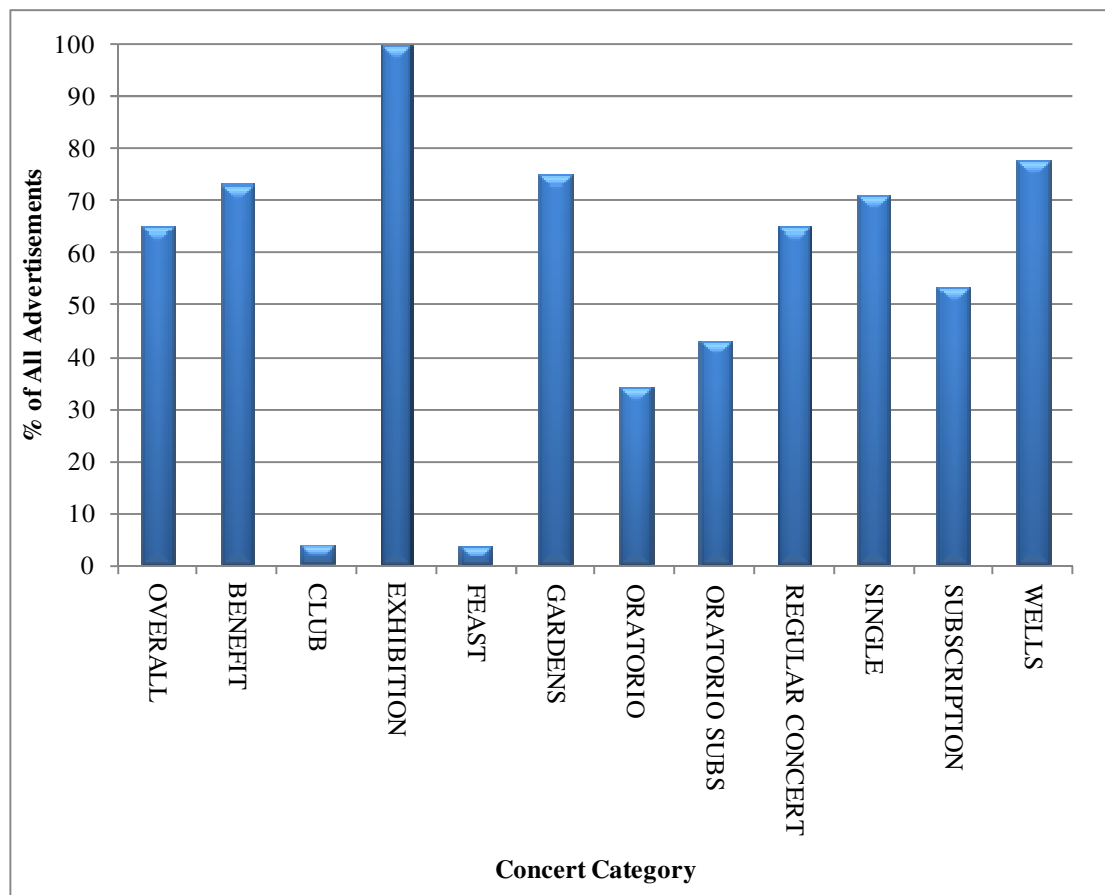
which payment for performing at public commercial concerts formed only a part. As we have seen, other sources of earning might include a paid position at Court, employment as a vicar choral or organist in a cathedral or church, a salaried or occasional position at one of the theatres, playing at private concerts, giving lessons, earnings from publishing musical compositions, collections of pieces and tutors to assist amateurs in learning to play an instrument, and so on. While we might have figures showing annual salaries or nightly payments for opera singers or performers in the opera orchestra, these tell us nothing about what the musicians concerned might also have earned from concerts or from teaching. Such secondary income may well have been more significant than the supposedly primary income for which records survive (Hume, 2006).

9.4. The Importance of Information about Performers

As has been discussed in Section 6.2, increasingly detailed references to named performers, composers or pieces of music became more common in concert advertisements as the period progressed, perhaps as a way of positioning the cultural product so as to strengthen its appeal to an audience who might be able to appreciate the quality, or otherwise, of the pieces, composers or performers listed. In the 1670s, not every advertisement contained such information, but as some advertisements listed more than one piece or performer, the average number of references to named performers, composers or pieces of music per advertisement was 1; by the 1740s this had increased substantially to an average in excess of 7 references per advertisement (see Figure 6-1). Advertisements were overall slightly more likely to give some information about the performers in the form of either a description and/or the name of the performer at 65% (see Figure 9-3) than they were to give details about the pieces to be performed in the form of a description of the piece and/or the composer (61.83%, see Figure 6-3). Within this overall figure, advertisements for some types of concert — benefit concerts (73.01%), exhibition concerts (100%), single concerts (71.24%) and those held at pleasure gardens (74.90%) and wells/spa resorts (77.51%) — were more likely to include details about the performers, whereas in advertisements for feasts (3.70%) and for musical clubs (3.77%) this type of information was more likely to be omitted. Exhibition concerts were usually exhibiting the musical skills of a particular

performer, so they would of course be named. At benefit concerts, single concerts, and those held at pleasure gardens and wells/spa resorts, giving information the performers was an important way of attracting an audience. For concerts at feasts, the low level of information given about performers may have been because the concert was not the primary reason for the event; musical clubs show little need for information about the performers as it is likely that this would have been arranged in advance by the members of the club.

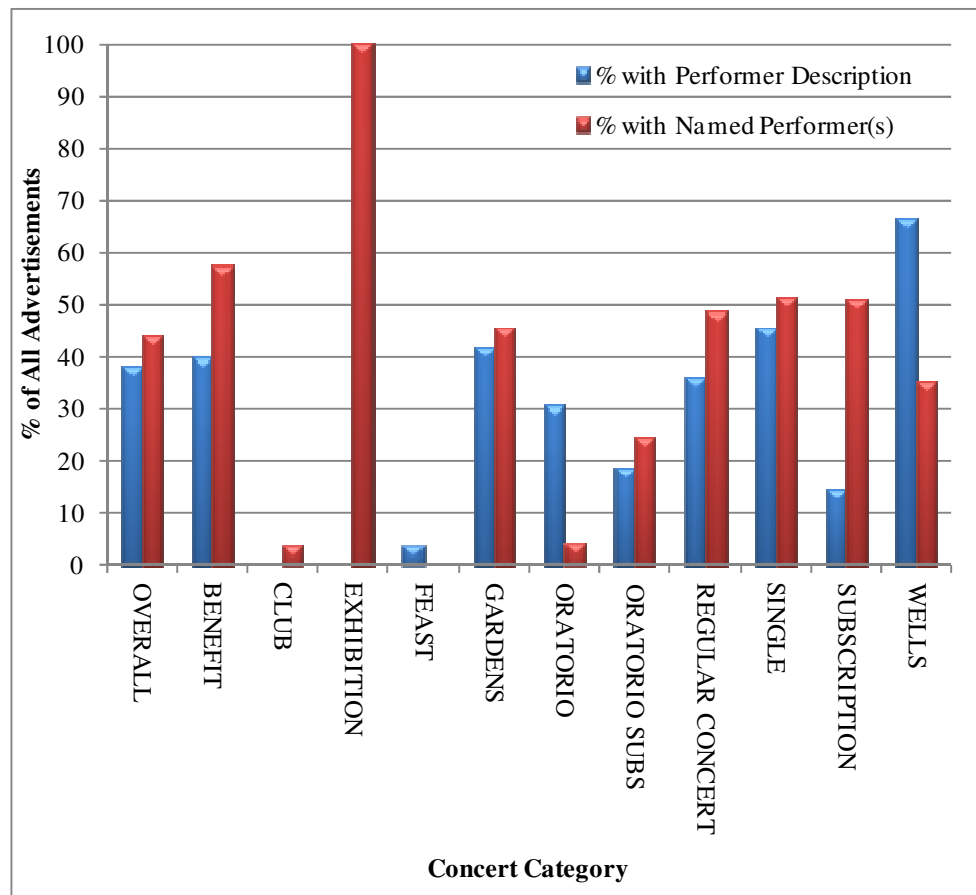
Figure 9-3: Advertisements with Any Information about Performer(s) by Concert Type



Looking at information about performers in more detail, Figure 9-4 shows that while 43.91% of all concert advertisements gave the name(s) of performer(s), only 38.21% gave a description of the performer(s). It should be noted that it was quite possible for a single advertisement to give the names of some performers and only a description of others. This contrasts with advertisements which gave the name of the composer, where the overall figure is much lower than for the name of the performer at

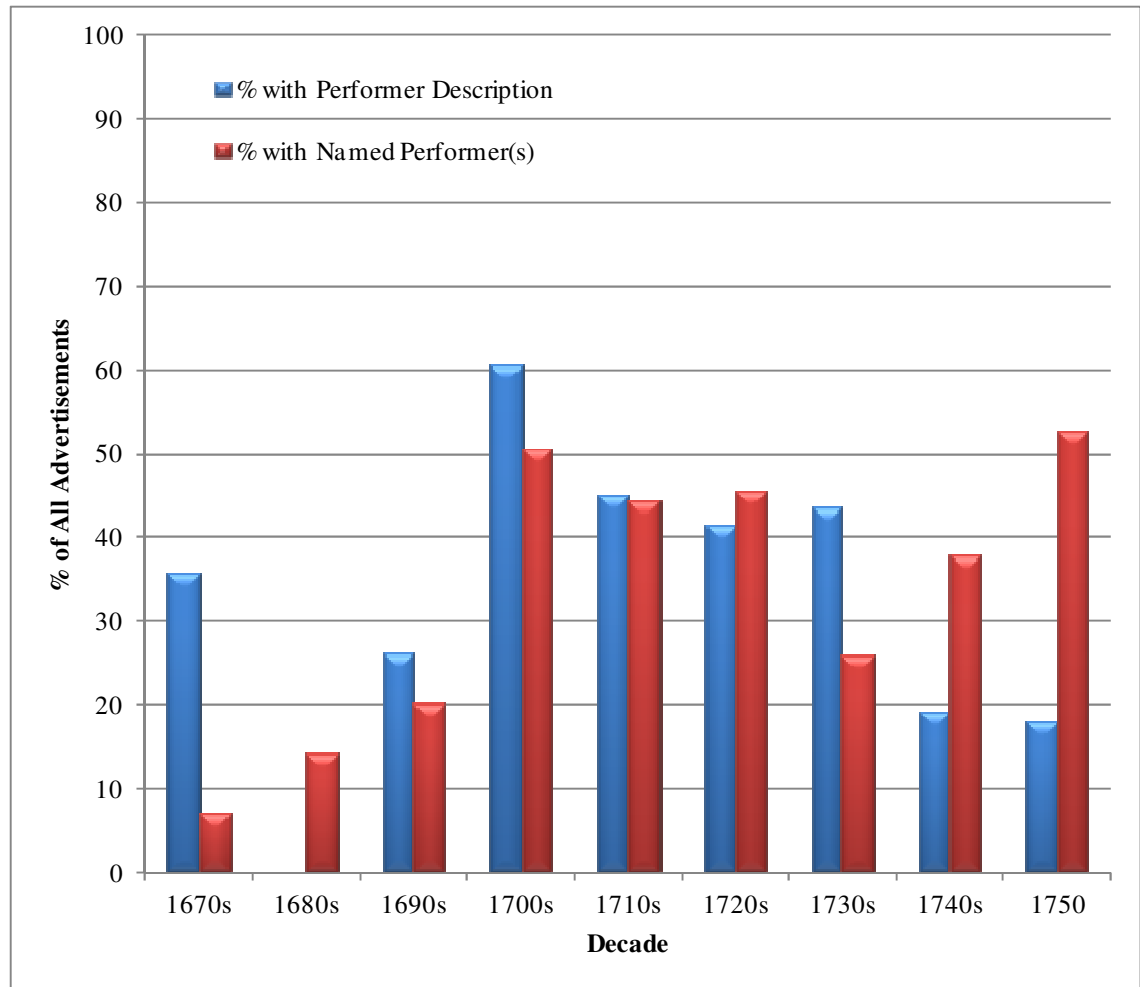
24.45% (see Figure 6-4). Thus, it could be concluded that the names of the performers were considered as information that was more important for the potential audience than identifiable descriptions or names of the pieces, or the name(s) of the composer(s). It should be noted that in some cases composer and performer might be one and the same, especially for instrumental solos and concertos (Scherer, 2004: 57–9).

Figure 9-4: Advertisements with Information about Performer(s) by Concert Type



Examining this information chronologically (see Figure 9-5), we can see that the provision of a description of the performer(s) reached a high point in the 1700s, and thereafter started to decline in importance. However, providing the actual name(s) of the performer(s) only became more frequent than providing a description from the 1720s onwards, with a dip in 1730s after which it shows an upward trend. This is comparable to advertisements for opera and theatrical performances where the names of performers were frequently given, but the name of the opera composer, librettist or playwright was only given very infrequently.

Figure 9-5: Advertisements with Information about Performer(s), by Decade



9.4.1. Concert Promoters

During the period under study, concerts were still promoted by entrepreneurial performers rather than specialist promoters, and there was no certainty of success.⁸⁰ The main beneficiaries of the profits generated from music performance appear to have been a small number of privileged virtuosi, music publishers, and manufacturers of musical instruments for sale to amateurs (Love, 2004). The craft of concert giving was one which musicians quickly learnt; written as early 1703 or 1704, barely a quarter century after the first advertised concert, Cousser's commonplace book has instructions about the people to meet, how to treat other musicians, servants and the wealthy, as well

⁸⁰ Weber (2004a) outlines the development from self-managing musicians to independent concert agents during the nineteenth century.

as practical information on the things to remember when arranging a concert (Samuel, 1981).

Musicians who held a benefit concert would arrange it themselves, booking a hall, engaging other musicians to play, distributing tickets themselves and by persuading family and friends to do so on a sale-or-return basis, paying musicians, receiving and tallying money and unsold tickets from those who had distributed them, and so on. All this in addition to choosing the music, perhaps composing new pieces especially, ensuring there were enough copies, and rehearsing the musicians. While in the Marshalsea Prison for debt, John Grano organised several concerts and wrote of the arrangements he had to make in his prison diary; unfortunately, they do not seem to have been successful in raising him sufficient funds to arrange his release, one lost him money and another only cleared 30s. (Ginger, 1998: 156). Indeed, for one concert Grano found it hard even to find sufficient musicians to play as ‘There was that Night the Ridotto, a Consort at My Lord Bingley’s, the two Play Houses, a Consort at Hickford’s and several private Assemblys which took up the rest of the Hands [musicians]’ (Ginger, 1998: 211).

Turning to promotion of concert series it is very noticeable is that the majority of the named promoters of concert series seem to have been of foreign extraction and this foreign domination is even more noticeable at the major venues, such as the Vendu, York Buildings, Hickford in James Street and Brewers Street and the major theatres (see Table 9-2). Louis Grano, brother of the destitute trumpeter John, (1729) Henry Holcombe (1733) and John George Freake (1750) were the only Englishmen recorded as having promoted concert series in major venues.

Table 9-2: Named Promoters of Concert Series

Year	Concert Series Promoter	Venue	Nationality
1672–79	John Banister	His various residences and schools	English
1678–1714	Thomas Britton	Britton’s house	English
1690	Mr Hughes	Mr Hughes’, Freeman’s Court	English
1690/1	Johann Wolfgang Franck	Two Golden Balls, Bow Street	German
1691/2	Johann Wolfgang Franck and Robert King	Vendu	German and English
1693	Pier Francesco Tosi	Vendu	Italian
1694	Pier Francesco Tosi	York Buildings	Italian

Year	Concert Series Promoter	Venue	Nationality
1693/4	Johann Wolfgang Franck	Vendu	German
1693/4	Gottfried Finger	York Buildings	Moravian
1695–97	Gottfried Finger	Vendu	Moravian
1697/8	Jakob Kremberg	Hickford's, James Street	Polish
1698/9	Robert King and John Banister, Junior (?)	Exeter Exchange	English
1706	F. Hickes	His lodging, Finch Lane	English
1713	Nicola Haym	Hickford's, James Street	Italian
1718	Johann Signismund Weiss	Mr Weiss's, Park Place, then at his lodgings St Paul's Churchyard	German
1729	Louis Grano	Hickford's, James Street	English
1731/2	Francesco Geminiani	Hickford's, James Street	Italian
1732–7	George Frederick Handel	King's Theatre, Haymarket/ Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	German
1733	Carlo Arrigoni and Giuseppe Sammartini	Hickford's, James Street	Italian
1733	Henry Holcombe	Hickford's, James Street	English
1738–45	George Frederick Handel	Various theatres	German
1743	H. Page	Ben Johnson's Head, Little Britain	English
1743	Henry Davies	Britannia, St Michael's Alley	English
1745	Willem de Fesch	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Dutch
1747–8	Niccolo Pasquali	Hickford's, Brewers Street	Italian
1747–9	Filippo Palma	Hickford's, Brewers Street	Italian
1747–50	George Frederick Handel	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	German
1749/50	Signor Manfredini	Hickford's, Brewers Street	Italian
1750	John George Freake	King's Theatre, Haymarket	English

9.5. Provenance of London Musicians: the case of Violin Soloists

Foreigners had been a feature of English musical life long before the period when music began to be taken on a more commercial cast. The Tudors had imported foreign musicians from Italy and France, some of whom stayed on and formed the basis of anglicised musical families which still served under the Stuarts (Holman, 1982–83; 1993; Mabbett, 1986; Westrup, 1941). However, the development of commercial concerts and the founding of the Italian Opera in London in 1720 saw ever-increasing numbers of foreign musicians travelling to England to take advantage of the opportunities there. No restrictions were in place to prevent foreign musicians moving

directly into remunerative and prestigious musical employment on their arrival in London and they were thus a serious competitive threat to indigenous musicians (Ehrlich, 1985: 16–19; Rohr, 2001: 12–13). The German traveller von Uffenbach who visited London in 1710 attended a performance of Francesco Mancini's opera *Hydaspes* at the Haymarket Theatre in June where he described the orchestra as being made up entirely of foreigners, 'mostly Germans and then French, for the English are not much better musicians than the Dutch, and they are fairly bad' (Quarrell and Mare, 1934: 17). Writing under the pseudonym of Andrew Moreton (1729), Daniel Defoe bemoaned the enthusiasm for Italian opera which was 'overloading the town with such heaps of foreign musicians' and put forward 'A proposal to prevent the expensive importation of foreign musicians, &c., by forming an academy of our own' along the lines of *Venice's Ospedale della Pietà* to train orphans for careers in music. Von Uffenbach's view of the abilities of English musicians is perhaps somewhat extreme, but it is obvious that there was a considerable demand for the services of foreign musicians.

The following section will present a detailed case study of a restricted group of musicians: violinists performing as soloists in London concerts in the period under study. Reviewing first the introduction of the violin into England, it will then investigate in detail the various nationalities of violinists performing in London concerts and their relative dominance, both in terms of numbers of individuals and the numbers of concerts in which they performed. Violinists were the most numerous of the various instrumentalists who performed in London concerts, and they, together with keyboard players, were also most likely to provide musical leadership for instrumental groups in this period before the introduction of the orchestral conductor in his/her present form (Spitzer and Zaslav, 2004: 387–93).

9.5.1. Violinists in England before the Restoration

It seems likely that the violin initially arrived in England in 1540 with a group of six Jewish string players recruited by the English resident in Venice, Edmond Harvel, as a result of Thomas Cromwell's request to search out new musicians for Henry VIII's court (Holman, 1993: 78–90). These six players on the violin founded an institution which was to endure until the outbreak of the Civil War and even beyond, forming as it did the basis of Charles II's '24 Violins'. This foreign dominance was not to be broken

for over half century as the first native Englishman to be awarded one of the regular places was William Warren in 1594 (Ashbee, 1992: 156; Ashbee et al., 1998: vol. II, 1129). By the end of the pre-Civil War period total membership of the group stood at 15; some new players for the court violin consort continued to be engaged from abroad, but now more from France rather than Italy.⁸¹

A succession of European players following the first group in 1540 seems to have been the impetus behind advances in violin technique in England. In the seventeenth century, a number of foreign violinists were particularly admired at court. Early in the century the two French violinists, Jacques Cordier and Etienne Nau, and during the Commonwealth period Davis Mell, an English player, and the German virtuoso Thomas Baltzar impressed all who heard them (Ashbee et al., 1998). The effect of the latter in bringing violin playing into increased prominence was described by Roger North: ‘And that instrument had a lift into credit before, for one Baltzarre a Sweed came over, and did wonders upon it by swiftness, and doubling of notes [double-stopping]’ (Wilson, 1959: 349).

9.5.2. Violinists in London after the Restoration⁸²

About 1670 the Italian virtuoso, Nicola Matteis, arrived in London and made quite an impression; he, unlike the earlier foreign violinists to come to these shores mentioned above, held no post at court. Burney (1776–89: vol. II, 990) appreciated Matteis’ importance in the history of violin playing in England, stating that ‘the compositions and performance of Nicola Mateis had polished and refined our ears, and made them fit and eager for the sonatas of Corelli’.

The development of violin technique in England was now carried further by a series of pupils of Corelli who arrived in the first half of the eighteenth century: Gasparo Visconti, Francesco Geminiani, Pietro Castrucci and Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli were all acknowledged as pupils, while Prospero Castrucci may well have been so (McVeigh, 2001). In addition to these pupils of Corelli, a number of other Italian violinists worked in London in the first half of the eighteenth century; some,

⁸¹ Noted French violinists who served at the Stuart court before the Civil War include: Jacques Cordier (also known as Bochan) intermittently between 1604 and 1634; Sebastian La Pierre 1611–42; Adam Vallet 1616–1625; Nicholas Picart 1627–42; and Etienne Nau 1626–1642 (Ashbee et al., 1998).

⁸² A calendar of performances by solo violinists is given in Appendix I; short biographies of each violinist are given in Appendix Q.

such as Nicola Cosimi and Francesco Maria Veracini, achieved great prominence, while others were less significant (see Table 9-3). It should be noted that some violinists, such as Veracini and Piantanida, were more frequently to be heard playing concertos or solos as part of theatrical performances, rather than in concerts proper. Many of these violinists, as was also the case for violoncellists, stayed in London for an extended period (Lindgren, 2000).

Table 9-3: Italian Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

Performer	Dates Performances Advertised	Number of Performances Advertised
Bitti, Alexandro	1715–18	3
Carbonelli, Giovanni Stefano	1719–49	14
Castrucci, Pietro	1715–43	36
Castrucci, Signor Prospero	1725–33	3
Cattani, Signor	1738	1
Geminiani, Francesco	1731–50	8
Guerini, Francesco	1731	1
Matteis, Nicola	1695–98	1
Morigi, Angelo	1750	1
Pasquali, Niccolo	1744–48	4
Piantanida, Sig.	1739	1
Pipo, Signor	1718–22	4
Rogier, 'Signor Claudio'	1723–24	2
Sanguenette, Mr	1750	6
Tessarini, Signor Carlo	1747–48	6
Tortoretti, Signior	1744–49	3
Veracini, Francesco Maria	1714–41	6
Visconti [Gasparini], Gasparo	1702–06	12

Foreign violinists from countries other than Italy were much scarcer in London in the first half of the eighteenth century (see Table 9-4) and of these, only the Dutchman Willem De Fesch stayed for any length of time.

Table 9-4: Non-Italian Foreign Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

Performer	Nationality	Performances Advertised	Number of Performances Advertised
De Fesch, Willem	Dutch	1732–44	3
Hellendaal, Petrus	Dutch	1741	1
Kunzen, Johann Paul	German	1729	1
Kunzen, Jr, Adolph Carl	German	1729	1

British violinists who are known to have been active as soloists in London in the first half of the eighteenth century far outnumber those from foreign parts (See Table 9-5). Nor were they all held in low esteem when compared to their overseas competitors: John Clegg, Thomas Cuthbert, Matthew Dubourg and Thomas Pinto were held in high regard.

Table 9-5: British Concert Solo Violinists in London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century⁸³

Performer	Nationality if not English	Performances Advertised	Number of Solo Performances Advertised
Arne, Thomas Augustine		1738–1740	2
Banister, Jn., John		1695–1707	10
Baston, Thomas		1709–1709	1
Beeston, Mr		1708–1712	4
Brown, Abraham		1738–1750	44
Butler, Mr		1748–1750	5
Charke, Richard		1729–1736	2
Clegg, John	Irish	1723–1741	7
Collet, Mr Richard		1737–1750	18
Corbett, William		1707–1724	12
Coyl, Mr		1750–1750	1
Cuthbert, Thomas		1703–1703	1
Dean, Thomas		1701–1710	23
Dubourg, Matthew		1714–1750	33
Eccles, Jun., Mr Henry		1705–1705	1
Eversman, John Christian		1724–1724	1
Festing, Michael Christian		1723–1750	47

⁸³ For information about post-1750 concert performances, see (McVeigh, 1989b).

Performer	Nationality if not English	Performances Advertised	Number of Solo Performances Advertised
Fisher, Mr		1746–1747	2
Freake, John George		1748–1750	2
Gordon, Mr		1745	1
Griffith, Mr		1729–1729	1
Hawley, Rouse		1718–1719	3
Jackson, Mr		1743–1750	8
Johnson, Samuel		1724–1724	1
Jones, Richard		1728–1731	3
King, Robert		1691–1699	1
Manship, Mr		1709–1710	6
Otley, Mrs Sarah		1720–1721	2
Pettit, John		1732–1733	2
Pinto, Thomas		1750–1750	2
Pitchford, Mr		1713–1717	1
Plunkett, Elizabeth	Irish	1744–1744	2
John Ravenscroft		1731	4
Smith, Charles		1703–1708	3
Shepard, Jr		1739	1
Thompson, Mr		1738–1738	1
Viner, William		1707–1710	2
Williams, Mr		1750–1750	1

The above discussion shows that although foreign-born violinists might have been held in greater esteem, native British violinists were the dominant nationality throughout the period, both in terms of numbers of performers (see Figure 9-6) and numbers of concerts in which they performed as soloists (see Figure 9-7).

Figure 9-6: Solo Violinists by Nationality

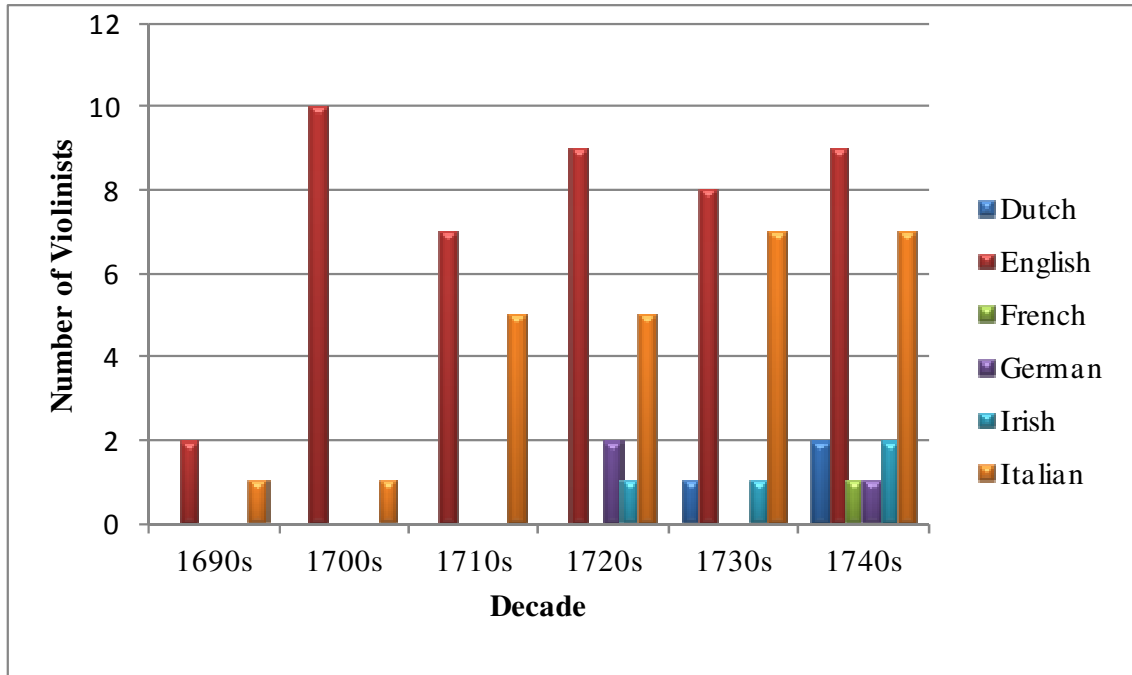
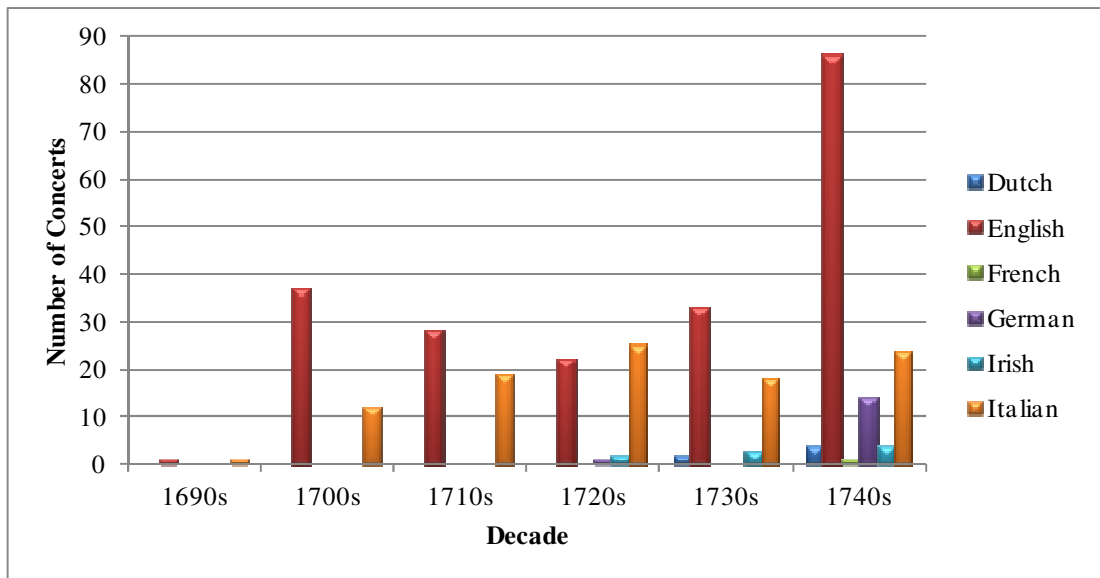


Figure 9-7: Concerts Containing Solo Violinists by Nationality of Violinist



9.6. Performers and Venues

In analysing how different performers were associated with particular venues, this study makes use of the concept of a particular type of social network known variously as an affiliation network, membership network, or hypernetwork. An

affiliation network occurs ‘when one set of actors or participants is measured with respect to attendance at, or affiliation with, a set of events or activities’. In this case, solo violinists performing at London concerts will be the subject of analysis. Unlike more conventional social networks, which investigate ties between pairs of actors, affiliation networks are two-mode networks consisting of a set of actors and a set of events. (Faust and Wasserman, 1994: 40 and 291). Thus multilevel affiliation data allows analysis of how actors may be tied together because they are present in the same place, time, or category, as well as how events may be tied together by the co-presence of actors (Hanneman and Riddle, 1995: chapter 6). This type of analysis is thus particularly appropriate for investigating how different groups of musicians performed at different concert venues, and how concert venues may be linked by the co-presence of particular groups of musicians. The aim of this section is to investigate whether particular solo violinists were associated with particular venues, whether there were some violin soloists who were perhaps considered not good enough to perform at particular venues. It should be borne in mind when considering this topic that not all advertisements contained the names of the performers.

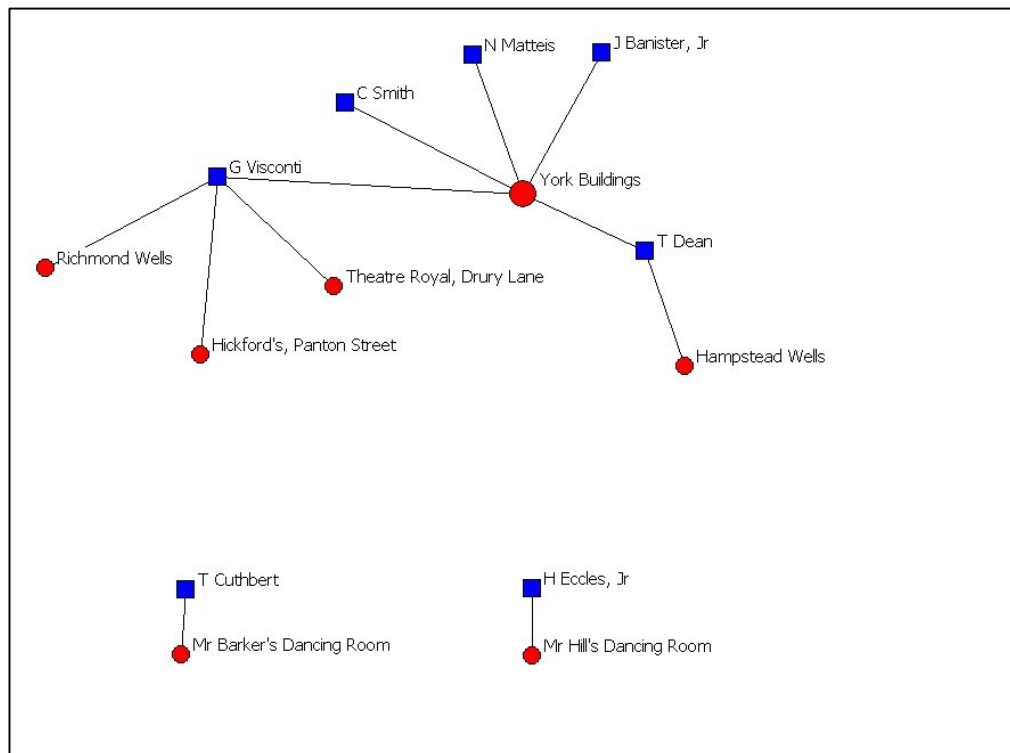
Early in the period, 1695–1705, there appears to be little distinction between the violinists who are listed as playing at different venues (see Table 9-6 and Figure 9-8). For instance, five of the eight violinists are listed for the York Buildings Room, but no other venue lists more than one violinist. Gasparo Visconti is listed at the largest number of different venues of different types: the concert rooms York Buildings and Hickford’s in Panton Street, Richmond Wells and the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Thomas Cuthbert and Henfry Eccles Junior are the only violinists who are recorded as playing at Mr Barker’s Dancing Room and Mr Hill’s Dancing Room, respectively and they appear nowhere else. There appears to be no distinction between concert rooms (York Buildings and Hickford’s in Panton Street), theatres and wells in terms of the violinists who might play there even though the ticket prices ranged from 1s. at Hampstead Wells to 5s. at Hickford’s, Richmond Wells and York Buildings, and 6s. at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Only the two less prominent dancing rooms, Mr Barker’s and Mr Hill’s, (tickets at 2s. 6d.) are somewhat apart from the other venues in terms of the violinists who might play there.

Table 9-6: Solo Violinists at Venues 1695–1705

The figures show the number of concerts performed by the violinist at the venue during the period specified

Venue	Price	Violinist						
		J Banister, Jr	T Cuthbert	T Dean	H Eccles, Jr	N Matteis	C Smith	G Visconti
Mr Barker's Dancing Room	2s. 6d.		1					
Mr Hill's Dancing Room	2s. 6d.				1			
Hickford's, Panton Street	5s.							1
York Buildings	5s.	7		3		1	1	8
Hampstead Wells	1s. – 2 s.			5				
Richmond Wells	5s.							1
Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	4s. – 6s.							1

Figure 9-8: Solo Violinists at Venues 1695–1705



Later in the period, 1745–1750, there is beginning to be some small distinction between the violinists who were advertised as playing at different venues (see Table 9-7 and Figure 9-9). Again, one venue was dominant, in this case Hickford's in Brewers

Street where eight of the fourteen violinists listed played. However, there were a number of other venues which were not too far behind: six different violinists are listed at the Devil Tavern in Temple Bar, and four each at the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, the Swan Tavern in Exchange Alley, Cornhill, and Ruckholt House and Gardens in Leyton. Abraham Brown is listed as performing at the largest number of different venues: Hickford's in Brewers Street, the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, the Devil Tavern in Temple Bar, the Swan Tavern in Exchange Alley, Cornhill, the Great House in Thrift Street and Ruckholt House and Gardens in Leyton. Francisco Geminiani, Mr Sanguenette and Mr Coyl are the only violinists who are recorded as playing at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, the Wells in Goodmans Fields and the Green Man, Dulwich Wells, respectively and they played nowhere else. Some violinists appear in advertisements for more than one venue, but only at a particular type of venue: here we might consider Carbonelli, Dubourg, Freake and Geminiani who are only listed as playing in theatres, Fisher, Tortoretti and Williams who are only listed as playing in taverns, or Coyl, de Fesch, Knerler and Sanguenette who are only listed for pleasure gardens or wells.

Turning from solo violinists to all performers but considering only a single year, 1749 (see Figure 9-10) we see that there is a more noticeable distinction between performers and the venues at which they are listed. Here advertisements for Marybone Gardens and the Richmond Theatre show no overlap in performers listed for any other venue. The Foundling Hospital appears to be a like case but is something of an anomaly; for a charity benefit on Saturday 27 May 1749 the only name given in the advertisement is that of Handel who was director of the music, but a number of singers and instrumentalists would have been required to perform the advertised programme: 'First. The Musick for the late Royal Fireworks and the Anthem on the Peace. Second. Select Pieces from the Oratorio of Solomon, relating to the Dedication of the Temple. Third. Several Pieces composed for the Occasion, the Words taken from Scripture, and applicable to this Charity and its Benefactors' (*General Advertiser* 20 May 1749). The King's Theatre in the Haymarket shares only a few performers with other venues: the singers Giulia Frasi, Caterina Galli and the cellist Francis Pasquali/Pasqualino. Frasi and Galli also act as links to tie in the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, while Frasi and John Beard link in Ranelagh House and Gardens. The Devil Tavern, Ruckholt House

and Gardens and Cuper's Gardens form another somewhat peripheral group, being linked both to each other and to other venues via Abraham Brown, the cellist Jones and Signora Sybilla.

Table 9-7: Solo Violinists at Venues 1745–1750

The figures show the number of concerts performed by the violinist at the venue during the period specified

Venue	Price	Violinist																			
		A Brown	Mr Butler	G S Carbonelli	R Collet	Mr Coyl	W De Fesch	M Dubourg	M C Festing	Mr Fisher	J G Freaque	F Geminiani	Mr Jackson	Mr Knerler	A Morigi	N Pasquali	T Pinto	Mr Sanguenette	C Tessarini	Sr Tortoretti	Mr Williams
Hickford's, Brewers Street	5s.	5	2		2				1						1	2	1		1		
Castle Tavern	5s.	7	1																	1	1
Devil Tavern	3 s. – 5s.	5			1				1	2			1				1				
Swan Tavern	3s. – 5s.	1	1		1							3									
Great House, Thrift Street	5s.	1																			
Green Man, Dulwich Wells	?					1															
Hampstead Wells	5s.		1						1												
Wells in Goodman's Fields	1s. – 2s.																6				
Marybone Gardens	3s. – 5s.						2						1								
New Spring Gardens, Greenwich	1s. – 3 s.											3									
Ruckholt House	6d. – 3s.	1			3								1						5		
Little Theatre, Haymarket	2s.6d. – 10s 6d.				2					1						1					
King's Theatre, Haymarket	3s. – 10s.6d.			4				1		1											
Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	3s.6d – 10s.6d.										1										

Figure 9-9: Solo Violinists at Venues 1745–1750

300

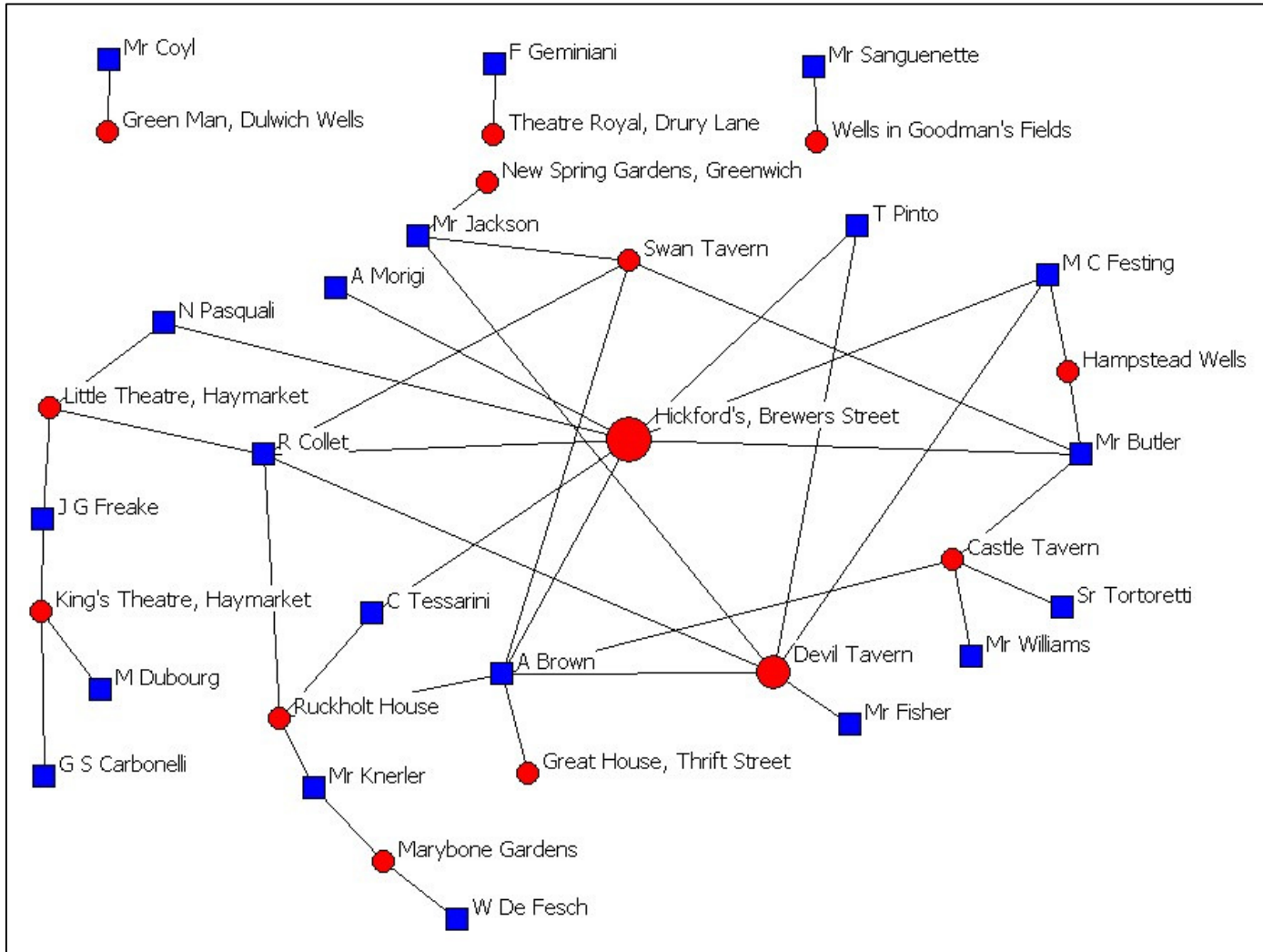
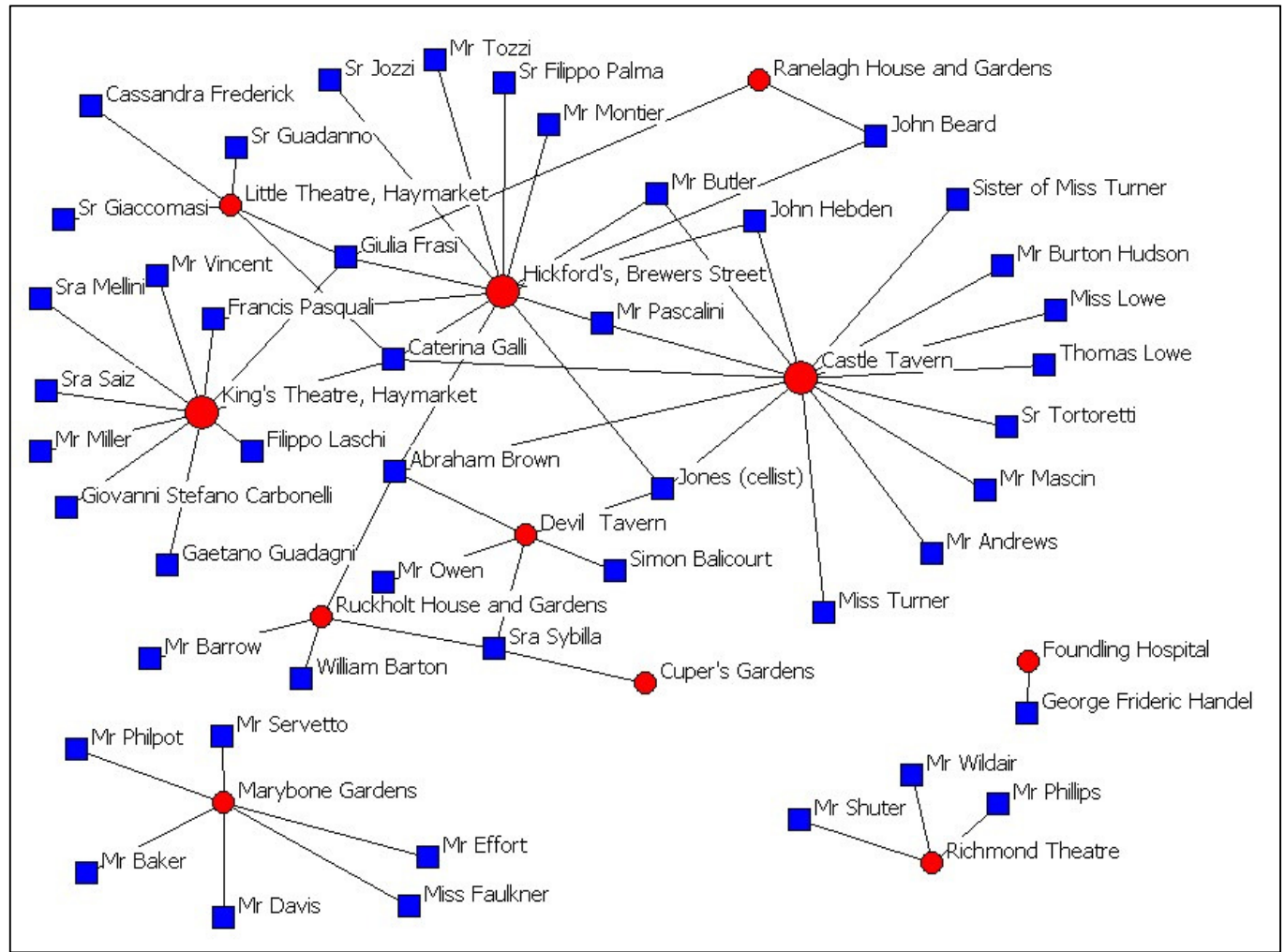


Figure 9-10: All Performers at Venues 1749



9.7. Conclusion

Between 1660 and 1750 the character of the musical profession in England began to change: fewer musicians were employed as live-in servants at court or in wealthy houses, instead more were beginning to act as freelance professionals, finding work for themselves, making a living from a variety of different sources, advertising themselves and their skills and using social networking skills to manipulate the market. Music was one of the nascent professions, and the founding of the Society for the Support of Decay'd Musicians in 1738 shows the beginnings of a formal corporate identity. A hierarchy began to develop among the various musicians who formed part of this market: virtuosic soloists could demand high salaries whereas rank-and-file performers earned far less and had poor long-term prospects. The majority of venues at which musicians played frequently, as well as the wealthy families who employed them to play at social occasions or to teach their children, were to be found towards the fashionable West End of London. Musicians thus tended to live in the same areas, close to the clients they served, but taking advantage of the cheap lodgings to be found above the many shops, coffee houses and taverns in the area.

In contrast to the majority of other towns and cities in Britain as well as to those in Europe, London was able to support a large and growing number of full-time professional musicians. Ehrlich (1985: 3) has estimated that by the mid eighteenth century some 1,500 musicians were based in London, whereas 'apart from the university cities, no provincial centre, except Dublin, Bath, and for a brief period, Edinburgh, could provide regular employment for more than a score of full-time practitioners'. As we have seen, London, the fastest-growing and most prosperous urban centre in Europe, offered such good market opportunities to musicians that they flocked there from throughout Europe. Indeed, during the period under study, the long-standing practice of importing foreign musicians became increasingly dominant. However, it is not necessarily in the number of foreign musicians that this dominance was felt, but rather in the fact that those foreign musicians who arrived in London tended to be of a higher skill technically, not necessarily better than the best indigenous performers, but certainly better than the majority. They therefore tended to be soloists and/or composers of some renown and would thus expect to play leading roles in

operatic or oratorio performances, to compose works which would be frequently performed and published, to be featured attractions at their own and other's concerts, and to receive commensurately high fees.

When advertising their concerts, promoters were more likely to include information about the performers than about the composer or even the piece that was to be performed. It is obvious that this is the information which they thought was the most important and the most likely to attract an audience. As some musicians, instrumental performers in particular, composed the pieces which they would play at concerts, this is even more understandable. While many musicians arranged individual benefit concerts, few promoted concert series. The rather incomplete evidence of the advertisements seems to suggest that promoters of concert series in the major venues were more likely to be foreign-born than native musicians.

The variety of sources from which musicians received earnings makes it difficult to calculate their annual incomes with any certainty, but it is apparent that there was a wide range. Rank-and-file orchestral musicians would have found it difficult to put enough aside for ill health or old age. One only has to look to the founding of the Society for the Support of Decay'd Musicians in 1738 for evidence of the economically insecure nature of the musician's life (see p.281). However, for the fortunate few of the top rank who knew how to make the new situation work for them, both income and social status could be high. Handel, for instance, having arrived in London in 1711, was a pillar of respectable society by the end of the period under study. A rate book of 1749 shows Handel owning his own house in Brook Street, Mayfair; nor was it a small house — its rateable value was £40, just above average for the street. Among his neighbours were various members of the nobility, including the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Marchmont, Northampton and Rothes, the Duchess of Bolton, and the second Duke of Chandos, son of Handel's erstwhile patron, James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos.

Chapter 10. Conclusions

10.1. Introduction

The development of public commercial concerts in London between 1660 and 1750 sees music moving away from being either an adjunct of other events or an essentially participatory activity. By charging admission for payment, public concerts made of music a commodity offered to and demanded by a new breed of cultural consumers who were either music lovers who gathered to listen to music for its own sake or who were fulfilling one of the social rituals of their class (Habermas, 1992: 39–40; Sharpe, 1987: 295). Music thus participated in the general commercialisation of leisure which developed in late seventeenth- and eighteenth century England by means of regular public commercial concerts and the simultaneous flourishing of the music publishing industry (Plumb, 1972; 1982). London was fast becoming a thriving musical centre which acted as a magnet for musicians from other parts of England and increasingly from further afield (Harbor, 2005; Holman, 2000; Wilson, 1959). This study has provided answers to some of the questions posed in Section 1.2.2, but the nature of the data sources mean that some are still difficult to resolve.

10.2. Motivation: commercial or musical?

The first area of investigation concerns the motivation of the musicians who organised London's early concerts and whether they were inspired principally by the need to express themselves and find recognition with their peers, or rather by the need to earn money from the public at large. The early commercial concerts in London were organised by individuals, usually musicians themselves, who engaged fellow professional performers, decided on the venue, pieces to be performed, admission to be charged, and methods of promotion. At a period long before the establishment of a body of theory in marketing, or its establishment as an academic discipline or profession, musical entrepreneurs may not have realised that they were carrying out marketing as such, but they instigated a range of marketing strategies in an effort to attract an audience which bear a close relationship to some of those used in arts marketing today.

We cannot know whether musicians who organised concerts were motivated more by the need to express themselves and find recognition with their peers than by the necessity of earning a living. However, in their attempts to attract an audience and make a living, they showed an interest in product innovation, differentiation and promotion which would not be out of place nowadays for a commercial arts events in London's West End. Indeed, while concert promoters produced a unique product which today might be considered as forming part of the not-for-profit 'arts sector', London's early concert promoters seem to have had an outlook and a mode of operating which has much more in common in its market orientation with today's profit-generating cultural industries (Colbert, 2003; Colbert, 2007: 8–10). The founders of the Academy of Vocal Music, whose membership was originally restricted to professional musicians, might have been creating concerts to appeal to their peers, a form of peer-oriented creativity, but this was the exception rather than the rule. The majority of concerts were focused primarily on the public at large and musicians were carrying out what Hirschman (1983) terms 'commercialised creativity'. This did not apply just to performers 'marketing the supply' of music they selected to include in concerts (Evrard, 1991), but also to composers who can be considered as the primary creators. Handel, for example, turned from the Italian opera to the English oratorio for his London theatre programmes not as a 'straight line of artistic development' but as a 'reaction to the situation developing around him, abandoning lines that seemed to have no immediate future and taking new opportunities as they presented themselves' (Burrows, 1994): it was as much a commercial decision as a musical one.

10.3. Product: Types of Concert

Turning to the question of the types of concerts developed in the period under study one can again see the market orientation of London's early concert promoters in the gradual development of a range of different types of concert which were given throughout the year at various venues and prices to appeal to differing levels of society. In the 'season', when the affluent members of the *beau-monde* were present in London, formal and relatively highly priced concerts were held at West End venues such as the York Buildings Room or Hickford's. Music societies, some with a higher degree of amateur involvement, might be held in taverns or other venues some of which were in

the City of London. In the summer, lower priced concerts formed part of the entertainments on offer at the various spa resorts and gardens.

The development of the subscription series, even though it was by a succession of sometimes faltering steps, allowed concert organisers to have a more certain idea of the resources available to them in advance of putting on concerts; it also enabled the development of a certain amount of 'brand loyalty' on the part of concert attendees. Benefit concerts were an excellent way for some musicians to boost their earnings, especially towards the end of a season, but unfortunately they were not guaranteed to bring in much-needed cash as John Grano found to his cost (Ginger, 1998). Oratorio-type concerts were originally developed as a way of circumventing the rules about the performance of opera during Lent; their popularity saw an extension to dates outside Lent and even to performances at venues where there was no question of them replacing opera, such as pleasure gardens. A concert might form part of the varied attractions on offer at the various gardens and wells to be found in London and its near environs. Concerts were also used by theatrical managers as a means of evading the terms of the Licensing Act of 1737 which prohibited the acting of drama at any place not sanctioned by a Royal patent or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain.

Banister's first concerts were held every day except Sunday, but gradually there developed an accepted weekly timetable so that different events would not compete too much with each other for the available audience. Thus, oratorios were concentrated on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent when opera was not allowed, but might also occur on Tuesdays and Saturdays which were the main nights for opera performances throughout the season. Subscription series, benefits and single concerts, conversely, tended to avoid Tuesdays and Saturdays; Friday was a favoured day for both ordinary and oratorio subscription series. Many leisure resorts held entertainments of some kind on a daily basis, but for those which presented concerts less frequently, Mondays seems to have been a popular night.

In addition to the music of the concert itself which was the core product, extra features and benefits were added in order to strengthen the appeal to different segments of the potential audience. As already noted, concerts formed part of the overall experience at the pleasure gardens and spa resorts. Alternatively, a concert itself might include extra features such as orations or poetry, or it might be followed by a ball or

dancing. Some concert promoters also gave away printed copies of the words of the sung parts of a concert as an added benefit. These additions to the core concert product form what Kotler and Scheff (1997: 192–3) term the ‘augmented’ product; they include features and benefits which exceed what the target audience would normally expect.

10.4. Product: Concert Programming and Repertoire

The decisions of early concert promoters concerning concert design and programming — two of the attributes of the core concert product which can be used to position it in its market — reveal much about their attitude to both their product and their customers. At least some of the musicians promoting early concerts in London had more of a market orientation than is recommended by contemporary writers on arts marketing (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 196). In their advertisements they gave information to their potential audience about the product offer in terms of the pieces to be performed and/or the performers in a way which in modern-day terms could be seen as a way of positioning the cultural product, since programming and performers are two of the attributes that may be used for this purpose (Colbert, 2007: 162–4; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 205–9; Nantel and Colbert, 1992). Although information about pieces to be performed was not as common as information about performers in the advertisements, both were ways of appealing to a particular demographic segment, of creating a feeling of belonging to an exclusive cultured elite who were educated in such things and attended concerts sufficiently regularly to be able to appreciate the quality, or otherwise, of the pieces, composers or performers listed (Bourdieu, 1979: 7). Likewise, far from concentrating solely on an aesthetic ideal at the expense of commercial success, concert promoters adopted a mix between a product-oriented and a market-oriented approach and were prepared to modify their programmes to some extent by performing pieces which had been specially requested, or by altering the timing or date of concerts to suit a potential audience. They also presented what one might term ‘themed’ concerts to celebrate contemporary events and to appeal to changes of mood in the national consciousness (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 197). They also experimented with a range of different concert designs, dividing them up into two or three sections, as a way of appealing to their audience by use of a structure which might have been familiar to them from visits to plays and operas. Within each section, some regular

succession of pieces — overtures, songs, concertos, solos — helped to impose order on what might otherwise have been a continuation of the haphazard nature of early concert programmes complained of by North, perhaps making it easier for the audience to follow and appreciate.

In their choice of concert repertoire, musicians were both adapting to and helping to form musical taste. Variety of genre in terms of including both ‘vocal and instrumental musick’ in concerts was a commonplace at the time. The main exceptions to this rule were concerts consisting of large-scale choral works such as odes, anthems or oratorios. All-instrumental concerts were not at all frequent, a state of affairs which was not to change for some little time (Ehrlich et al., n.d.; McVeigh, 1993).

Music and musicians had always found their way to England from the Continent, but following the disruptions of the Commonwealth period, this tendency renewed apace. At the Restoration, Charles II’s fondness for French culture and particularly for French dancing and dance music led to a surge in the popularity of French-influenced music. However, this did not last long, and the French style was soon superseded by the vogue for Italian musical styles, popularised by an Italian opera venture in the 1660s, the arrival of Italian violinists from 1670 onwards, the establishment of a company to put on Italian opera in 1705, and last but not least, the popularity of Italy as a destination for upper class youth on the ‘grand tour’. Italian opera arias and Italian or Italian-influenced solo sonatas, trio sonatas and concertos were soon to be found in concert programmes and continued to be popular for the rest of the period under study. However, this is not to say that British music was relegated to a ghetto of ‘English’ concerts or the pleasure gardens as seems to have been the case in the second half of the eighteenth century. Music by English composers was to be found in many concerts: arias from Handel’s oratorios were favoured just as much as Italian opera arias, and the English fondness for *concerti grossi* was also evident.

A dominant trend in the period under study was the growth in virtuosity which was to become so much a feature of performances in London’s public concerts. In contrast to the more equal parts which were a feature of the viol consorts and consort music which had been so popular in country houses and private music meetings earlier in the century, now soloists began to be featured in the new forms of solo sonata, concerto and opera. The violin, moving away from its former association with low-

class dance music, came to the fore as the solo instrument *par excellence* in the hands of the many Italian virtuosi who travelled to London and the English violinists who emulated their skill. Italian opera gave another impetus to this rise in virtuosity. The long *da capo* arias which were a feature of eighteenth-century Italian *opera seria* and which found their way thence into Handel's English oratorios, afforded great opportunities for flights of virtuosity.

Much has been written about the vogue for 'ancient' music in the eighteenth century and Weber (1984; 1989; 1992; 1994) sees this as the period when the rise of musical classics and the musical canon began to form. However, the majority of music performed before the eighteenth century was written by composers who were still living, and in many cases the composers would be among the performers. Music was a fashionable commodity of which little lasted more than a generation after it had been written (Holman, 2000: 8). Much new music was brought to England from the continent both by foreign musicians coming to England and by English musicians and others who travelled abroad. However, an academic interest in older music and the performance of some older music was starting to arise in this period. The mainstay of this was the Academy of Vocal Music, renamed the Academy of Ancient Music in 1731, prominent among whose early members were performers and composers from the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral. The repertoire of church music had, of necessity, become somewhat retrospective after the Restoration, but this was now starting to become a tradition which carried over into performances of old church music in some concerts. The music of Corelli and Purcell, who had both been much revered in their lifetimes, also remained in the repertoire for some time after their death. The 1730s saw a growth in awareness of the past in the arts in general, with old texts being used in the theatre, a revival of Gothic architecture, and an interest in antiquarian scholarship. Holman (2000) sees these developments as 'part of a wider aesthetic movement in Britain that was really an early manifestation of Romanticism'.

10.5. Place/Performance: Concert Venues and Ticket Selling Locations

In the period under study, there was a gradual shift of formal music making from the more private spheres of church, court and aristocratic house to a more public sphere and this was accompanied both by a growth in the number and type of public venues

and by the increasing dominance of professional musicians in these new public venues (Brewer, 1995; Bridge, 1903: 60; Habermas, 1992: 39–40; Love, 2004). In this relatively early period in the development of public concert giving, few venues were built exclusively for concert performance; any large public room might be used for concerts, such as theatres, the large rooms in taverns or those used as dancing schools, and thus few venues were used exclusively for concerts at this period. However, some venues were adapted and developed to make them more suitable for the purpose and a few seem to have been built with concerts and other public performances in mind. Two early concert venues, the ‘Great Room’ in York Buildings and the Vendu were either built or adapted for public performances, as were ‘long rooms’ and other performance spaces at some of the spa resorts and pleasure gardens.

Banister’s first concerts were held at Whitefriars, within the walls of the City of London, but he moved several times going both further west and north. As concerts started to be held more regularly, venues show an extension continuing further west and north into the more affluent suburbs, but there is also a spread eastwards into the the City proper with concerts being held at the Livery Company halls or at City taverns (see Figure 7-2). However, the main focus was definitely shifting westwards to venues such as York Buildings at the western end of the Strand, Hickford’s premises in Panton Street and Brewer Street, and to the patent theatres in Covent Garden, the Haymarket and Drury Lane. These venues together made up a cultural area in London designed to appeal to the wealthier residents, and where high prices could be charged for a diverse range of evening entertainments. These cultural venues were well located, being in close proximity both to their potential consumers so that they were easy to reach, and to other venues of the same kind so that the synergising effect might help to increase attendance (Colbert, 2007: 213–8). The pleasure gardens and spa resorts had, perforce to be found either where springs were located, or in the less built-up locations on London’s peripheries. As these resorts offered a range of entertainments in addition to concerts, the longer travelling time was perhaps justified by the prospect of a longer stay.

The location and décor of concert venues and the location and types of ticket-selling outlets both lead one to conclude that most concerts were designed to appeal to the relatively affluent. The earliest concerts do not mention ticket-selling outlets, but as

time went by, concert organisers obviously realised that it was a good idea to make it easier for potential attendees to hear about a concert and obtain a ticket by increasing the number of outlets where they could be purchased and putting this information into their concert advertisements. The most obvious place where tickets could be sold was the place where the concert was taking place and, indeed, many concert performance venues would sell tickets either in advance or on the door at the time of the performance. Other popular places at which concert tickets could be obtained were coffee houses, taverns, and shops: the sorts of places people might visit as they went about their daily round; tickets for benefit concerts were also often on sale at the house or lodgings of the benefitting musician. In an effort to ensure that tickets were on sale in places where potential purchasers would be able to access them in the course of their daily activities concert promoters used ticket-selling venues which might be geographically distributed around the City of London and Westminster; the spread of ticket selling outlets appears to increase as time went on.

The size of audience which venues could accommodate varied quite widely, from the small venues such as York Buildings and Hickford's in Brewer Street which may not have held an audience of more than 200–300, up to the larger patent theatres which could hold as many as 1,400. Then, as now, there was a perceived hierarchy of performance spaces: one would expect certain performers to perform at particular venues, but not at others; particular types of concerts were associated with specific venues; and some venues could charge higher prices than others. The highest status concerts would be held at venues in the West End, such as Hickford's in Panton Street off the Haymarket, or at its later premises at 41 Brewer Street. The West End theatres also presented concerts of some standing. Slightly less prestigious, and thus cheaper, concerts might be held at one of the halls of the London guilds in the City, such as Stationers' Hall in Ave Maria Lane off Ludgate Hill, or Merchant Taylors' Hall in Threadneedle Street. Some taverns gave concerts of quality; examples would be the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, or the Crown and Anchor at the top of Arundel Street in the Strand, both of which were associated with musical societies. Prestigious concerts were given as part of the entertainment at pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh. At the other end of the market were lower-class taverns and pleasure

gardens. This range of different venues meant that concerts were available at a range of prices to suit a range of incomes.

10.6. Pricing Strategies

Setting a price for a cultural event sends a signal about the value of the product to the marketplace and will thus influence consumer perceptions and the level of product consumption. In addition to real and perceived costs, the concept of perceived value is another factor in setting prices; a high perceived value may allow a cultural organisation to charge high prices without affecting attendance adversely (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 226–7). A range of different pricing strategies can be employed (Colbert, 2007: 186–192; Kolb, 2005: 188–90; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 231–6) but it is evident that at least some concert organisers adopted a prestige pricing strategy as one of the means of ensuring that it was an activity reserved for the wealthy during this period. For example, mid-range concerts at 5 shillings were as expensive as the best seats at the theatre, those at half a guinea were as expensive as opera: only the wealthy elite could have afforded to attend such concerts regularly. Costs for putting on concerts cannot have been anywhere near as high as those for putting on opera, so concerts must have had a similarly high perceived value to enable some to charge such a high price; this can also be seen as a competition-oriented pricing strategy.

At 1 shilling, the cheapest concerts or those given as part of the entertainments offered at pleasure gardens, wells or spa resorts might have suited the pocket of the middle class if they wanted to attend on anything like a regular basis (McVeigh, 1993: xiii–xiv; Scherer, 2004: 48); this was perhaps an example of a market-penetration strategy targeting a larger market of more price-sensitive consumers. High-quality music and musicians could be heard at some of these venues which provided ‘an elite product for mass consumption’ (Hume, 2006), others provided a mixture of singing, dancing, acting and gymnastics which was more akin to what was on offer at Edwardian music halls or variety theatres.

There are also instances where a more dynamic or discriminatory pricing policy was followed with prices being changed because of demand. Subscription tickets for a series of concerts offered a discount to those who attended regularly; and subscribers were even allowed to lend their subscriber’s ticket to someone else if they did not wish

to attend. The value of subscriptions to the concert promoter was certainty in advance of a particular amount of income, so that he could decide on the performers to employ and other arrangements to make. It was also a way of encouraging others to attend: if the promoter could say that a certain number of subscriptions had already been sold this would show others that it was a concert valued by those who had already made a purchase.

10.7. Promotion: Pervasiveness and Persuasion

Concert promoters in late seventeenth and eighteenth century London made some use of the four main promotional tools: personal selling, public relations, sales promotion and advertising (Colbert, 2007: 227). Personal selling involves a dialogue, an interactive relationship between two or more persons; it also permits the cultivation of relationships over time (Colbert, 2007: 228–9; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 301–2). Musicians who promoted or took part in early London concerts would have had opportunities for personal selling as many lived in close proximity to their potential audience, and might visit their houses to give private concerts or in a teaching rôle; however no direct evidence of such activities is known to survive except that it is known that musicians would sell tickets for benefit concerts from their own residences.

Nowadays, the main public relations tool for the cultural organisation is publicity, whereby the organisation is promoted in the media without paying to advertise. News stories and features have a higher credibility than advertisements; moreover, they still present the same opportunities to add drama and to build the image of a cultural organisation or event but at a lower cost (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 302–3). Occasions for public relations were more limited in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than they are today, but some publicity was still sought through very occasional use of what were known as ‘puffs’ which usually appeared in the news section of a newspaper and might contain a report of the arrival of a particularly famous instrumentalist or singer from foreign parts, or a discussion of a planned new musical enterprise.

Sales promotion is the effort to keep the product fresh in the consumer’s mind after the consumption experience has finished. This can take the form of some form of money-saving incentive, a competition, a give-away object which contains a logo or

short message, or a spin-off product which earns more revenue while prolonging the consumption experience. Cross-promotions are another form of sales promotion which take the form of collaboration between two or more organisations, thus encouraging customers of one organisation to patronise another related organisation. (Colbert, 2007: 229–31; Kolb, 2005: 218–22; Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 302). Sales promotions of various types were used by early London concert promoters, in the form of money-saving incentives (see section 8.2), free gifts given away at concerts (usually the words for the music being performed), and cross-promotions with music publishers.

Advertising is any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 301). In its many forms and uses, advertising shares the following characteristics: public presentation, pervasiveness, amplified expressiveness and impersonality. Two characteristics above all are held to typify present-day advertising: pervasive coverage through the use of a wide variety of media, and a sophisticated and subtle use of persuasive techniques to encourage consumption (Leiss et al., 2005, Goldman, 1992) and, even at such an early date, both of these characteristics may be seen in the advertising for London concerts in the period under study. The great boom in the printing industry and the concomitant increase in the number of newspapers following the lapsing in 1695 of the 1162 Licensing (Printing) Act provided a new channel by which the fledgling public commercial concerts could be advertised, a method which had not been available to older established commercial entertainments such as theatrical performances and opera. While this increase in the pervasiveness of entertainment advertising may seem small by today's standards, it is only by taking into account the historical perspective that we can judge its effect (McFall, 2004a; 2004b).

The numbers of newspapers published by this time was not inconsiderable, ranging from 1,600-2,600 on the least popular days (Friday and Wednesday), to 14,000 on a Thursday (the most popular day); Sutherland (1934) is of the opinion that the number of readers may have been ten or twenty times greater still. Many of these newspapers carried concert advertisements on a more or less regular basis. 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 average number of advertisements per concert rose from something close to zero in 1672, to 3.5 by

1750. While 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 so that between 1740 and 1750 only three years showed a maximum lower than eight. While early London concert promoters could not attain the blanket coverage which our wide variety of media make possible for contemporary cultural events, the increasing the pervasiveness of entertainment advertising was noted by writers of the time.

The persuasive aspect of advertising has been explained via sequential models, of which one of the most widely used is AIDA (Attention-Interest-Desire-Action) which involves 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: 92–3; Moore, 2005: 253–259). In London's early concert advertisements, the attention of the reader of the newspaper was first attracted to the advertisement by use of the range of typographical devices that were available in newspapers of the day; the wording of the advertisement was then used to arouse interest in the concert and create the desire to purchase a ticket and attend. 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, 2004a; 2004b) which finds resonance with the promotion of contemporary cultural events (Kolb, 2005: 215). Advertisers used their knowledge of the potential concert audience, of their social attachments and overall perspective, in order 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 and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 63–83). Concert promoters also used endorsements to enforce their persuasive message utilising sources which displayed both credibility to inspire trust and attractiveness to support the potential attendee's self-image (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 145–49).

It is commonly held that at this period advertisements were solely informational in content, presenting only what Kolb (2005: 165–6) would term the features of the product: time and date of the concert, venue, performer, and programme. However, this kind of basic informational advert, giving details of the date and time, venue and

perhaps the performer(s), is the exception rather than the rule. While the blatant exaggerations or falsehoods of eighteenth-century advertisements for medicines and the like may not have found their way into contemporary 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 making their potential customers aware of different types of product knowledge associated with the advertised concert and constructing a customer value proposition which would aid them in their decision as to whether to attend or not (Anderson et al., 2006, Holbrook, 1986, Holbrook, 1994, Holbrook, 1996, Holbrook, 1999, Holbrook and Corfman, 1985, Zeithaml, 1988).

They would allude to the benefits, both functional and psychosocial which would be provided to those who purchase a ticket and go to the concert (Kolb, 2005: 165). In addition to the concert itself, other inducements to attendance are also mentioned on occasion. These might include extra activities or attractions in addition to the concert itself which would add to the prospect of relaxation and entertainment (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 93–99), and also provide further opportunities for socialising (Bouder-Pailler, 1999; Gainer, 1995; Thyne, 2001). The appeal of novelty, either of the music performed and/or the performer, was used as a way to entice the reader of the advertisement to attend the concert by offering the opportunity to increase his or her awareness of music by hearing unfamiliar pieces, thus satisfying the thirst for cultural knowledge (McLean, 1995; Paswan and Troy, 2004; Slater, 2007; Slater and Armstrong, 2010). In addition, concert advertisements attempted to indicate the types of values that might be shared by those who purchased tickets (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Lury, 2011; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004: 63–83). Large numbers of concerts were held to benefit either the performers themselves or for various charitable purposes; thus one could assume that those attending might share in a wish to support the arts or other charities.

Attendance at a concert could also be considered as participating in a form of social ritual which affirmed membership of a particular social class (Botti, 2000: 63–83; Colbert, 2003; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000; Gainer, 1993b; 1997; Kelly, 1987; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2004). Concert-going tended to be an activity restricted to the more elite sections of society, so 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 et al., 2002; McVeigh, 1993). Like 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 and Hume, 1983). References to named performers, composers or pieces of music (see section 6.2) are another way of creating a feeling of belonging to a cultured elite. Only those who are educated in such things and attend concerts regularly would be able to appreciate the quality, or otherwise, of the pieces, composers or performers listed.

While 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. Although the methods used are not as sophisticated as the multimedia productions of today, they were the best that were available given the technological limitations of the time, and the techniques used in concert advertisements are thus not so purely informational and simplistic as been assumed hitherto of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many advertisements presented a promotional message by building up a customer value proposition which enabled the reader to evaluate available alternatives or by using persuasive techniques to encourage attendance. Concerts, after all, were not the only entertainments on offer in a thriving metropolis such as London where the business of leisure was flourishing. Moreover, the use concert promoters made of newspaper advertising was a new departure, an increase in pervasiveness which must have had an impact on the potential audience. 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. The texts of concert announcements show 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 these classified advertisements of the 1700s. The commercial concert made use of newspaper advertising to promote itself and in turn helped to facilitate the growth of the publishing industry: concert promoters may only have helped to support newspapers in a small way through the payments they made to insert their advertisements, but their larger role was in helping to form a market for the large

amount of published music and instrumental or singing tutors that were starting to roll off the presses.

10.8. People: Musicians as Professionals

In the period under discussion, there was no real semantic distinction between the terms ‘profession’ and ‘occupation’, ‘trade’ or ‘vocation; all these words were commonly used to describe an individual's main source of employment and income. Holmes (1982) describes music as one of the ‘nascent or fledgling professions’ in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, a development which grew out of the changes in the social and economic climate of the time which saw a ‘maturing society of growing complexity [generating] demands which the existing professions could not meet’. Thus, between 1660 and 1750 the character of the musical profession in England began to change: musicians moved from positions where they acted as live-in servants to a status more akin to that of freelance professionals, from ‘musician-valet’ to ‘musician-entrepreneur’ (Attali, 1985: 47). They had to learn new skills to find work, acting in a more entrepreneurial fashion, negotiating fees and contracts, undertaking a variety of enterprises, advancing themselves by self-promotion and manipulation of a market through social networks.

Distinctions between musicians also developed, between virtuosic soloists who could demand high salaries and rank-and-file performers who had to make do with far less. It was during this period that the division between professional and amateur musicians also began to become more clear-cut, in London at least. Here, the increase in the virtuosity of performers and the development of the commercial concert resulted in a gradual enlargement in the market for musicians and an increasing dominance of the professional musician in public performances. The widening gap between amateur and professional performers, between listeners and performers, was a concomitant of the rise in virtuosity and skill which served to both demonstrate and justify musicians’ professional status (Ehrlich, 1985: 3–5; Rose, 2005). In contrast to the majority of other towns and cities in Britain as well as to those in Europe, where concert-giving tended to be associated either with court musicians or with societies of amateur music lovers, London was able to support a large and growing number of full-time professional musicians who held the primary rôle in the organisation of public commercial concerts.

Unfortunately for native-born musicians, it was during the period under study that the long-standing practice of importing foreign musicians became increasingly dominant and those foreign musicians who arrived in London tended to be of higher rank, not necessarily better than the best indigenous performers, but certainly better than the majority. Most foreign musicians coming to England were from Italy, but there were also some from France, Holland, Germany and points further east. A hierarchy began to develop among the various musicians who formed part of this market: virtuosic soloists, often foreign-born, could demand high salaries whereas rank-and-file performers earned far less and had poorer long-term prospects. Payment for performing at public commercial concerts formed only part of a musician's income at this period and earnings from a variety of sources would usually be required to make a living. These might include: a paid position at Court, employment as a vicar choral or organist in a cathedral or church, a salaried or occasional position at one of the theatres, playing at private concerts, giving lessons, earnings from publishing musical compositions, collections of pieces and tutors to assist amateurs in learning to play an instrument, and so on. Non-musical activities might also be used to supplement a musician's income: while the selling of music or musical instruments might be expected, there are examples of musicians earning extra income by dealing in wine or pictures. So while we might have figures showing annual salaries or nightly payments for opera singers or performers in the opera orchestra, these tell us nothing about what the musicians concerned might also have earned from concerts or from teaching. Such secondary income may well have been more significant than the supposedly primary income for which records survive (Hume, 2006). Holmes (1982: 19–21, 28–31) sees the establishment of the 'Fund establish'd for the Support of decay'd Musicians, or their Families' in 1738 as 'a step of some significance along the road to a formal corporate identity', but it is also sadly indicative of the fact that being a musical performer was not necessarily a stable profession financially, especially in old age, sickness, or for musician's widows and their families. However, for the fortunate few of the top rank who knew how to make the new situation work for them, both income and social status could be high.

10.9. London's Concert Life and the Birth of the Music Business

The concert arose out of formal and informal occasions where music often formed part of other activities — public ceremonial of many kinds, social rituals and communal celebrations, church services and theatrical performances, in association with state and municipal ceremonies — and London played a pioneering rôle in its development (McVeigh, 1989b; Weber, n.d.). Here, public commercial concerts emerged in a fledgling form in the period immediately following the restoration of Charles II in 1660, developing from private music meetings dominated by amateur performers and informal public performances by professionals in taverns via Banister's first advertised concerts in 1672. By 1750, music played a large part in the life of the city: concerts were promoted regularly and with a clear sense of programme planning (McVeigh, 1989b). During the winter season, a series of twelve or twenty subscription concerts might be offered at Hickford's Room in Brewers Street, with oratorio concerts being performed at theatres on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent. Many individual concerts took place, often for the benefit of an individual performer or for a charity. Series of concerts were given for the members of well-established musical societies meeting at taverns: 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, among others (Hawkins, 1776: 805-8). In these, amateur performers took a more prominent part in the proceedings: deciding on the repertoire and perhaps playing, though often with participation by professional performers. During the summer, concerts formed part of the entertainment on offer at the various wells, spas and pleasure gardens.

By 1750 public commercial concerts in London may not have achieved their final form or the heights of popularity that accompanied the 'rage for music' of the 1790s, but 'the foundations had been laid for later expansion' (McVeigh, 1989b: 4). There is no doubt that the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw the beginnings of public concert life in London, but was this the birth of the music business? Certainly we see here Atali's (1985) network of representation in action with music beginning its move towards the market, or Baumol and Baumol's (1994) transition 'from the universal system of private patronage to the beginnings of a market mechanism under which the product of the composer and the performer became a

commodity that could be bought and sold', but earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century to which these developments are ascribed. Scherer (2004) put this down to economic and political developments which acted together to strengthen middle-class demand for music and weaken the feudal foundations of European noble courts and religious establishments. While the evidence presented here is in agreement with the latter, it is evident that the majority of London's public concerts were not attended by the middle classes but were aimed at an elite and wealthy audience. Only the cheaper concerts held in the less prestigious venues or in the more mass-entertainment spa resorts and pleasure gardens could have hoped to attract a less affluent middle-class clientele on a regular basis.

The ideas of Williamson and Cloonan (2007) and Leyshon (2001; 2005) of music as being a range of industries centred around music or a set of 'overlapping and interconnecting networks' through which the cultural product flowed and underwent a process of commodification are obviously based on present-day realities, but they are, nevertheless, relevant to a certain extent to the situation arising from the growth of public commercial concerts in the period under study. Here we also have a collection of different people working in a range of admittedly small-scale industries centred around music, a set of 'overlapping and interconnecting networks' through which music flowed and underwent a process of commodification.

Musicians performing in London's new public commercial concerts were not acting alone in creating this new business; they were part of a network of creativity in which music was composed and performed: composers, performance venues and sellers of musical instruments and musical supplies also formed part of this system. Theatres likewise were part of this network, not only in their rôle as occasional venues for concerts themselves, but also because music formed an important part of theatrical performances at the time. The same composers, singers and instrumentalists were to be found composing and performing the musical items in straight plays, in performances of opera, in public concerts and in the pleasure gardens. What we might term 'concert music' was sometimes performed within theatrical performances, just as theatre songs, and, even more frequently, operatic arias were performed in concerts of all sorts. The only method of reproduction at the time was that of music publishing and most music publishers sold directly in their own shops rather than having any distribution network.

However, like modern music distributors, music publishers ensured that their products were promoted and marketed through the limited channels available at the time. The networks of consumption were restricted to those locations in which musical products were purchased, that is music shops, and the consumers who bought them there. Consumers can also be considered to bring the networks full circle; they form part of the network of creativity, co-creating music by their presence at concerts and the other ways in which they supported performers and composers.

However one might wish to label the concert activity of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century London, as a music business, a music industry or a music scene, it can definitely be seen as the start of a development which runs continuously from that time to this. There is a direct line of connection between these early musical entrepreneurs who supplemented their income by putting on concerts and the modern day music industries which are primarily concerned with the creation, management and selling of music, either as a physical/digital product, a performance, or as a bundle of intellectual property rights. Far smaller and far less complex certainly, but in London's early public commercial concerts we can surely see the germ of what was to come: the birth of music as a business.

Bibliography

Newspapers

A Collection For Improvement of Husbandry and Trade

Athenian Gazette: or, Casuistical Mercury

British Journal

British Journal or the Censor

British Mercury

Champion: or Evening Advertiser

Common Sense: Or, The Englishman's Journal

Country Journal: or the Craftsman

Daily Advertiser

Daily Courant

Daily Gazetteer

Daily Journal

Daily Post

Dawk's News-Letter

English Post with News Foreign and Domestick

Evening Post

Flying Post: or the Post Master

Fog's Weekly Journal

General Advertiser

General Evening Post (London)

Grub Street Journal

Kingdomes Intelligencer

Kingdoms Intelligencer

London Daily Post and General Advertiser

London Evening Post

London Gazette

London Journal

London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick

Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence

Mercurius Politicus

*Mercurius Publicus: Comprising The Sum of Forraign Intelligence; With The Affairs
now in Agitation in England, Scotland, and Ireland*

Mist's Weekly Journal

New State of Europe or A True Account of Publick Transactions and Learning

Original Weekly Journal

Parker's Penny Post

Parliamentary Intelligencer

Penny London Morning Advertiser

Post Boy (A. Roper)

Publick Occurrences Truly Stated

Read's Weekly Journal: or British Gazetteer

St. James's Evening Post

The English Post

The Evening General Post

The Guardian

The Intelligencer; Published For the Satisfaction and Information of the People

The Post Man: and Historical Account

The Protestant Mercury

The Spectator

The St. James's Post. With the best occurrences foreign and domestick

The Tatler

The Weekly Journal; with Fresh Advices Foreign and Domestick

Universal Journal

Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal

Weekly Journal: or Saturday's Post, with Fresh advice Foreign and domestick

Weekly Journal; or British Gazetteer being the Freshest advices Foreign and domestick

Weekly Miscellany

Weekly Packet

Whitehall Evening Post

Other Sources

The Burney Collection of Newspapers.

<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpprestype/news/burneynews/index.html>

(accessed 13 May).

(1978–) Early English Newspapers. Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications.

(1982–5) *Oracle: The Relational Database Management System*. Menlo Park, CA: Oracle Corporation.

(n.d.) Concert. In Kennedy, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of Music* 2nd rev. ed.: Oxford Music Online

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e2332> (accessed 24 September 2009).

Academy of Vocal Music (1726–31) 'Orders' and Other Documents Relating to the Academy of Vocal Musick 1726-31. London, British Library MS Additional 11732.

Addison, J. (1712) *The Spectator*, No. 403 12 June.

Addison, S. W. W. (1951) *English Spas*. London: B T Batsford.

Anderson, J. C., Narus, J. A. & van Rossum, W. (2006) Customer Value Propositions in Business Markets. *Harvard Business Review*, 84 (3), 90–9.

Andreasen, A. R. & Belk, R. W. (1980) Predictors of Attendance at the Performing Arts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 7 (2), 112-120.

Anon. (1643) *The Actors Remonstrance*. London.

Anon. (1732) *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: With His Answers and Testimonies* London: Geo. James.

Anon. (1949) An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 2 (March), 27-31.

Arber, E. (Ed.) (1903) *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.; with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D. A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the Reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne. Edited from the Very Rare Quarterly Lists of New Books and Reprints of Divinity, History, Science, Law, Medicine, Music, Trade, Finance, Poetry, Plays, Etc.; with Maps, Engravings, Playing Cards, Etc.; Issued by the Booksellers, Etc. Of London*, London: Edward Arber.

- Arundell, D. (1965) *The Story of Sadler's Wells 1683–1964*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Ashbee, A. (1986) *Records of English Court Music Volume 1 (1660 – 1685)*. Snodland: Andrew Ashbee.
- Ashbee, A. (1992) *Records of English Court Music VI (1558–1603)*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., Holman, P. & Kisby, F. (1998) *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Attali, J. (1985) *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Aubet, M. (1987) *The Phoenecians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Austern, L. P. (1992) *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance*. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach.
- Avery, E. L. (Ed.) (1960) *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period. Part 2: 1700–29*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Avery, E. L. (1968) *The London Stage 1700–1729: A Critical Introduction*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Avery, E. L. & Scouten, A. H. (1968) *The London Stage 1660–1700: A Critical Introduction*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Balet, L. & Rebling, E. (1936) *Die Verbürgerlichung Der Deutschen Kunst, Literatur Und Musik Im 18. Jahrhundert*. Strassburg: Heitz & Co.
- Banister, J. (1676) *Musick; or, a Parley of Instruments. [Songs, Etc.] the First Part*. London.
- Bartels, R. (1988) *The History of Marketing Thought*. Columbus, OH: Publishing Horizons.
- Bartlett, I. (n.d.) Clegg, John. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52622>
 (accessed 27 July 2010).

- Bate, W. J., Bullitt, J. M. & Powell, L. F. (Eds.) (1963) *The Idler and the Adventurer*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Baumol, W. J. & Baumol, H. (1994) On the Economics of Musical Composition in Mozart's Vienna. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 18 (3), 171–98.
- Becker, H., Green, R. D. & Roesler, C. A. (n.d.) Berlin. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford *Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02826>
 (accessed 28 June 2012).
- Becker, H. S. (1982) *Art Worlds*. Berkeley and London University of California Press.
- Bellingham, B. (1982) The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration. *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 19, 7–70.
- Berelson, B. (1971) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press
- Bernstein, J. S. (2007) *Arts Marketing Insights: The Dynamics of Building and Retaining Performing Arts Audiences*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Berry, L. L. (1980) Services Marketing Is Different. *Business*, (May-June), 24–29.
- Black, J. (1991) *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. Aldershot: Gregg Revivals.
- Black, J. (2001) *The English Press 1621–1861*. Stroud: Sutton.
- Blanning, T. (2008) *The Triumph of Music: Composers, Musicians and Their Audiences, 1700 to the Present*. London: Allen Lane.
- Bliss, P. (Ed.) (1813) *Athenæ Oxoniensis. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford. To Which Are Added the Fasti, or Annals of the Said University. By Anthony À Wood, M.A. Of Merton College*, London: F.C. and J. Rivington.
- Bond, D. F. (Ed.) (1987) *The Tatler*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Booms, B. H. & Bitner, M. J. (1981) Marketing Strategies and Organization Structures for Service Firms. In Donnelly, J. H. & George, W. R. (Eds.) *Marketing of Services*, pp. 47-51. Chicago, IL: American Marketing Association.
- Boorsma, M. (1998) *Kunstmarketing; Hoe Marketing Kan Bijdragen Aan Het Maatschappelijk Functioneren Van Kunst, in Het Bijzonder Van Toneelkunst in*

Nederland. Amerstadam/Groningen: Boekmanstichting/Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

- Boorsma, M. (2002) Arts Marketing and the Societal Functioning of the Arts: The Case of the Subsidized Dramatic Arts in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8 (1), 65–74.
- Boorsma, M. (2006) A Strategic Logic for Arts Marketing: Integrating Customer Value and Artistic Objectives. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 12 (1), 73–92.
- Boorsma, M. & van Maanen, H. (1982a) Expectations and Experiences of Theatrical Arts Consumers: A Case Study from the Netherlands. *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidsskrift*, 2, 157–89.
- Boorsma, M. & van Maanen, H. (1982b) View and Review in the Netherlands: The Role of Theatre Critics in the Construction of Audience Experience. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 9 (3), 319–336.
- Borden, N. H. (1964) The Concept of the Marketing Mix. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 4 (June), 2–7.
- Bos, W. & Tarnai, C. (1999) Content Analysis in Empirical Social Research. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 31, 659–671.
- Botti, S. (2000) What Role for Marketing in the Arts? An Analysis of Arts Consumption and Artistic Value. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 2 (3), 16–27.
- Bouder-Pailler, D. (1999) A Model for Measuring the Goals of Theatre Attendance. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 1 (2), 4–14.
- Boulton, W. B. (1901) *The Amusements of Old London. Being a Survey of the Sports and Pastimes, Tea Gardens and Parks, Playhouses and Other Diversions of the People of London from the 17th to the Beginning of the 19th Century ... With Twelve Illustrations, Etc.* London: J. C. Nimmo.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La Distinction, Critique Social Du Jugement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. Reprinted: *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice. London, Routledge, 1984.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge. Original edition: *La Distinction, Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979).

- Bourgeon-Renault, D. (2000) Evaluating Consumer Behaviour in the Field of Arts and Culture Marketing. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 3 (1), 4–18.
- Boyce, W. (1760-1773) *Cathedral Music, Being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for That Service, by Several English Masters of the Last 200 Years*. London.
- Boydell, B. (1988) *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*. Blackrock: Irish Academic Press.
- Boydell, B. (n.d.-a) Dubourg, Matthew. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music> (accessed 27 July 2010).
- Boydell, B. (n.d.-b) Viner, William. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29429> (accessed 18 November 2010).
- Bradshaw, A., McDonagh, P. & Marshall, D. (2006) Response to “Art Versus Commerce as a Macromarketing Theme”. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 26 (1), 81-83.
- Bray, W. (Ed.) (1901) *The Diary of John Evelyn*, New York and London: M. Walter Dunne.
- Brereton, A. (1908) *Literary History of the Adelphi and Its Neighbourhood*. London: T Fisher Unwin.
- Brett-James, N. G. (1935) *The Growth of Stuart London* London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society/Allen and Unwin.
- Brewer, J. (1995) "The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious": Attitudes Towards Culture as a Commodity 1660–1800. In Bermingham, A. & Brewer, J. (Eds.) *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, pp. 341–361. London: Routledge.
- Bridge, F. (1903) *Samuel Pepys Lover of Musique*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.
- Bridge, J. C. (1927–28) Town Waits and Their Tunes. *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 54 (ArticleType: research-article / Full publication date: 1927 - 1928 / Copyright © 1927 Royal Musical Association), 63-92.

- Bronzite, M. (1989) *Introduction to Oracle*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.
- Brown, S., Hirschman, E. C. & Maclaran, P. (2001) Always Historicize! *Marketing Theory*, 1 (1), 49–89.
- Bruhn, C. (2003) Taking the Private Public: Amateur Music-Making and the Musical Audience in 1860s New York. *American Music*, 21 (3), 260-290.
- Bucholz, R. O. (1993) *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bucklin, L. P. (1963) Retail Strategy and the Classification of Consumer Goods. *Journal of Marketing*, 27 (1), 50-55.
- Buelow, G. J. (1990) Originality, Genius, Plagiarism in English Criticism of the Eighteenth Century. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 21 (2), 117–128.
- Burchell, J. (1996) *Polite or Commercial Concerts? : Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle, 1730-1799*. New York: Garland.
- Burney, C. (1776–89) *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*. London. Reprinted: New York, Dover, 1957.
- Burney, C. D. D. (n.d.) *A Manuscript Index to the Burney Collection of Newspapers. [London Newspapers, 1603-1817.]*.
- Burrows, D. (1985) Handel's London Theatre Orchestra. *Early Music*, 13 (3), 349–357.
- Burrows, D. (1994) *Handel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, R. E. o. L. (1747) *The London Tradesman, Being a Compenious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster*. London: T. Gardner.
- Careri, E. (1991) The Correspondence between Burney and Twining About Corelli and Geminiani *Music & Letters*, 72 (1), 38–47.
- Careri, E. (1993) *Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Careri, E. (n.d.) Geminiani, Francesco. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10849>
 (accessed 28 July 2010).

- Carù, A. & Cova, B. (2005) The Impact of Service Elements on the Artistic Experience: The Case of Classical Music Concerts. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 7 (2), 39-54.
- Cassels, J. M. (1936) The Significance of Early Economic Thought on Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (2), 129-133.
- Chan, M. (1990) A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing. In Caldwell, J., Olleson, E. & Wollenberg, S. (Eds.) *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld*, pp. 231–44. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Church, R. (2000) Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations. *Economic History Review*, LIII (4), 621–645.
- Chuu, S. L. H., Chang, J. C. & Zaichkowsky, J. L. (2009) Exploring Art Film Audiences: A Marketing Analysis. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 15 (1/2), 212-228.
- Cibber, C. (1756) *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, Comedian*. London. Reprinted: 1914 London: J M Dent.
- Clapp, S. L. C. (1931) The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century. *Modern Philology*, 29 (2), 199–224.
- Clapp, S. L. C. (1932) Subscription Publishers Prior to Jacob Tonson. *The Library*, 4th series XIII (2), 158–181.
- Clark, A. (1891-1900) *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society.
- Clark, P. (2000) *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800. The Origins of an Associational World*. Oxford Oxford University Press.
- Clifford, J. L. (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cody, L. F. (1999) 'No Cure, No Money,' or the Invisible Hand of Quackery: The Language of Commerce, Credit, and Cash in Eighteenth-Century British Advertisements. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 28, 103–130.
- Colbert, F. (2003) Entrepreneurship and Leadership in Marketing the Arts. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 6 (1), 30–39.
- Colbert, F. (2007) *Marketing Culture and the Arts*. Montréal: HEC.

- Coleman, C. (n.d.) The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: A Brief Introduction to the History of the Society and Its Archives. <http://www.royalsocietyofmusicians.co.uk/further-history.html> (accessed 4 January 2012).
- Connolly, T. & Begg, C. (2005) *Database Systems: A Practical Approach to Design, Implementation, and Management*. Harlow: Addison Wesley.
- Constantinides, E. (2006) The Marketing Mix Revisited: Towards the 21st Century Marketing. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 22 (3/4), 407–438.
- Cooper, P. & Tower, R. (1992) Inside the Consumer Mind: Consumer Attitude to the Arts. *Journal of the Market Research Society*, 34 (4), 299-311.
- Copeland, M. T. (1923) Relation of Consumer's Buying Habits to Marketing Methods. *Harvard Business Review*, 1 (3), 282-289.
- Corfield, P. J. (1982) *The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corfield, P. J. (1995) *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700–1850*. London: Routledge.
- Corfield, P. J. & Kelly, S. (1984) 'Giving Directions to the Town': The Early Town Directories. *Urban History Yearbook*, 22-35.
- Cowen, T. & Tabarrok, A. (2000) An Economic Theory of Avant-Garde and Popular Art, or High and Low Culture. *Southern Economic Journal*, 67 (2), 232.
- Cox, S. M. & Budeit, J. L. (1983) *Early English Newspapers: Bibliography and Guide to the Microfilm Collection*. Woodbridge CT: Research Publications.
- Cranmer, J. L. (1991) *Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh C. 1780–C. 1830*. Ph.D dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- Crewdson, H. A. F. (1971) *The Worshipful Company of Musicians*. London: Charles Knight & Co.
- Crewdson, R. (2000) *Apollo's Swan and Lyre: Five Hundred Years of the Musicians' Company*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Crum, M. (1974) An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719. *Bodleian Library Record*, 9, 83-99.
- Cuadrado, M. & Mollà, A. (2000) Grouping Performing Arts Consumers According to Attendance Goals. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 2 (3), 54–60.

- Date, C. J. (1986) *Relational Database: Selected Writings*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Date, C. J. & Darwen, H. (1997) *A Guide to the Sql Standard*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- de Beer, E. S. (1955) *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dearnley, C. (1970) *English Church Music, 1650–1750: In Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.
- Defoe, D. (1724-27) *A Tour Thro' Great Britain*.
- Defoe, D. (1726) *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters; Directing Him in All the Several Parts and Progressions of Trade ... Calculated for the Instruction of Our Inland Tradesmen; and Especially of Young Beginners*. London.
- Denley, P. (1994) Models, Sources and Users: Historical Database Design in the 1990s. *History and Computing*, 6 (1), 33–43.
- Deutsch, O. E. (1955) *Handel: A Documentary Biography*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Diack Johnstone, H. (n.d.) Deane, Thomas. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07335>
 (accessed 27 July 2010).
- Diesineer, G. (1682) *Instrumental Ayrs in Three, and Four Parts, Two Trebbles, Tenor and Bass*. London.
- Diggle, K. (1994) *Arts Marketing*. London: Rhinegold Publishing
- Dimaggio, P. (1982) Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America. *Media, Culture & Society*, 4 (1), 33-50.
- Dixon, D. F. (1998) Retailing in Classical Athens: Gleanings from Contemporary Literature and Art. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 16 (1), 74–85.
- Dixon, D. F. (2002) Emerging Macromarketing Concepts: From Socrates to Alfred Marshall. *Journal of Business Research*, 55 (2), 87-95.
- Doherty, F. (1992) *A Study in Eighteenth-Century Advertising Methods: The Anodyne Necklace*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellon Press.

- Douglas, M. & Isherwood, B. (1979) *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York: Basic.
- Dunk, J. & Rahtz, S. (1989) Strategies for Gravestone Recording. *History and Computing*, 2, 72-6.
- Durston, C. (1996) Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution, 1645–1660. In Durston, C. & Eales, J. (Eds.) *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, pp. 210–233. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Dyer, G. (1982) *Advertising as Communication*. London: Methuen.
- Earle, P. (1994) The Middling Sort in London. In Barry, J. & Brooks, C. (Eds.) *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800*, pp. 141–158. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Edwards, F. G. (1906) Thomas Britton. The Musical Small-Coal Man. (1654?-1714). *The Musical Times*, 47 (762), 529-534.
- Edwards, O. T. (1976) The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England. *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, 251-296.
- Edwards, O. T. (n.d.) Corbett, William. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06448>
 (accessed 19 November 2010).
- Edwards, O. T. & Lasocki, D. (n.d.) Baston, John. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02288>
 (accessed 1 April 2010).
- Edwards, O. T. & McVeigh, S. (n.d.) Castrucci, Pietro. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05154>
 (accessed 27 July 2010).
- Ehrlich, C. (1985) *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ehrlich, C., McVeigh, S. W. & Musgrave, M. (n.d.) London (I), §VI: Musical Life: 1800–1945. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press (28 June 2011).

- Elias, N. (1993) *Mozart: Portrait of a Genius*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Original edition: 1991: *Mozart: zur Soziologie eines Genies*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Elkin, R. (1955) *The Old Concert Rooms of London*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Elliott, K. (n.d.) Rizzio, David. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23552>
(accessed 2 August 2010).
- Enis, B. M. & Roering, K. J. (1980) Product Classification Taxonomies: Synthesis and Consumer Implications. In Lamb, C. W., Jr & Dunne, P. M. (Eds.) *Theoretical Developments in Marketing*, pp. 186–189. Chicago: American Marketing Association.
- Erdogan, B. Z. (1999) Celebrity Endorsement: A Literature Review. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15 (4), 291–314.
- Evrard, Y. (1991) Culture Et Marketing: Incompatibilité Ou Reconciliation? In Colbert, F. & Mitchell, C. (Eds.) *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Arts Management*, pp. 37–50. Montreal: École des HEC, University of Waterloo.
- Evrard, Y. (1997) Democratizing Culture or Cultural Democracy. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 27 (3), 167–175.
- Farmer, H. G. (1945) Concerts in 18th Century Scotland. *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasglow*, 69, 99.
- Farmer, H. G. (1950) *Music Making in the Olden Days: The Story of the Aberdeen Concerts, 1748-1801*. London.
- Faust, K. & Wasserman, S. (1994) *Social Network Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fillis, I. (2011) The Evolution and Development of Arts Marketing Research. *Arts Marketing: an International Journal*, 1 (1), 11–25.
- Finlay, R. & Shearer, B. (1986) Population Growth and Suburban Expansion. In Beier, A. L. & Finlay, R. (Eds.) *London 1500–1700. The Making of the Metropolis*, pp. 37–59. London and New York: Longman.
- Firth, C. H. & Rait, R. S. S. (1911) *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*. London: Stationery Office

- Fisher, T. C. G. & Preece, S. B. (2003) Evolution, Extinction, or Status Quo? Canadian Performing Arts Audiences in the 1990s. *Poetics*, 31 (2), 69-86.
- Fiske, R. & Troost, L. (n.d.) Charke, Richard. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Grove Music Online
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05454>
 (accessed 28 July 2010).
- Fleming, S. D. I. (2009) *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711-1811: A Documentary Study*. dissertation, Durham University.
- Forsyth, M. (1985) *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Frey, B. S. & Meier, S. (2006) The Economics of Museums. In Ginsburgh, V. A. & Throsby, D. (Eds.) *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, Vol 1, pp. 1018–1047. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Fuller, D. (n.d.) Chambonnières, Jacques Champion, Sieur De *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05386>
 (accessed 28 June 2012).
- Fuller, D. & Holman, P. (n.d.) Dieupart, Charles. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07781>
 (accessed 28 June 2011).
- Fullerton, R. A. (1977) Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany 1870–1890. *Journal of Social History*, 10, 265–283.
- Fullerton, R. A. (1988a) How Modern Is Modern Marketing? Marketing's Evolution and the Myth of The "Production Era". *Journal of Marketing*, 52 (1), 108–125.
- Fullerton, R. A. (1988b) Modern Western Marketing as a Historical Phenomenon: Theory and Illustration. In Nevett, T. & Fullerton, R. A. (Eds.) *Historical Perspectives in Marketing : Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, pp. 71–89. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington.
- Fullerton, R. A. & Nevett, T. (1988) Introduction: The Importance of Marketing History and Stanley Hollander's Contribution to It. In Nevett, T. & Fullerton, R. A.

- (Eds.) *Historical Perspectives in Marketing : Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, pp. xi–xix. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington.
- Gainer, B. (1993a) An Empirical Investigation of the Role of Involvement with a Gendered Product. *Psychology & Marketing*, 10 (4), 265-283.
- Gainer, B. (1993b) The Importance of Gender to Arts Marketing. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 23 (3), 240–253.
- Gainer, B. (1995) Ritual and Relationships: Interpersonal Influences on Shared Consumption. *Journal of Business Research*, 32 (3), 253-260.
- Gainer, B. (1997) Marketing Arts Education: Parental Attitudes toward Arts Education for Children. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 26 (4), 253–269.
- Gans, H. J. (1999) *Popular Culture and High Culture : An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Gardner, H. (1994) How Extraordinary Was Mozart? In Morris, J. M. (Ed.) *On Mozart*, pp. 36–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gardner, M. (2008) *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*. Göttingen: V & R unipress.
- Gater, S. G. H. & Hiorns, F. R. (Eds.) (1940) *Trafalgar Square and Neighbourhood (the Parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Part III)*, London: London County Council.
- Gibson, E. (1988) The Royal Academy of Music (1719–28) and Its Directors. In Sadie, S. & Hicks, A. (Eds.) *Handel: Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 138–64. London: Macmillan Press for the Royal Musical Association
http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GUYLSTftj1EC&pg=PA138&lpg=PA138&dq=Gibson+The+Royal+Academy+of+Music&source=bl&ots=HZDI3rMA7Q&sig=mMFPf2NOBVax5C9WqK7H_T2ynt0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Q2CKUZ26LOXP0QWb9oDABA&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Gibson%20The%20Royal%20Academy%20of%20Music&f=false
- (accessed).
- Gibson, E. (1989) *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Ginger, J. (Ed.) (1998) *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano*, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press.

- Goff, M. (2007a) The Burney Newspapers at the British Library. *17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*. Detroit: Gale.
- Goff, M. (2007b) Early History of the English Newspaper. *17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*. Detroit: Gale.
- Golder, P. N. (2000) Historical Method in Marketing Research with New Evidence on Long-Term Market Share Stability. *Journal of Marketing Research (JMR)*, 37 (2), 156-172.
- Gomme, L. (Ed.) (1912) *The Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Part I. Lincoln's Inn Fields*, London: London County Council.
- Gouk, P. (1996) Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford. *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 29 (3), 257-288.
- Gramit, D. (2004) Selling the Serious: The Commodification of Music and Resistance to It in Germany, Circa 1800. In Weber, W. (Ed.) *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, pp. 81–101. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Gras, H. & Vliet, H. v. (2004) Paradise Lost nor Regained: Social Composition of Theatre Audiences in the Long Nineteenth Century. *Journal of Social History*, 38 (2), 471.
- Grattan Flood, W. H. (1910) Geminiani in England and Ireland. *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 12 (1), 108–112.
- Grattan Flood, W. H. (1926) Castle Society of Music. *The Musical Times*, 67 (1004), 933.
- Habermas, J. (1992) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity. Original edition: 1962
Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.
- Hackley, C. (2009) Theorizing Advertising: Managerial, Scientific and Cultural Approaches. In Maclaren, P., Saren, M., Stern, B. & Tadjewski, M. (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Marketing Theory*, pp. 89–107. London: Sage.
- Hanneman, R. A. & Riddle, M. (1995) Introduction to Social Network Methods. Riverside, CA: University of California, Riverside

<http://www.faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/index.html> (accessed 10 October 2011).

- Harbor, C. (1996) The Register of Music in London Newspapers, 1660–1800. In Harvey, C. & Press, J. (Eds.) *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications*, pp. 40–46. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- Harbor, C. (2005) Newspapers as a Source for Studying the Music Business in England, 1660–1750. *Business Archives: Sources and History*, 90, 1–13.
- Harbor, C. (2006) London's Musical Life 1660–1750: Database Management in an Era of Technological Change *History and Computing*, 13 (3), 221–238.
- Harbor, C. (2007a) The Birth of the Music Business; Advertising Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750. In 29–30 June *Business Links: Trade, Distribution and Networks. Joint conference of the Association of Business Historians and The Centre for the History of Retailing and Distribution*. University of Wolverhampton.
- Harbor, C. (2007b) "By the Best Masters...": Advertising Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750. In 30 November *23rd Annual Conference on Music in 18th-century Britain*. Foundling Museum, London.
- Harbor, C. (2007c) Pervasive and Persuasive: Advertisements for Concerts in London 1672–1750. *Marketing Theory into Practice, Academy of Marketing conference* Royal Holloway University of London: Academy of Marketing.
- Harbor, C. (2008a) 'at Consorts of Note the Prices Are Extravagant...': Marketing Music in Eighteenth-Century London. In 4–5 July 2008 *Association of Business Historians*. University of Birmingham
- Harbor, C. (2008b) New Wine from Old Bottles: Re-Examining an Established Database. *Historical Methods*, 41 (1), 3–16.
- Harbor, C. (2009) '...by Her Royal Highness's Command': Endorsements in Advertisements for London Concerts 1672–1750. In May *14th Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing (CHARM)*. University of Leicester.
- Harding, V. (1990) The Population of London, 1550–1700: A Review of the Published Evidence. *The London Journal*, 15 (2), 111–128.
- Harley, J. (1968) *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background*. London: Dobson.

- Harris, E. T. (2004) Handel the Investor. *Music and Letters*, 85 (4), 521–575.
- Harris, M. (1978) The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1620–1780. In Boyce, G., Curran, J. & Wingate, P. (Eds.) *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day*, pp. 82–97. London: Constable.
- Harrison, B. (1906) A Forgotten Concert Room. *The Musical Times*, 47, 602–605, 669–672.
- Harrison, B. (1909) The Oldest Concert Room in London. *The Monthly Musical Record*, 39, 55–56.
- Hartland, P. & Harvey, C. (1989) Information Engineering and Historical Databases. *History and Computing*, 2, 44–62.
- Harvey, C. & Press, J. (1996) *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Hawkins, J. (1770) *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music*. London.
- Hawkins, J. (1776) *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. London. Reprinted: facs. New York, 1963.
- Hawkins, J. (1853) *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. London: J. Alfred Novello. Reprinted: facs. New York, 1963.
- Heaney, J.-G. & Heaney, M. F. (2003) Using Economic Impact Analysis for Arts Management: An Empirical Application to a Music Institute in the USA. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 8 (3), 251–266.
- Hembry, P. (1990) *The English Spa 1560–1815: A Social History*. London: Athlone Press.
- Hesmondhalgh (2007) *The Cultural Industries*. London: Sage.
- Hicks, A. (n.d.) Handel. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40060pg6>
 (accessed 12 October 2009).
- Highfill, P. H., Burnim, K. A. & Langhans, E. A. (Eds.) (1973–91) *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage*

- Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Hildesheimer, W. (1982) *Mozart*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.
- Hill, J. W. (n.d.) Visconti, Gasparo. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29505>
 (accessed 29 July 2010).
- Hill, L., O'Sullivan, C. & O'Sullivan, T. (2003) *Creative Arts Marketing*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann. Original edition: 1995.
- Hirschman, E. C. (1983) Aesthetics, Ideologies and the Limits of the Marketing Concept. *Journal of Marketing*, 47 (3), 45.
- Hirschman, E. C. & Holbrook, M. B. (1982) Hedonic Consumption: Emerging Concepts, Methods and Propositions. *Journal of Marketing*, 46 (3), 92-101.
- Hogan, C. B. (1949) The New Wells, Goodman's Fields, 1739-1752. *Theatre Notebook*, 3, 67-72.
- Holbrook, M. & Howard, J. A. (1977) Frequently Purchased Nondurable Goods and Services. In Ferber, R. (Ed.) *Selected Aspects of Consumer Behavior: A Summary from the Perspective of Different Disciplines*, pp. 189–222. Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, Directorate for Research Applications, Research Applied to National Needs.
- Holbrook, M. & Zirlin, R. B. (1985) Artistic Creation, Artworks and Aesthetic Appreciation: Some Philosophical Contributions to Nonprofit Marketing. *Advances in Nonprofit Marketing*, 1, 1–54.
- Holbrook, M. B. (1980) Some Preliminary Notes on Research in Consumer Esthetics. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 7 (1), 104-108.
- Holbrook, M. B. (Ed.) (1999a) *Consumer Value: A Framework for Analysis and Research*, London: Routledge.
- Holbrook, M. B. (1999b) Introduction to Consumer Value. In Holbrook, M. B. (Ed.) *Consumer Value: A Framework for Analysis and Research*, pp. 1–28. London: Routledge.

- Holbrook, M. B. (2005) Art Versus Commerce as a Macromarketing Theme in Three Films from the Young-Man-with-a-Horn Genre. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 25 (1), 22-31.
- Holbrook, M. B. & Hirschman, E. C. (1982) The Experiential Aspects of Consumption: Consumer Fantasies, Feelings, and Fun. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9 (2), 132-140.
- Holbrook, M. B. & Schindler, R. M. (1989) Some Exploratory Findings on the Development of Musical Tastes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (1), 119-124.
- Holbrook, M. B., Weiss, M. J. & Habich, J. (2002) Disentangling Effacement, Omnivore, and Distinction Effects on the Consumption of Cultural Activities: An Illustration. *Marketing Letters*, 13 (4), 345–357.
- Hollander, S. C. (1986) The Marketing Concept: A Déjà Vu. In Fisk, G. (Ed.) *Marketing Management Technology as Social Process*. New York: Praeger.
- Holman, P. (1982–83) The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century. *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 109, 39–59.
- Holman, P. (1992) Music for the Stage I: Before the Civil War. In Spink, I. (Ed.) *The Seventeenth Century*, pp. 282–305. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Holman, P. (1993) *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Holman, P. (2000) Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future. In Jones, D. W. (Ed.) *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 1–13. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Holman, P. (2010a) *Life after Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.
- Holman, P. (2010b) The Sale Catalogue of Gottfreid Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life Int He 1690s. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43, 23–38.
- Holman, P. (n.d.-a) Draghi, Giovanni Battista. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08126>
 (accessed 28 June 2011).

- Holman, P. (n.d.-b) Grabu, Luis. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09670>
 (accessed 28 June 2011).
- Holman, P. (n.d.-c) King, Robert. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15021>
 (accessed 16 September 2009).
- Holman, P. & Gilman, T. (n.d.) Arne, Thomas Augustine. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40018>
 (accessed 27 July 2010).
- Holman, P. & Lasocki, D. (n.d.) Banister. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42774pg2>
 (accessed 16 September 2009).
- Holmes, G. (1982) *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Holt, D. B. (1998) Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (1), 1–25.
- Holton, R. H. (1958) The Distinction between Convenience Goods, Shopping Goods, and Specialty Goods. *Journal of Marketing*, 23 (1), 53–56.
- Hopkins, D. (1994) The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day for 1686, 1695, and 1696. *The Review of English Studies*, 45 (180), 486–495.
- Horwitz, H. (2004) Luttrell, Narcissus (1657–1732). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17226> (accessed 5 April 2005).
- Hotson, L. (1928) *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Hughes, J. (1735) *Poems on Several Occasions, with Some Select Essays*. London.
- Hughes, L. (1971) *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience*. Austin, London: University of Texas Press.

- Hulse, L. (1983) John Hingeston. *Chelys*, 12, 23–42.
- Hulse, L. (1985) Sir Michael Hikes (1543–1612): A Study in Musical Patronage. *Music & Letters*, 66 (3), 220–227.
- Hulse, L. (1991) The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612). *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1), 24–40.
- Hulse, L. (1993) *The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, C.1590–C.1640*. PhD dissertation, King's College, London.
- Hume, R. D. (1984) The Origins of the Actor Benefit in London. *Theatre Research International*, 9 (2), 99–111.
- Hume, R. D. (1986) Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s. *Music & Letters*, 67, 347–362.
- Hume, R. D. (1988) *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728–1737*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hume, R. D. (2006) The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 487–533.
- Hunter, D. (2000) Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences: The Intersections of Class, Money, Music and History. *Early Music*, 28 (1), 32–49.
- Hunter, D. (2009) Royal Patronage of Handel in Britain: The Rewards of Pensions and Office. In King, R. G. (Ed.) *Handel Studies: A Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer*, pp. 127–53. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press.
- Hunter, J. & Mason, R. M. (1999) Supporting Handel through Subscription to Publications: The Lists of Rodelinda and Faramondo Compared. *Notes*, 2nd ser. 56 (1), 27–93.
- Hunter, M. (n.d.) Gillier, Jean-Claude. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11147>
 (accessed 28 June 2011).
- Husk, W. H. (1857) *An Account of the Musical Xelebrations on St. Cecilia's Day in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries to Which Is Appended a Collection of Odes on St. Cecilia's Day*. London: Bell and Daldy.
- Hyde, R. (Ed.) (1981) *The a to Z of Georgian London*, Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary.

- James, K. E. (1987) *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath*. dissertation, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London.
- Johnson, J. (1995) *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Johnson, S. (1755) *A Dictionary of the English Language, in Which the Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed a History of the Language, and an English Grammar*. London.
- Johnson, S. (1759) The Idler. *Universal Chronicle*, 40 20 January.
- Johnstone, H. D. (1997a) Handel's London - British Musicians and London Concert Life. In Burrows, D. (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, pp. 64-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnstone, H. D. (1997b) More on Dr. Hoadly's 'Poems Set to Music by Dr. Greene'. *Studies in Bibliography*, 50 (ArticleType: research-article / Full publication date: 1997 / Copyright © 1997 Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia), 262-271.
- Jones, D. G. B. & Monieson, D. D. (1990) Early Development of the Philosophy of Marketing Thought. *Journal of Marketing*, 54 (1), 102-113.
- Jones, D. G. B. & Richardson, A. J. (2007) The Myth of the Marketing Revolution. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27 (1), 15-24.
- Jones, D. G. B. & Shaw, E. H. (2002) A History of Marketing Thought. In Weitz, B. A. & Wensley, R. (Eds.) *Handbook of Marketing*, pp. 39-66. London: Sage.
- Jones, D. G. B., Shaw, E. H. & McLean, P. (2009) The Modern Schools of Marketing Thought. In Maclaren, P., Saren, M., Stern, B. & Tadajewski, M. (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Marketing Theory*, pp. 42-58. London: Sage.
- Jones, E. (1980) London in the Early Seventeenth Century: An Ecological Approach. *The London Journal*, 6 (2), 123-134.
- Jordan, R. & Love, H. (Eds.) (1988) *The Works of Thomas Southerne*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Judd, R. C. (1964) The Case for Redefining Services. *Journal of Marketing*, 28 (1), 58-59.

- Kaikati, J. G. (1987) Celebrity Advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 6 (2), 93–105.
- Kassarjian, H. H. (1977) Content Analysis in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 4 (1), 8-18.
- Kassler, J. C. (n.d.) North, Roger. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20085>
 (accessed 23 January 2012).
- Keaney, E. (2008) Understanding Arts Audiences: Existing Data and What It Tells Us. *Cultural Trends*, 17 (2), 97-113.
- Keith, R. J. (1960) The Marketing Revolution. *Journal of Marketing*, 24 (3), 35–38.
- Kelley, W. T. (1956) The Development of Early Thought in Marketing and Promotion. *Journal of Marketing*, 21 (1), 62-67.
- Kelly, R. F. (1987) Museums as Status Symbols II: Attaining a State of Having Been. *Advances in Nonprofit Marketing*, 2, 1–38.
- Kerrigan, F., Fraser, P. & Özbilgin, M. (Eds.) (2004) *Arts Marketing*, Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Klein, A. (2001) *Kultur-Marketing. Das Marketingkonzept Für Kulturbetriebe*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Knif, H. (1995) *Gentlemen and Spectators. Studies in Journals, Opera and the Social Scene in Late Stuart London*. Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society.
- Kolb, B. M. (2001) The Decline of the Subscriber Base: A Study of the Philharmonia Orchestra Audience. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 3 (2), 51–9.
- Kolb, B. M. (2005) *Marketing for Cultural Organisations: New Strategies for Attracting Audiences to Classical Music, Dance, Museums, Theatre and Opera*. London Thomson.
- Kotler, N. & Kotler, P. (2000) *Museum Strategy and Marketing: Designing Missions, Building Audiences, Generating Revenue and Resources*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Kotler, N. G., Kotler, P. & Kotler, W. I. (2008) *Museum Strategy and Marketing: Designing Missions, Building Audiences, Generating Revenue and Resources*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

- Kotler, P. (1967) *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning and Control*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Kotler, P. (1972) A Generic Concept of Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 36 (2), 46-54.
- Kotler, P. (1991) *Marketing Management*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kotler, P. & Andreasen, A. R. (1996) *Strategic Marketing for Nonprofit Organizations*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Kotler, P., Armstrong, G., Saunders, J. & Wong, V. (2001) *Principles of Marketing*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Kotler, P., Keller, K. L., Brady, M., Goodman, M. & Hansen, T. (2009) *Marketing Management*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Kotler, P. & Levy, S. J. (1969) Broadening the Concept of Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 33 (1), 10-15.
- Kotler, P. & Scheff, J. (1997) *Standing Room Only: Strategies for Marketing the Performing Arts*. Harvard: Harvard Business School Press.
- Kottasz, R. & Bennett, R. (2006) Ethnocentric Tendencies Amongst Arts Audiences. *International Journal of Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 11 (4), 303-317.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Krummel, D. W. (1975) *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*. London: Bibliographical Society.
- Langhans, E. A. (1962–3) New Restoration Theatre Accounts, 1682–92. *Theatre Notebook*, 17, 118–134.
- Langhans, E. A. (1980) The Theatres. In Hume, R. D. (Ed.) *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, pp. 35–65. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Langwill, L. G. (1949) Two Rare Eighteenth-Century London Directories. *Music & Letters*, 30 (1), 37–43.
- Larsen, M. (1976) *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Lasocki, D. (n.d.-a) Banister: (3) John Banister (Ii). *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42774pg3>

(accessed 8 November 2010).

Lasocki, D. (n.d.-b) Paisible, James. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.*

Oxford: Oxford University Press

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09670>

(accessed 28 June 2011).

Latham, R. & Matthews, W. (Eds.) (1995) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, London: Harper Colins.

Laurie, M. (1992) Music for the Stage II: From 1650. In Spink, I. (Ed.) *The Seventeenth Century*, pp. 306–340. Oxford: Blackwell.

Laurie, M. (n.d.) Eccles (5) Henry Eccles (Ii). *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08509pg5>

(accessed 27 July 2010

).

Lawless, P. & Brown, F. (1986) *Urban Growth and Change in Britain: An Introduction.*

London: Harper & Row.

Le Huray, P. (1967) *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660.* London:

Jenkins.

Leacroft, R. (1988) *The Development of the English Playhouse.* London: Methuen.

Lee, S. & Major, D. (Eds.) (1677) *A Collection of the Names of the Merchants Living in and About the City of London, Very Usefull and Necessary.*, London: Sam. Lee.

Reprinted: 1863 *The Little London Directory of 1677*, London: John Camden Hotten.

Levine, L. W. (1988) *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Leyshon, A. (2001) Time - Space (and Digital) Compression: Software Formats,

Musical Networks, and the Reorganisation of the Music Industry. *Environment and Planning A*, 33 (1), 49-77.

Leyshon, A., Webb, P., French, S., Thrift, N. & Crewe, L. (2005) On the Reproduction of the Musical Economy after the Internet. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27 (2), 177-209.

- Lindgren, L. (1975) The Three Great Noises "Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini". *The Musical Quarterly*, 61 (4), 560-583.
- Lindgren, L. (1982) Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705. *Studi musicali*, xi, 229–48.
- Lindgren, L. (2000) Italian Violoncellists and Some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain. In Jones, D. W. (Ed.) *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 121–157. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Loftis, J. (1950) Richard Steele's Censorium. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 14 (1), 43–66.
- Love, H. (2004) How Music Created a Public. *Criticism*, 46 (2), 257–271.
- Lovelock, C. H. (1983) Classifying Services to Gain Strategic Marketing Insights. *Journal of Marketing*, 47 (3), 9.
- Lowinsky, E. E. (1964) Musical Genius--Evolution and Origins of a Concept. *The Musical Quarterly*, 50 (3), 321–340.
- Luck, D. J. (1959) On the Nature of Specialty Goods. *Journal of Marketing*, 24, 61-64.
- Luckett, R. (1983) Music. In Latham, R. & Matthews, W. (Eds.) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol 10, pp. 258–282. London: Bell & Hyman.
- Lury, C. (2011) *Consumer Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Mabbett, M. (1986) Italian Musicians in Restoration England. *Music & Letters*, 67, 237–247.
- Mace, T. (1676) *Musick's Monument*. London.
- Mackerness, E. D. (1964) *A Social History of English Music*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Malden, H. E. (1911) *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*. London: Constable.
- Martin, B. A. S., Wentzel, D. & Tomczak, T. (2008) Effects of Susceptibility to Normative Influence and Type of Testimonial on Attitudes toward Print Advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, 37 (1), 29–43.
- Maslen, K. (1995) Dr. Hoadly's 'Poems Set to Music by Dr. Greene'. *Studies in Bibliography*, 48 (ArticleType: research-article / Full publication date: 1995 / Copyright © 1995 Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia), 85-94.
- Mattheson, J. (1713) *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*. Hamburg: Schiller.
- Matthews, B. (1984) Handel and the Royal Society of Musicians. *The Musical Times*, 125 (1692), 79-82.

- McCarthy, E. J. (1960) *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*. Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin.
- McFall, L. (2000) A Mediating Institution?: Using an Historical Study of Advertising Practice to Rethink Culture and Economy. *Cultural Values*, 4 (3), 314–338.
- McFall, L. (2002a) Advertising, Persuasion and the Culture/Economy Dualism. In Du Gay, P. & Pryke, M. (Eds.) *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*, pp. 148–65. London: Sage.
- McFall, L. (2002b) What About the Old Cultural Intermediaries? An Historical Review of Advertising Producers. *Cultural Studies*, 16 (4), 532–552.
- McFall, L. (2004a) *Advertising: A Cultural Economy*. London: Sage.
- McFall, L. (2004b) The Language of the Walls: Putting Promotional Saturation in Historical Context. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 7 (2), 107–128.
- McGuinness, R. (1971) *English Court Odes 1660-1820*. Oxford.
- McGuinness, R. (1984–5) Newspapers and Musical Life in 18th Century London: A Systematic Analysis. *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 1, 29–36.
- McGuinness, R. (1985) The Music Business in Early Eighteenth-Century London. *The Quarterly Journal of Social Affairs*, 1 (3), 249–259.
- McGuinness, R. (1987) Computer Register of Musical Data in London Newspapers at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College. *Humanities Communication Newsletter*, 9, 47–49.
- McGuinness, R. (1988) "The Medium Is the Message": Some Aspects of Music and the London Press C.1670–C.1700. *Factotum*, 25, 12–16.
- McGuinness, R. (1992) Commercial Culture and Cultured Commerce: Music and Society in London in the Late 17th and 18th Centuries. *Inaugural Lecture: Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 29 April*.
- McGuinness, R. (2004a) Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts. In Wollenberg, S. & McVeigh, S. (Eds.) *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 261–271. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- McGuinness, R. (2004b) Music as a Commodity: Creating a Market in 18th-Century London. In Ginsburgh, V. A. (Ed.) *Economics of Art and Culture: Invited Papers at the 12th International Conference of the Association of Cultural Economics International* Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- McGuinness, R. & Diack Johnstone, H. (1990) Concert Life in England I. In Diack Johnstone, H. & Fiske, R. (Eds.) *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol 4, pp. 31–95. Oxford: Blackwell.
- McKellar, E. (1999) *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City, 1660-1720* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- McKendrick, N. (1982) George Packwood and the Commercialization of Shaving. The Art of Eighteenth-Century Advertising or 'the Way to Get Money and Be Happy'. In McKendrick, N., Brewer, J. & Plumb, J. H. (Eds.) *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 146–94. London: Europa.
- McKendrick, N., Brewer, J. & Plumb, J. H. (Eds.) (1982) *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Europa.
- McLean, F. (1995) A Marketing Revolution in Museums? *Journal of Marketing Management*, 11 (6), 601-616.
- McVeigh, S. (1989a) The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783–1793. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 22, 1–135.
- McVeigh, S. (1989b) *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784 : Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries*. New York ; London: Garland.
- McVeigh, S. (1993) *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McVeigh, S. (n.d.) London, §V: Musical Life: 1660–1800 2. Concert Life. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 20 October 2010).
- McVeigh, S. W. (2001) Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London. In Strohm, R. (Ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* Turnhout: Brepols.
- McVeigh, S. W. (2004) "An Audience for High-Class Music": Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London. In Weber, W. (Ed.) *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, pp. 162–182. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Melillo, J. V. (1983) *Market the Arts!* New York, NY: Foundation for the Extension and Development of the American Professional Theatre.
- Meyer, J.-A. & Even, R. (1998) Marketing and the Fine Arts – Inventory of a Controversial Relationship. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 22 (4), 271-283.
- Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Milford, R. T. & Sutherland, D. M. (1936) *A Catalogue of English Newspapers and Periodicals in the Bodleian Library, 1622–1800*. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society. Reprinted: from the Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, Volume 4, Part 2.
- Milhous, J. (1976) New Light on Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre Project. *Theatre Survey*, 17 (2), 143–161.
- Milhous, J. (1984) Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37, 567–592.
- Milhous, J. (2003) The Economics of Theatrical Dance in Eighteenth-Century London. *Theatre Journal*, 55 (3), 481-508.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, D. (1990) John Rich's Covent Garden Account Books for 1735-36. *Theatre Survey*, 31 (2).
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1978) Box Office Reports for Five Operas Mounted by Handel in London, 1732–1734. *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26, 245–266.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (Eds.) (1982) *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706–1715*, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1983) New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720. *Theatre Journal*, 35 (2), 149-167.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1986) The Charter for the Royal Academy of Music. *Music & Letters*, 67 (1), 50–58.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1988a) David Garrick and Box-Office Receipts at Drury Lane in 1742–43. *Philological Quarterly*, 67, 323–44.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1988b) New Documents About the London Theatre, 1685–1711. *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 36, 248–274.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1989a) The Haymarket Opera in 1711. *Early Music*, 17 (4), 523–37.

- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1989b) A 'Letter to Sir John Stanley': A New Theatrical Document of 1712. *Theatre Notebook*, 43, 71–80.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1989c) Profits at Drury Lane, 1713–16. *Theatre Research International*, 14, 241–55.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1993) Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46 (1), 26-83.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1997) Handel's London — the Theatres. In Burrows, D. (Ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, pp. 45–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milhous, J. & Hume, R. D. (1999) Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713-17. *Early Music*, 27 (1), 65-84.
- Mochrie, R. I. (2006) Justice in Exchange: The Economic Philosophy of John Duns Scotus. *Journal of Markets and Morality*, 9 (1), 35–56.
- Mokwa, M. P., Dawson, W. M., Prieve, E. A. & Permut, S. E. (Eds.) (1980) *Marketing the Arts*, New York: Praeger.
- Moore, I. (2005) *Does Your Marketing Sell?: The Secret of Effective Marketing Communications* London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Moreton, A. (1729) *Augusta Triumphans: Or, the Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe*. London: J. Roberts.
- Morgan, F. (1992) *The Female Tatler*. London: Dent.
- Morison, S. (1932) *The English Newspaper : An Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London 1622-1932*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, C. (Ed.) (1995) *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685–C.1712* Stroud Alan Sutton
- Morrow, M. S. (1989) *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*. Stuyvesant.
- Mortimer, T. (1763) *The Universal Director: Or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences, and of the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, ... Established in London and Westminster, and Their Environs, Etc*. London.
- Mui, H.-c. & Mui, L. H. (1989) *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*. McGill: McGill-Queen's University Press.

- Murphy, P. E. & Enis, B. M. (1986) Classifying Products Strategically. *Journal of Marketing*, 50 (3), 24–42.
- Musical Society at the Castle Tavern (1731) *The by-Laws of the Musical Society at the Castle-Tavern, in Pater Noster Row*. London. Reprinted: Gale Eighteenth Century Collections Online print edition, 2010.
- Nalbach, D. (1973) Opera Management in Eighteenth-Century London. *Theatre Research*, 13, 75-91.
- Nantel, J. & Colbert, F. (1992) Positioning Cultural Art Products in the Market. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 16 (2), 63–71.
- Neal, D. & Toulmin, J. (1822) *The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Nonconformists; from the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688*. London: William Baynes and Son.
- Nevett, T. (1982) *Advertising in Britain: A History*. London: Heinemann, published on behalf of The History of Advertising Trust.
- Nevett, T. (1991) Historical Investigation and the Practice of Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 55 (3), 13–24.
- Nevett, T. & Nevett, L. (1987) The Origins of Marketing: Evidence from Classical and Early Hellenistic Greece (500–300 B.C.). Hollander, S. C. & Nevett, T. (Eds.) *Marketing in three eras: proceedings of the third conference on historical research in marketing*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Newman, W. S. (1983) *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*. New York and London: Norton.
- O'Day, R. (2000) *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800: Servants of the Commonweal*. Harlow: Pearson
- O'Reilly, D. (2004) The Marketing of Popular Music. In Kerrigan, F., Fraser, P. & Özbilgin, M. (Eds.) *Arts Marketing*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- O'Reilly, D. (2011) Mapping the Arts Marketing Literature. *Arts Marketing*, 1 (1), 26–38.
- O'Shaughnessy, J. & O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (2004) *Persuasion in Advertising*. London and New York: Routledge.
- O'Donohoe, S. (1997) Raiding the Postmodern Pantry: Advertising Intertextuality and the Young Adult Audience. *European Journal of Marketing*, 31 (3,4).

- Olsen, B. & Hadjicharalambous, C. (2011) The Periodization of Marketing: Myth or Reality? Evidence from the Scott Paper Company. *Academy of Marketing Studies Journal*, 15, 33–47.
- Oracle (1992) *Sql*Textretrieval Administrator's Guide Version 2.0*. Redwood City, CA: Oracle Corporation.
- Oracle Corporation (1994) *Oracle Developer/2000 Forms 4.5 Reference Manual*. Redwood City, CA: Oracle Corporation.
- Orlin, L. (1970) *Assyrian Colonies in Cappodocia*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Packard, V. (1957) *The Hidden Persuaders*. London: Longmans Green.
- Paisley, W. J. (1969) Studying Style as Deviation from Encoding Norms. In Gerbner, G., Holsti, O. R., Krippendorf, K., Paisley, W. J. & Stone, P. (Eds.) *The Analysis of Communications Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques*, pp. 133–46. New York: Wiley.
- Paswan, A. K. & Troy, L. C. (2004) Non-Profit Organization and Membership Motivation: An Exploration in the Museum Industry. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 12 (2), 1–15.
- Pearl, V. (1979) Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London. *The London Journal*, 5 (1), 3–34.
- Pedicord, H. W. (1980) The Changing Audience. In Hume, R. D. (Ed.) *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, pp. 236–252. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press
- Perreault, W. D., Cannon, J. P. & McCarthy, E. J. (2009) *Basic Marketing: A Marketing Strategy Planning Approach*. McGraw Hill.
- Peters, M. (1988) Historians and the Eighteenth-Century English Press: A Review of Possibilities and Problems. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 34 (1), 37-50.
- Philips, G. A. (1977) Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I. *Music & Letters*, 58 (1), 29–42.
- Pink, A. (2010) A Music Club for Freemasons: Philo-Musicae Et -Architecturae Societas Apollini, London, 1725–1727. *Early Music*, 38 (4), 523-536.

- Platt, R. (n.d.) Jones, Richard. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14463>
 (accessed 30 November 2010).
- Plumb, J. H. (1972) The Public, Literature & the Arts in the 18th Century. In Fritz, P. & Williams, D. (Eds.) *The Triumph of Culture: 18th Century Perspectives*, pp. 27-48. Toronto: A. M. Hakkert.
- Plumb, J. H. (1982) The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England. In McKendrick, N., Brewer, J. & Plumb, J. H. (Eds.) *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Europa.
- Pohlmann, H. (1962) *Die Frugeschichte Des Musikalischen Urheberrechts*. Kassel: Bärenreiter.
- Pooley, J. & Myers, R. (2004) Nichols Family (*Per.* C.1760–1939). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol 2005. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63494> (accessed 5 April 2005).
- Powell, W. R. (Ed.) (1973) *A History of the County of Essex*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The institute of Historical Research.
- Power, M. J. (1986) The Social Topography of Restoration London. In Beier, A. L. & Finlay, R. (Eds.) *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, pp. 199–223. London and New York: Longman.
- Presbery, F. (1929) *The History and Development of Advertising*. New York: Doubleday Doran.
- Price, C. (1978) The Small-Coal Cult. *The Musical Times*, 119, 1032-1034.
- Price, C. (1979a) *Music in the Restoration Theatre*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
- Price, C. (1979b) Restoration Stage Fiddlers and Their Music. *Early Music*, 7 (3), 315–22.
- Price, D. C. (1981) *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pulver, J. (1931) John Banister the Elder (Born 1630). *Musical Times*, 72 (1064), 891-893.

- Quarrell, W. H. & Mare, M. (Eds.) (1934) *London in 1710 from the Travels of Zacharias Conrac Von Uffenbach*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Rand, B. (Ed.) (1914) *The Correspondence of George Berkeley and Sir John Percival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rassuli, K. M. (1988) Evidence of Marketing Strategy in the Early Printed Book Trade: An Application of Hollander's Historical Approach. In Nevett, T. & Fullerton, R. A. (Eds.) *Historical Perspectives in Marketing: Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, pp. 91–107. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington.
- Rastall, R. (n.d.) Wait. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29801>
 (accessed).
- Raynor, H. (1972) *A Social History of Music, from the Middle Ages to Beethoven*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.
- Reed, J. (1787) *The Retort Courteous; or a Candid Appeal to the Public on the Conduct of Thomas Linley, Esq, Manager of Drury-Lane Theatre, to the Author of Dido*. London: Printed for the Author.
- Rentschler, R. (1998) Museum and Performing Arts Marketing: A Climate of Change. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 28 (1), 83–96.
- Rentschler, R. (2002) Museum and Performing Arts Marketing: The Age of Discovery. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 32 (1), 7-14.
- Rentschler, R. & Shilbury, D. (2008) Academic Assessment of Arts Management Journals: A Multidimensional Rating Survey. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 10 (3), 60-71.
- Robins, B. (2006) *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Robinson, E. (1963) Eighteenth-Century Commerce and Fashion: Matthew Boulton's Marketing Techniques. *The Economic History Review*, 16 (1), 39-60.
- Rogers, U. (1989) Denormalization: Why, What, and How. *Database Programming & Design*, 2, 46-53.
- Rohr, D. A. (1983) *A Profession of Artisans: The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians 1750-1850*. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

- Rohr, D. A. (2001) *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roque, J. (1746) *Find Your Way Round Mid-Georgian London*. In 2007 3rd ed., Guildford: Motco Enterprises.
- Rose, S. (2005) Music in the Market-Place. In Carter, T. & Butt, J. (Eds.) *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, pp. 55–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, S. (2009) The Musical Map of Europe c. 1700. In Keefe, S. P. (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenfeld, S. (1945) Theatres in Goodman's Fields. *Theatre Notebook*, 1, 48–50.
- Rosenfeld, S. (1961–2) An Opera House Account Book. *Theatre Notebook*, 16, 83–88.
- Roston, M. (1968) *Biblical Drama in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*. London: Faber.
- Rowe, M. (1959) *The History of Essex Hall*. London: Lindsey Press.
- Rozman, G. (1976) *Urban Networks in Russia, 1750–1800, and Premodern Periodization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rylands, W. H. (Ed.) (1900) *The Book of the Fundamental Constitutions and Orders of the Philo Musicae Et Architecturae Societas, London 1725–1727*, London: Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076.
- Sadie, S. (1958–1959) Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England. *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 75, 17–30.
- Sadie, S. (Ed.) (1980) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan.
- Sadie, S. (1993) Italians and Italian Instrumental Music in Eighteenth-Century London. *Chigiana: Rassegna Annuale Di Studi Musicologici*, 43 (23), 297–309.
- Samuel, H. E. (1981) A German Musician Comes to London in 1704. *The Musical Times*, 122, 591–593.
- Sanders, L. G. D. (1956) The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 1655–1955. *The Musical Times*, 97 (1357), 133–135.
- Sands, M. (1946) *Invitation to Ranelagh 1742–1803*. London: Westhouse.

- Sands, M. (1987) *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone*. London: Society for Theatre Research.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2007) *Research Methods for Business Students*. Harlow: FT Prentice Hall.
- Savitt, R. (1980) Historical Research in Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 44 (4), 52-58.
- Scanlan, E. G. (1956) Tennis Court Theatres in England and Scotland. *Theatre Notebook*, 10, 10-15.
- Scheff, J. & Kotler, P. (1996a) Crisis in the Arts: The Marketing Response. *California Management Review*, 39 (1), 28-52.
- Scheff, J. & Kotler, P. (1996b) How the Arts Can Prosper through Strategic Collaborations *Harvard Business Review*, 74 (1), 52-62.
- Scherer, F. M. (2001a) The Evolution of Free-Lance Music Composition, 1650-1900. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 25 (4), 307-319.
- Scherer, F. M. (2001b) Servility, Opportunity, and Freedom in the Choice of Music Composition as a Profession. *Musical Quarterly*, 85, 718-734.
- Scherer, F. M. (2002) Servility, Freedom, and Magnet Cities in Classical Music Composers' Occupation and Locational Choices. *Association of Cultural Economics International Conference*. Minneapolis.
- Scherer, F. M. (2004) *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Schnapper, L. (2004) Bernard Ullman-Henri Herz: An Example of Financial and Artistic Partnership 1846-1849. In Weber, W. (Ed.) *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, pp. 130-144. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Scholes, P. A. (1934a) *Music and Puritanism*. Vevey: Säuberlin et Pfeiffer.
- Scholes, P. A. (1934b) *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Schürer, K. (1987) Historical Demography, Social Structure and the Computer. *History and Computing*, 1, 38.
- Schürer, K. (1990) The Historical Researcher and Codes: Master and Slave or Slave and Master? *History and Computing*, 3, 74-82.

- Schwarz, L. D. (1982) Social Class and Social Geography: The Middle Classes in London at the End of the Eighteenth Century. *Social History*, 7 (2), 167–185.
- Scott, H. A. (1936) London's Earliest Public Concerts. *Musical Quarterly*, 22, 446–457.
- Scott, H. A. (1937) London's First Concert Room. *Music & Letters*, 18, 379–390.
- Scott, H. A. (1938) London Concerts from 1700 to 1750. *Musical Quarterly*, 24, 194–209.
- Scott, W. S. (1955) *Green Retreats: The Story of Vauxhall Gardens 1661-1859*. London: Odhams Press.
- Scouten, A. H. (1960) *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period. Part 3: 1729–1747*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Scouten, A. H. (1968) *The London Stage 1729–1747: A Critical Introduction*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Shapiro, A. H. (1993) 'Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature': Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime *Music & Letters*, 74 (2), 215–45.
- Shapiro, S. J., Wong, K., Perreault, W. D. & McCarthy, E. J. (2002) *Basic Marketing*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Sharpe, J. A. (1987) *Early Modern England: A Social History 1660–1760*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Shaw, E. H. (1995) The First Dialogue on Macromarketing. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 15 (1), 7-20.
- Shaw, E. H. & Jones, D. G. B. (2005) A History of Schools of Marketing Thought. *Marketing Theory*, 5 (3), 239-281.
- Shaw, E. H., Jones, D. G. B. & McLean, P. (2009) The Early Schools of Marketing Thought. In Maclaren, P., Saren, M., Stern, B. & Tadajewski, M. (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Marketing Theory*, pp. 27–41. London: Sage.
- Sheppard, F. H. (Ed.) (1970a) *The Theatre Royal Drury Lane and the Royal Opera House Covent Garden*, London: The Athlone Press for the London County Council.

- Sheppard, F. H. W. (Ed.) (1960) *The Parish of St James Westminster (Part One: South of Picadilly)*, London: The Athlone Press for the London County Council.
- Sheppard, F. H. W. (Ed.) (1963) *The Parish of St James Westminster (Part Two: North of Picadilly)*, London: The Athlone Press for the London County Council.
- Sheppard, F. H. W. (Ed.) (1970b) *The Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden*, London: The Athlone Press for the Greater London Council.
- Shera, F. J. (1947-1948) The Changing Audience. *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 74, 45.
- Sherwood, R. E. (1977) *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*. London: Croom Helm.
- Shostack, G. L. (1977) Breaking Free from Product Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 41 (2), 73–80.
- Shrum, W. M., Jr (1996) *Fringe and Fortune: The Role of Critics in High and Popular Art*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shute, J. D. (1979) *Anthony a Wood and His Manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: An Annotated Transcription*. PhD dissertation.
- Slater, A. (2007) 'Escaping to the Gallery': Understanding the Motivations of Visitors to Galleries. *International Journal of Non Profit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 12 (2), 149–162.
- Slater, A. & Armstrong, K. (2010) Involvement, Tate, and Me. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26 (7/8), 727-748.
- Smith, A. (1776) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Pennsylvania State University <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/adam-smith/Wealth-Nations.pdf> (accessed 4 January 2012).
- Smith, R. A. & Lux, D. S. (1993) Historical Method in Consumer Research: Developing Causal Explanations of Change. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19 (4), 595-610.
- Smith, W. C. (1948) *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695–1720*. London: Bibliographical Society.
- Smith, W. C. & Humphries, C. (1968) *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh During the Years 1721–1766*. London: Bibliographical Society.

- Snyder, H. L. (1968) The Circulation of Newspapers in the Reign of Queen Anne. *The Library*, Series 5 XXIII (3), 206–235.
- Southey, R. (2001) *Commercial Music-Making in Eighteenth Century North-East England: A Pale Reflection of London?* PhD dissertation, University of Newcastle.
- Southey, R. (2006) *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Southworth, J. G. (1941) *Vauxhall Gardens*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Spink, I. (1965-67) The Old Jewry 'Musick-Society': A 17th-Century Catch Club. *Musicology: Journal of the Musicological Society of Australia*, 2, 35-41.
- Spink, I. (1992) Music and Society. In Spink, I. (Ed.) *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol 3, pp. 1–65. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spink, I. (n.d.-a) Abell, John. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00037>
 (accessed 20 September 2010).
- Spink, I. (n.d.-b) Wilson, John. <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 8 December 2011).
- Spitzer, J. & Zaslaw, N. (2004) *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Staniszewski, M. A. (1995) *Believing Is Seeing : Creating the Culture of Art*. New York: Penguin.
- Stauffer, G. B. (n.d.) Leipzig. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16353>
 (accessed 28 June 2012).
- Stephen, G. A. (1933) *The Waits of the City of Norwich, through Four Centuries to 1790*. Norwich: Goose.
- Stone, G. W., Jr. (1962) *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and*

Theatrical Diaries of the Period. Part 4: 1747–1776. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

- Stone, L. (1980) The Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century. In Malament, B. C. (Ed.) *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter*, pp. 167–212. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press
http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YsPnAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA167&lpg=PA167&dq=Lawrence+Stone+residential+development+west+end+London&source=bl&ots=ZN9Ap-P_du&sig=mhizrPM0N7uOQ6PiTiddNPOsSyj4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=OKdiUdbMGuK-0QXW7oHgBw&ved=0CEsQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Lawrence%20Stone%20residential%20development%20west%20end%20London&f=false (accessed.
- Strype, J. (Ed.) (1720) *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, London,
- Sutherland, J. R. (1934) The Circulation of Newspapers and Literary Periodicals, 1700–1730. *The Library*, 4th series 15 (1), 109–124.
- Talbot, M. (n.d.) Corelli, Arcangelo. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06478> (accessed 4 October 2010).
- Tesch, R. (1990) *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools*. New York: Falmer.
- Throsby, D. (1994) The Production and Consumption of the Arts: A View of Cultural Economics. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 32 (1), 1–29.
- Throsby, D. C. (1983) Perception of Quality in Demand for the Theatre. In Hendon, W. S. & Shanahan, J. L. (Eds.) *Economics of Cultural Decisions*, pp. 162–76. Cambridge, MA: Abt Books.
- Thyne, M. (2001) The Importance of Values Research for Nonprofit Organisations: The Motivation-Based Values of Museum Visitors. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 6 (2), 116–130.
- Tilmouth, M. (1957–8) Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670–1720. *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84, 13–26.

- Tilmouth, M. (1961a) A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719). *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1, ii–vii, 1–107.
- Tilmouth, M. (1961b) A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719): Errata and General Index. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 2, 1–15.
- Tilmouth, M. (1983) The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England. In Hogwood, C. & Lockett, R. (Eds.) *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, pp. 1–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilmouth, M. & McVeigh, S. (n.d.) Britton, Thomas. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford *Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04017>
 (accessed June 23 2009).
- Timms, C. (1978) Steffani and the Academy of Ancient Music. *The Musical Times*, 119 (1620), 127–130.
- Troide, L. (2004) Burney, Charles (1757–1817). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol 2005. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4079> (accessed 5 April 2005).
- Troubridge, S. V. (1967) *The Benefit System in the British Theatre*. London: Society for Theatre Research.
- Twede, D. (2002) Commercial Amphoras: The Earliest Consumer Packages? *Journal of Macromarketing*, 22 (1), 98–108.
- US Federal Trade Commission (1980) Ftc Guides Concerning Use of Endorsements and Testimonials in Advertising <http://www.ftc.gov/bcp/guides/endorse.htm>
 (accessed 3rd Jan 2009).
- Van Den Brecht, F. & Rasch, R. A. (n.d.) De Fesch, Willem. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07387>
 (accessed 27 July 2010).
- Van Lennep, W. (Ed.) (1965) *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and*

- Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period. Part 1: 1660–1700*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Van Lennep, W., Avery, E. L., Scouten, A. H., Stone, G. W., Jr. & Hogan, C. B. (Eds.) (1960–8) *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period*, Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Vanderlint, J. (1734) *Money Answers All Things; or, an Essay to Make Money Sufficiently Plentiful Amongst All Ranks of People: And Increase Our Foreign and Domestick Trade, Etc.* London.
- Vaubel, R. (2005) The Role of Competition in the Rise of Baroque and Renaissance Music. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 29 (4), 277–297.
- Venkatesh, A. & Meamber, L. A. (2006) Arts and Aesthetics: Marketing and Cultural Production. *Marketing Theory*, 6 (1), 11–39.
- Venn, J. A. (Ed.) (1922–54) *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, London: Cambridge University Press.
- Wainwright, J. P. (1997) *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England : Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.
- Waksman, S. (2011) Selling the Nightingale: P.T. Barnum, Jenny Lind, and the Management of the American Crowd. *Arts Marketing*, 1 (2), 108–120.
- Walker, R. B. (1973) Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650–1750. *Business History*, 15, 112–130.
- Walle, A. (1987) Import Wines at a Popular Price: Marketing Strategy and the Punic Wars. In Nevett, T. & Hollander, S. C. (Eds.) *Marketing in Three Eras: Proceedings of the Third Conference on Historical Research in Marketing*, pp. 13–22. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Walls, P. (1990) The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England. *Early Music*, 18 (4), 575-587.
- Ward, E. (1745) *A Compleat and Humorous Account of All the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster*. London.

- Warwick, A. R. (1968) *A Noise of Music*. London: Queen Anne Press in association with the Corporation of London.
- Weber, R. P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*. Sage: Newbury Park, CA.
- Weber, W. (1975) *Music and the Middle Class. The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna*. London: Croom Helm.
- Weber, W. (1977) Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770–1870. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 8 (1), 5-22.
- Weber, W. (1984) The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste. *Musical Quarterly*, 70 (2), 175-194.
- Weber, W. (1989) The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1), 6–17.
- Weber, W. (1992) *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Weber, W. (1994) The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (3), 488–520.
- Weber, W. (1997) Did People Listen in the 18th Century? *Early Music*, 25 (4), 678-691.
- Weber, W. (2002) La Culture Musical D'une Capitale: L'époque Du *Beau Monde* À Londres, 1700–1870. *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 49 (3), 119–139.
- Weber, W. (2004a) From the Self-Managing Musician to the Independent Concert Agent. In Weber, W. (Ed.) *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, pp. 105–129. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Weber, W. (2004b) Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *Beau Monde* in London, 1700–1870. In Wollenberg, S. & McVeigh, S. (Eds.) *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 71–89. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Weber, W. (2004c) The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914. In Weber, W. (Ed.) *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, pp. 3–24. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Weber, W. (n.d.) Concert (Ii). *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06240>

(accessed 24 September 2009).

- Westrup, J. A. (1941) Foreign Musicians in Stuart England. *Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1), 81.
- Wilkie, W. L. & Moore, E. S. (2003) Scholarly Research in Marketing: Exploring The "4 Eras" Of Thought Development. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 22 (2), 116-146.
- Wilkinson, G. R. (1997) At the Coal-Face of History: Personal Reflections on Using Newspapers as a Source. In Harris, M. & O'Malley, T. (Eds.) *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History 1995 Annual*, pp. 211–221. Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press.
- Williams, C. F. A. (1894) *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge, with a Chronological List of Graduates ... From the Year 1463*. London and New York: Novello, Ewer & Co. Reprinted: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Williams, R. (1981) *Culture*. Fontana.
- Williams, R. W. (1973) Lord Burlington's Italian Musicians: Pietro Castrucci, Prospero Castrucci, Filippo Amadei. *Notes and Queries*, N.S. 20 (6), 207.
- Williamson, J. & Cloonan, M. (2007) Rethinking the Music Industry. *Popular Music*, 26 (2), 305-322.
- Wilson, A., Zeithaml, V. A., Bitner, M. J. & Gremler, D. D. (2012) *Services Marketing: Integrating Customer Focus across the Firm*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.
- Wilson, J. (1959) *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from His Essays Written During the Years C.1695–1728*. London: Novello.
- Wilson, M. (1994) *Nicholas Lanier, Master of the King's Musick*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.
- Wimmer, R. D. & Dominick, J. R. (2006) *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Wiseman, S. (1998) *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Witkowski, T. H. & Jones, D. G. B. (2006) Qualitative Historical Research in Marketing. In Belk, R. W. (Ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Marketing*, pp. 70–82. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Wollenberg, S. (1981-82) Music in 18th-Century Oxford. *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 108, 69–99.
- Wood, B. (n.d.) Humfrey, Pelham. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09670>
 (accessed 28 June 2011).
- Woodfill, W. L. (1969) *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I*. New York: Da Capo. Original edition: Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Woods, W. A. (1987) Classical Aesthetics and Arousal Theory: Implications for Fine Arts Marketing. *Advances in Nonprofit Marketing*, 2, 203-239.
- Wright, R. F. (2002) A Review of the Four Prominent Marketing Schools of Thought. *Journal of Advertising History*, Online special issue.
- Wrigley, E. A. (1967) A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650–1750. *Past and Present*, 37, 44–70.
- Wroth, W. (1979) *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Macmillan.
- Young, P. M. (1965) *The Concert Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Zeithaml, V. A. (1988) Consumer Perceptions of Price, Quality, and Value: A Means-End Model and Synthesis of Evidence. *Journal of Marketing*, 52 (3), 2–22.
- Zikmund, W. G. (1994) *Business Research Methods*. Fort Worth, Tx: Dryden Press.