

NEWSPAPERS AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING THE MUSIC BUSINESS IN ENGLAND, 1660-1750¹

CATHERINE HARBOR
School of Management
Royal Holloway, University of London

Traditionally, musicologists have tended to view the history of music in terms of composers and their compositions, and, to a greater or lesser extent, have confined themselves to consideration of the so-called ‘great’ musicians and their works. This concentration on a composer/composition view of the history of music, together with the early German domination of musicology that saw England as being somewhat peripheral to the main historic thread, traced from Italy in the time of Monteverdi to the Germany of Johan Sebastian Bach, may have encouraged the formation of the concept of England in the two centuries between Purcell and Elgar as being a ‘land without music’.²

Happily, this idea is now less all-pervasive than it once was. Indeed, the opposite view has gained substantial ground and it has become evident that in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England had a lively and complex musical life and that music was beginning to be considered as a business: regular public and commercial concerts developed in London at this time, earlier than elsewhere in Europe it would seem, and there was a flourishing music publishing industry from the 1690s onwards. Musicians flocked to London to take part in this stimulating musical life.³ This recognition of London as a thriving musical centre has arisen from the study of music as a sociological phenomenon, investigating both music’s rôle in society and, conversely, the influence of society on musical life.⁴

What follows is an examination of some of the factors that aided the emergence and development of music as a business in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Focusing on one of these factors, the burgeoning publishing industry and the associated increase in the number of newspapers that were published, this article discusses the rich source of information concerning the music business in London that is provided by the growing number of advertisements for musical performances contained within the newspapers.

The London context

London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a large and powerful city; the home of both the nation’s parliament and its sovereign, it was also an important centre for finance, trade and manufacturing.⁵ 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).⁶ This large and growing population provided a ready consumer market for the multifarious industries to be found within its environs. Not least among these was the rapidly increasing commercial entertainment industry, providing amusement both for the locally-resident middle classes and for the members of polite society who flocked to the social centre that was London during the ‘season’. Among the various elements that

made up the entertainment industry, music was for the first time becoming a commercial venture, moving away from its earlier dependence on church, court and home. It was in this context that the public 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 (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: entrepreneurs advertised their concerts in newspapers and elsewhere, engaged professional musicians, charged admission and hoped to make a profit.

Many phenomena came together to aid the birth and development of the music business. Plumb has drawn attention to the increasing affluence in British society that aided the commercialisation of leisure in the eighteenth century: 'This can be discerned in the 1690s, and by 1750 and 1760 leisure was becoming an industry with great potentiality for growth.'⁷ This, he avers, was one of the 'social signs of affluence'. Another, that of a boom in the publishing industry, also aided and abetted the rise of commercialised leisure. The lapsing of the Licensing (Printing) Act in 1695 ended the control of the Stationers' Company over the number of printers. 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*,⁸ 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 1702.⁹ 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 also an 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 on a position at court 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.¹⁰ 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?

Despite the significance of the public concert in the growth of the London music business of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a detailed study of its early development is still lacking. McVeigh's study starts from a point when the public concert was already fairly well established in the fashionable calendar of high society.¹¹ 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.¹² The valuable evidence gathered together by Tilmouth from newspaper advertisements for the period up to 1720 provides the bare bones.¹³ 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.

In building up a picture of the music business in London in the period 1660 to 1750, historians can draw on evidence to be found in contemporary documents of many different types: diaries, plays, novels, poems, playbills, letters, chancery documents, periodicals and newspapers. Each individual source may supply only one or two facts, but gradually a fuller picture can be established, so that trends and patterns can be identified. Single-authored sources such as diaries, journals, letters, histories of music, contemporary plays, and the prefaces to published music provide only 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 typically held.¹⁴ Other sources, such as posted bills, handbills and printed programmes, accounts and other archival material, unfortunately survive in only small numbers. The few bills and handbills that 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.¹⁵ 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. It also seems that bills and handbills may at times have contained more detail than newspaper advertisements, as is indicated by the following concert advertisement from September 1709:

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 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.¹⁶

Among the printed sources it is newspapers, and more particularly advertisements in newspapers, that hold pride of place for number that survive and the wealth of detail they cumulatively provide on musical performances and the music business.

Utilizing the newspaper records

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.¹⁷ The quality and quantity of the material that she found persuaded her of the need for a systematic investigation of the 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.¹⁸ McGuinness decided

that she would record each reference to music in its entirety, creating what was in effect a second level archive by extracting the relevant material from the huge collection of London newspapers preserved in the British Library and the Bodleian Library. In spring 1977 she began to work chronologically through the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers locating 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 organize 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',¹⁹ should be developed and a project team was put together, including specialists in music, the history of the newspaper, and computing.²⁰ It was decided that the Register should be restricted to items published in London newspapers between 1660 and 1800, and that provincial newspapers, newspapers outside the selected time span, and periodical should be omitted.

A study of contemporary newspapers is 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.²¹ It is thus fortunate that London newspapers have survived in relatively large numbers. Two collections are of particular note: the Burney Collection at the British Library and the Nichols Collection at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

The London newspapers themselves have a long and interesting history beginning with the annalist and book collector Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), who held and annotated many of the papers.²² Despite his wish that his library should be given in its entirety to some 'public' institution such as Gray's Inn, it passed to his son Francis and on the latter's death in 1749 to the family of his sister Dorothy Wynne. Luttrell's collection was gradually dispersed by the Wynne family and many of the newspapers ended up in the collections of the book collector Charles Burney (1757–1817),²³ and John Nichols (1745–1826), printer, publisher and author.²⁴ In 1818 the British Museum purchased Burney's remarkable library for the sum of £13,500. In addition to 13,500 printed and manuscript editions of classical Greek and Latin authors and 349 volumes of cuttings, playbills, and other material illustrating the history of the English theatre, the collection contained 700 volumes of seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century newspapers, dating from 1603 to 1817. They included many unique runs, especially of London titles. It is in eighteenth-century London newspapers, however, that the collection is particularly rich: all the major titles are included, such as the *Daily Courant* from 1702 to 1735, the first daily newspaper published in London, and the *London Gazette* from 1665. Periodicals are also included, such as Addison and Steele's *Tatler* (1709–1711) and their *Spectator* (1711–1712).²⁵ The British Museum was also offered John Nichols' collection but declined to purchase it. Many years later, in 1865, the collection was bought from Nichols' son for the Bodleian Library for the sum of £200. The Nichols collection comprised 96 thick volumes, in more or less complete sets, consisting of London newspapers from 1692 to 1737.²⁶

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*, which brought these two collections and their subsequent additions together, with one filling in the gaps of the other.²⁷

Content of the newspapers

Each issue of a newspaper usually contained two pages, four-page issues being less frequent. Information on concerts may be found in any part of a newspaper. As is to be expected, it is only rarely that the foreign news section (normally to be found on page one) contributes any information on London concerts. The home news (on pages one and two), however, provide a more regular source for information on concerts, albeit mostly for those of a private nature. Frequent mention is made of concert performances at Court: an ode to celebrate New Year's Day, or for a royal birthday; there are 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.²⁸ As the period progresses, 'puffs' begin to appear in the home news section. They are neither news proper nor advertisement, and their combination of gossip and information reflects the importance placed by newspapers owners on advertisements for stage and concert.²⁹ 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, such as the following from November 1717:

We are informed that a Weekly Consort of Musick will be speedily set on Foot, far exceeding any before performed in this Kingdom; yet at less than half the usual Rates; notwithstanding which 200 Children will be clothed, at above twice the Expence of those usually in the Charity Schools, be taught School Learning and the Mathematicks, and after to be put out to Apprenticeships out of the Profits of it. No Part of the Money for Tickets is ever to be paid to, or pass thro' the Undertakers Hands, but be all dispos'd of by Directors chosen by the Subscribers: The Author also (being a Gentleman of an Estate) will be at all the Expence of establishing it out of his own Pocket. Such a generous as well as delightful an Undertaking cannot possibly miss of Success.³⁰

However, it is the final section of newspapers, containing the advertisements, that are the most prolific sources of information concerning public concerts in London.³¹ Advertisements had been placed together in a separate section of the newspaper since 1660,³² 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.³³ 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 1702.³⁴ Public concerts, however, were advertised in the 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 was for a series of concerts to be given by John Bannister at his house, the 'Musick-School'

opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars from Monday 30th December.

These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banisters House, now called the Musick-School over against the George Tavern in White Fryers, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters, beginning at precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future precisely at the same hour.³⁵

The amount of detail that might be included in an advertisement was very variable, thus making comparison of particular features, such as repertoire, ticket prices or the time at which concerts started, more difficult. The tendency is for the amount of detail to increase as the period progresses, but brief advertisements with only scant detail may be found at any date. The earliest concert advertisements tend to be uniformly short, but, as can be seen in the example given above, information on date, time and venue is generally provided even in the briefest notice.

As the period progresses more information may be included in concert advertisements: the price of tickets, the name of the concert promoter, performers, composers and any beneficiaries, and some details of pieces to be performed. A selection of advertisements will illustrate this effectively:

On Monday next, being the 7th Instant [1696], will begin Mr. Finger's Consort in York Buildings, where will be performed a new Entertainment of Musick, Composed by the late Mr. Henry Pursell, beginning at 8 a Clock.³⁶

On Munday next the 13th [1697] at the Old Wells in Richmond, will be performed a consort of new Vocal and Instrumental Musick, with a Song of the late Mr. Henry Purcell's to be performed by Mr. Leveridge, to begin exactly at 5 in the evening.³⁷

For the Entertainment of several Persons of Quality, In York Buildings on Tuesday next, the 19th of this Instant March [1700], will be perform'd a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, for the Benefit of Mr. Edward Keene, beginning at the usual hour. Price 2s.6d. Those Persons that have already any of his Tickets dated the 20th. are desired to take Notice, that the Performance will be on the 19th and not as the Tickets are dated.³⁸

By the end of the period many advertisements are even more detailed as the following item illustrates:

For the BENEFIT of Mr. OSWALD and Mr. COLLET.

At RUCKHOLT-HOUSE, On Monday next, the 24th Instant [1747], will be performed a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. The Vocal Part by Mr LOWE and Miss LOWE. The first Violin by Mr COLLETT. A Trumpet-Piece by Mr SNOW.

A Hautboy Concerto. A solo on the Violin. A Solo on the Violoncello. With several favourite Pieces introduced on Trumpets, French Horns, and Kettle-Drums, accompanied by the best Masters.

And at the Desire of Persons of Distinction there will be several New Songs, particularly *Woman*, and *By Jove we'll be free*.

Plenty of Carp, Tench, etc. and proper Cooks and Attendants.

To begin at Ten o'clock.

Tickets to be had at Three Shillings each (Breakfast included) at Mr Oswald's in St. Martin's Churchyard in the Strand; Mr Collet's at the Violin and French Horn, opposite St Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street; at Wenman's Punch-house behind the Royal Exchange; at the Bird in Hand and Swan in Stratford; at the Green Man on Epping Forest; and at Mr Thomas's, the Busk at Parkgate, Wanstead.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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. A 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.⁴² However, the only reference to these concerts in the newspapers is a series of advertisements for the auction of his library after his death. These appeared in the *Daily Courant* only between 17 and 26 January 1715.⁴³ Britton's concerts seem to have started as a non-commercial venture and it is probable that an announcement would be made at one concert as to the date of the next. Or perhaps Britton spread the news of a forthcoming concert to his clients while delivering coal, or in meetings with fellow bibliophiles.⁴⁴

Another example can be seen in 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.⁴⁵

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 announcing its postponement or cancellation, indicate that not all concerts were advertised in the newspapers.

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, the following advertisement was part of a proposal for a series of 12 concerts by subscription:

Proposals for setting up by Subscription, A Monthly Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, to be perform'd in the City, by the most celebrated Singers and Players, every first Wednesday in the Month, from 6 to 9...⁴⁶

An advertisement appears in the *Daily Courant* for the first of these concerts to take 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 historians 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 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. Particularly a Sonata for a Flute and a Violin, to be perform'd by Signior Gasperini and Mr. Paisable. And likewise a Sonata for two Flutes by Mr. Paisable and Mr. Bansister; the whole being entirely New. Margarett 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.⁴⁷

There are even some advertisements that may be spoofs; the date of publication of the following provides a clue:

This day [1 April 1699] at the New Red Theatre in Winchester Street, Southwark, next Door to the Pair of Tongues and Keys, will be perform'd a curious Trial of Skill at Backsword. The Sport will begin at Two in the Afternoon precisely, and will conclude with a Consort of Tartarian Musick, never before heard in England; and six new Entries after the Sclavonian manner. Perform'd by 4 Transilvanian Comedians, and the same number of Moldavian Women in long Rustian Vests, and Turkish Headdresses. The Highest places will go at Ten Shillings; the Lowest at Half a Crown.⁴⁸

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? Historians can 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 have an immediate impression of the difference between the type of concert, performers and pieces on offer at the Brixton Academy compared with those at the Wigmore Hall. Future research 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.

Advertisements other than those for the concerts themselves can yield information about concerts and specifically about the sorts of people who were attending 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. Such evidence reveals the presence of wealthy and aristocratic members of society at musical events, and is indicative that concert attendance had achieved a certain status in society life. The following advertisement from 1690 illustrates the point:

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.⁴⁹

However, the dearth of advertisements for property lost or stolen at concerts from those somewhat lower down the social scale should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that attendance at musical events was restricted only to the very wealthy as it is likely that advertisements would only be placed seeking the return of particularly valuable items.

Newspaper advertisements were the most important mode of communication used by the emerging music business. This detailed and impressive source can be used to trace the growth in the advertising of public concerts and the development of techniques used to advertise the music business. In the 1670s John Bannister did not advertise each of his daily concerts, but simply placed advertisements to indicate the beginning and end of his concert season, often advertising on the day that the season started or only one or two days in advance. However, for a single benefit concert on 14 March 1748, Miss Turner placed her much more detailed advertisement in seven issues of the *General Advertiser*,

with the first appearing almost two weeks before the concert was to take place.⁵⁰ 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?⁵¹ 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 [1673], at the Musick-Shool 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.⁵²

While the advertisements do not give detailed financial information,⁵³ the price of tickets is often given and this allows scholars 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. Very rarely was there any indication as to the number of tickets sold, but for some venues at least, the historian can identify the likely maximum number of tickets that could have been sold. 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. A final example, from the *Daily Post*, in 1728 is instructive:

Mr. L. Granom's Weekly Concerts of Musick to begin on Wednesday the First of January next, At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street in the Hay-Market (handsomely fitted up and furnish'd on Purpose) and so to be continued every Wednesday successively, until the Number of Concerts are compleat. I. That there shall be Twenty-four Concerts by the best Masters. II. Each Subscriber to pay six guineas, which entitles them to a Silver Ticket for the Season. III. Any that desire a Double-Ticket for Admittance of Two, may have it paying ten guineas. IV. No Money to be paid, till the Tickets are delivered. V. No Person to be admitted without a Subscriber's Ticket. VI. All such as are Subscribers may have two printed tickets each Night, for Ladies only, at Half a Guinea the Two; and all Subscribers that shall want those printed Tickets, are desired to send their Silver Ticket, and, upon Sight of that the printed Ticket will be deliver'd, and not else. TICKETS to be had at Mr. GRANOM's House in Brewer-street, the Green Lamp, the first Door on the Right Hand, out of John-street next Golden-Square. No more than Two Hundred Tickets will be given out. To begin exactly at Seven of the Clock.⁵⁴

Conclusion

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. London was not after all devoid of music; but instead home to musicians, audiences, and business entrepreneurs who created the industry that allowed both to flourish.

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- ¹ I would like to thank Penelope Corfield, Charles Harvey and Rosamond McGuinness for advice in preparation of this material for publication.
- ² For a discussion and refutation of this view, see P. Holman, 'Eighteenth-century English music: past, present, future', in D. W. Jones, ed., *Music in eighteenth-century Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), pp.1–13; W. Sheridan, 'The land without music', *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1587 (1975), 439; N. Temperley, 'The land without music', *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1589 (1975), 625; N. Zaslav and W. Sheridan, 'The unmusical English', *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1592 (1975), 877.
- ³ Holman, 'Eighteenth-century English music'.
- ⁴ See, for example: C. Ehrlich, *The music profession in Britain since the eighteenth century: a social history* (Oxford, 1985); S. McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993); W. Weber, *Music and the middle class. The social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 2003); W. Weber, ed., *The musician as entrepreneur, 1700-1914: managers, charlatans, and idealists* (Bloomington, IN, 2004).
- ⁵ P. J. Corfield, *The impact of English towns 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1982), pp.66-81.
- ⁶ R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A. L. Beier and R. Finlay, eds., *London 1500-1700. The making of the metropolis* (London and New York, 1986), pp.37-59; V. Harding, 'The population of London, 1550–1700: a review of the published evidence', *The London Journal* 15, no. 2 (1990), 111–28; P. Lawless and F. Brown, *Urban growth and change in Britain: an introduction* (London, 1986), p.8; G. Rozman, *Urban networks in Russia, 1750–1800, and premodern periodization* (Princeton, 1976), p.243.
- ⁷ J. H. Plumb, 'The commercialisation of leisure in eighteenth-century England', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982).
- ⁸ 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.
- ⁹ J. Black, *The English press 1621–1861* (Stroud, 2001), pp.1-24; J. Black, *The English press in the eighteenth century*, ed. M. Collinge, *Modern Revivals in History* (Aldershot, 1991), pp.12-22; M. Harris, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1620-1780', in G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate, eds., *Newspaper History: from the 17th Century to the Present Day, Communication and Society* (London, 1978), pp.82-97.
- ¹⁰ R. McGuinness, 'Music as a commodity: creating a market in 18th-century London', in V. A. Ginsburgh, ed., *Economics of art and culture: invited papers at the 12th International Conference of the Association of Cultural Economics International, Contributions to Economic Analysis* (2004).
- ¹¹ McVeigh, *Concert life*.
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