



**The origins of marketing practice in Britain: From the ancient to the early twentieth century**

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## Introduction

Although historians and archaeologists have explored many different aspects of the history of British marketing to date apart from Nevett's 1982 *History of Advertising in Britain* and Hawkins' chapter in the 2016 *Routledge Companion to Marketing History* no one so far has attempted a survey from the Roman era to the twentieth century or the present. This paper draws upon the Routledge chapter to provide a history of marketing in Britain from the Roman era to the early twentieth century. Like the Routledge chapter it consists of a periodised literature review organised chronologically. Likewise it adopts a modified version of Fullerton's 1988 periodisation of British marketing history. Unlike Fullerton's periodisation which begins in 1500, this survey includes medieval and ancient British marketing history. The development of modern British marketing cannot be fully understood without a consideration of ancient and medieval marketing. However, Fullerton provides a useful starting point for periodising British marketing history since 1500. This paper delineates the beginning of modern British marketing as 1700 rather than 1750 in Fullerton's periodisation. The literature suggests contrary to Fullerton that modern marketing began to emerge in Britain before the Industrial Revolution. One of the significant findings of this paper is the key role the state has played in the development of marketing practice in Britain. This paper focusses heavily on marketing practices in England because of limited information and material on marketing practices in Scotland and Wales. In the case of Wales this may be at least in part the result of economic underdevelopment until the nineteenth century compared with England. The limited information and material is less explicable in the case of Scotland where there was economic development comparable with England from the twelfth century onwards.

Classical economists believe that consumers have perfect information which implies marketing is not necessary. In a perfect market the price mechanism will ensure that demand and supply reach equilibrium. Adam Smith (1880, p. 15), the father of classical economics, also observed in his 1776 book, *The Wealth of Nations*, that "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." With perfect information trust is not an issue in the classical economists' perfect market. However, in reality throughout the period covered in this paper consumers have never had perfect information. Indeed this had been recognised earlier in the eighteenth century, as Tadajewski (2015, pp. 407-409) has recently observed, by Daniel Defoe in his important and influential book, *The Complete English Tradesman*, which was published in 1727. Defoe wrote his book during the era of mercantilism. This meant "[i]t did not assume *ala* Adam Smith that the private pursuit of profit would translate into public benefit

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~~(Tadajewski 2015, p. 409).” Tadajewski (2015, p. 407, 412, 414) observes that many of the themes Defoe engages with anticipate later arguments made by relationship marketing scholars. These include trust between business people and trust between business people and their customers. Tadajewski (2015, pp. 418-419) notes contrary to Smith Defoe’s own experience in business shows that there is no guarantee that the marketing relationship will produce a beneficial outcome. Historians have explored numerous different aspects of British marketing but to date none have written a definitive academic monograph. The academic literature is also dominated by English case studies. There is a notable absence of Scottish case studies.~~

### **Ancient British Marketing: 43-410**

During the first few centuries of the common era Britain was a Roman imperial province. Roman investment in civic infrastructure helped to create a congenial environment for local markets, while investment in roads allowed goods to be marketed to the Roman army on the northern frontier from as far away as the Severn Valley (Hodder 1974, p. 355). There is evidence to suggest that there was widespread use of advertisements written or inscribed on walls, mural advertisements, and shop signs in the Roman Empire (Nevett 1982, pp. 3-50. Temin (2013, p. 100) has suggested that Roman merchants reduced risk through the use of dependents and friends as agents. They also preferred to rely upon “a peer-monitored information network, lawsuits, and guilds” which they found to be more reliable than individuals. ~~In Temin’s opinion t~~his system was not surpassed until the twentieth century.

Bang (2007, p.15) suggests that the fourth century in Roman Britain was a period of prosperity and peak production. “Proto-industrial villages or small towns emerge in the countryside. In contrast, the cities, normally the seat of the more developed marketing functions, stagnate and find the economic expansion passing them by.” Dark (1996a, p. 10) observes that “Monetarisation and the market economy were used to distribute mass-produced standardised products in regional and wider markets.” Fleming (2010, p. 8) observes “that the evidence from late Roman Britain paints a picture of flourishing provincial production of low-value goods for a large and essentially British market. Such an economy was predicated on a crowd of humble people willing and able to spend a few bronze coins for goods they had not made themselves.” Small Roman British towns were the locations of both seasonal and permanent markets some of which were open markets in cobbled squares (Fleming (2010, p. 14). Archaeologists have found evidence of the marketing of coarse pottery in lowland Roman Britain. Hodder (1974, p. 340) suggests such marketing “may solely have involved sale in the town market, or in addition, sale in the surrounding minor markets connected to the main town market by traders or

pedlars moving according to some cycle of market-days in what is termed a periodic ring.” Hodder also observes ~~quoting using the words of~~ Frere (1967, p. 263) that “the more humdrum products of trade and industry penetrated through the periodic markets to the poorest peasants of the deepest countryside.” ~~Hodder (1974, p. 340) argues that t~~ransport costs limited the extent of the market for each kiln. Outside of the main roads the cost of pottery would have risen significantly the greater the distance from the kiln and thus reducing sales ~~(Hodder 1974, p. 340).~~ By the third century there is evidence to suggest that mass production of table and cooking ware was taking place in small British towns (Potter and Johns 1992, pp. 143, 203). They may well have made use of similar marketing methods as the coarse pottery manufacturers.

### British Medieval and Pre-Modern Marketing: 410-1700

In 1988 Fullerton (pp. 121-122) periodi~~ss~~ed British marketing. He suggests that the origins of the modern British market can be found within the period beginning around 1500 and finishing in 1750. Fullerton argues that early British capitalist enterprises failed to establish a mass market. However, they were successful in establishing luxury good markets. This paper adopts a much longer period than Fullerton and ends a half century earlier. ~~A consideration of ancient and medieval marketing is necessary to fully understand the development of modern British marketing practice.~~

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Dark (1996a, p. 19) describes the collapse of Romano-British mass production industries as “catastrophic”. He suggests this occurred during a short time span from the late fourth century to the early fifth century. For example, pottery ceased to be mass produced in the early fifth century. By the middle of the fifth century production of manufactured goods for urban and distant markets had ceased in Britain. However, ~~Dark (1996b, p. 63) argues that~~ local production continued into the fifth and sixth centuries. The collapse of romanised life began in the sixth and seventh centuries rather than the early fifth ~~(Dark 1996b, p. 63).~~

~~Nevett (1982, pp. 5-7) suggests that t~~he end of romanised life meant that there was no longer a favourable environment for ~~marketingadvertising~~ in Britain ~~(Nevett 1982, pp. 5-7).~~ In southern and eastern Britain Saxon invaders displaced the Celtic ruling elites. ~~Campbell (1996, p. 94) suggests i~~n Saxon middle England there was a lack of coin based market economy, towns, or merchants classes. These only returned in Celtic western Britain under the influence of Viking, and later Norman, invaders. However, ~~Campbell suggests~~ from the early sixth century in Celtic south-western Britain there was sustained trade with the Mediterranean centre of the Byzantine Empire. In the later sixth and seventh century ~~Campbell (1996, p. 97) suggests that~~ Celtic western Britain also developed strong commercial links with the Carolingian Empire. Thus there would

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7 have been merchant classes and a market economy in western Celtic settlements engaged in overseas trade  
8 [\(Campbell 1996, pp. 94, 97\).](#)  
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10 From the late seventh century or early eight century trading centres with extensive use of silver coinage  
11 and the regulation of commerce by royal law codes and the exaction of tolls begin to emerge in Anglo-Saxon  
12 England, of which the most important were at Hamwic (Southampton), Gippeswic (Ipswich), Eoforwic (York)  
13 and Lundenwic (London) (Pestell 2011, p. 557). Fleming (2010, pp. 204-205) observes that historians no longer  
14 attribute the re-establishment of towns in eastern Britain as trading centres to kings. Although they would  
15 eventually regulate them they were not the founders. A wide variety of individuals and households were  
16 involved in their re-foundation. Around this time the trade in Celtic western Britain shifts from royal  
17 settlements to monastic centres. The monasteries were to be severely disturbed by Viking raids from the late  
18 eighth century. Campbell (1996, pp. 97-98) suggests that there is a divergence between Celtic Britain and the  
19 emerging Saxon *wics* from the later seventh century. ~~He argues that t~~The peripheral location of western Celtic  
20 areas explains why they failed to develop full market economies in contrast to the southern English *wics*. Pestell  
21 (2011, p. 573) observes that “we now see a mid Saxon society widely connected through a nexus of trading  
22 centres, engaged with the Continent and using a coinage which, at the height of its volume in circulation in the  
23 early eight century, was to be unsurpassed for another five hundred years...” However, he cautions that trade  
24 was focussed on the North Sea littoral and that contemporary trading or market sites on the south-west and  
25 western coasts were markedly poorer. Nonetheless Jones (1993, p. 671) suggests that the provision of sound  
26 money together with a system of justice had the mostly unintended consequence of encouraging the growth of  
27 market based trade through reduction of transaction costs.  
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29 Advertising comparable to that which had existed in Roman Britain did not begin to re-emerge until the  
30 revived growth of urban settlements following the creation of fortified *burhs* established by Kings Alfred the  
31 Great (871-899) and Edward the Elder (899-924) to defend their English kingdoms from Viking raiders (Nevett  
32 1982, pp. 5-7; Fleming 2010, p. 242). *Burhs* also provided revenue for the monarch in the form of market tolls  
33 and judicial fines. The High Street usually became the *burh*'s main marketplace (Fleming 2010, p. 246). *Burhs*  
34 soon emerged in other kingdoms such as Mercia. ~~Fleming (2010, p. 268) also observes t~~The Vikings also  
35 established a *burh* at Meols on the Wirral peninsula in competition with the English *burh* of Chester. This was a  
36 less regulated and toll free *burh* (Fleming 2010, p. 268). The success of the *burhs* led Edward the Elder to  
37 restrict trade to towns. However, Jones (1993, p. 673) notes “Legislation concerning the operation of markets  
38 was amended thereafter as economic growth and the spread of the market economy made it impracticable to  
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confine all trade to towns.” In late Anglo-Saxon England Edward the Confessor assumed powers to curtail monopolistic practices known as engrossing and forestalling. Further action was taken against market abuses by English monarchs after the Norman conquest of 1066 (Pressey 2016, pp. 289-290). From the twelfth century mercantile guilds emerged in English towns. They possessed limited regulatory powers and could levy small fees within their domains. Petty (2016, p. 100) observes “guilds policed the use of authorized marks, carefully seeking to condemn both counterfeit products and authorized products that were defective or otherwise not of the high level of quality the guild expected. But Richardson (2011, pp. 228-229) argues that guilds did not constitute monopolies according to the modern definition. Royal charters did not allow them to bar applicants. Nor were they permitted to restrict buying and selling. Scotland had nothing similar to the English fortified *burghs*. This is because it had no Roman towns and thus no legacy of urban society (Whyte 1995, pp. 54-55). *Burghs* comparable to the English *burghs* were not founded until the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Scotland. These *burghs* had a monopoly of foreign trade and also of certain areas of domestic trade (Keith 1913a, pp. 454-455).

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It can be argued that medieval English town shop signs and town criers were the antecedents of modern advertising. Merchants in this period may also have displayed handwritten notices on walls in public spaces (Nevett 1982, pp. 6-7). Between 1050 and 1330 there was a significant increase in the number of formal markets and fairs together with a growth in population, production and exchange (Casson and Lee 2011, pp. 16-17). Jeffreys (1954, pp.1-6) has argued that modern retailing is determined by markets, fairs, and itinerant tradesmen being replaced by the evolving fixed shops. However, Casson and Lee suggest contrary to this traditional view that sometimes there is ambiguity in the distinction between markets and shops. Some shops were located within the marketplace. Keene (1990, pp. 31-42) suggests that there a lot of evidence for the existence of shops in English towns from the early thirteenth century. But they may have emerged as early as the eleventh century. Originally the word “shop” signified a small open sided stall or booth. Some were constructed with stone but the majority with wood. In early twelfth century Winchester there was a group of *escheques* (Old French for shops) where they seem to have been placed next to the street in front of a bigger house behind. From at least the thirteenth century, England also had larger fixed privately controlled, off-street bazaars known as *selds*. The *seld* was divided into several plots or stations which were rented by traders.

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The emergence of shops was a slow process with the exception of London. Nonetheless Cox (2000, p. 15) suggests the large provincial town of Shrewsbury may have had a number of shops as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Local markets dominated retailing from the early medieval period to about 1690 in provincial England (Berry 2002, p. 378). ~~Unwin (1981, p. 233) observes that t~~here were three economic levels

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7 within the settlement pattern of medieval provincial England: boroughs, markets and fairs. Generally boroughs  
8 had both markets and fairs, and where there were markets there was also an annual fair. Fairs, usually at the  
9 outset connected with religious feasts, were much larger than the daily markets and took place over several days.

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11 There had been relatively few English fairs and markets at the time of Domesday book in 1086 ([Unwin 1981, p.](#)  
12 [233](#)). During the next two centuries significant numbers of new fairs and markets were established (Langdon  
13 and Masschaele 2006, pp. 43-45). In Scotland, the *sheriffdoms*, of which the royal burghs were the centres, had  
14 a trade monopoly. Hence rural fairs and markets were not established in Scotland until the late 17th century  
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16 (Lythe and Butt 1975, p. 32). [Slavin \(2014, pp. 26-27\) notes that a](#) process of commercialization occurred in  
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18 England the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. During this period there were a growing number of rural  
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20 and urban markets for consumable goods ([Slavin 2014, pp. 26-27](#)). Slavin ([2014, p. 27](#)) also suggests that  
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22 “there is strong evidence for a fair degree of market integration across different trade *loci* in England, defined by  
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24 the ‘Law of One Price’ and by trans-regional market involvement.” [Richardson \(2004, pp. 1-2, 22\) also notes,](#)  
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26 [contrary to many popular texts, that late mediaeval English guilds did not monopolise durable goods markets.](#)  
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28 [However, from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century there was a proliferation of monopolies](#)  
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30 [in English towns. As a result urban artisans relocated to villages where monopolies were scarce.](#)

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32 During the second half of the fifteenth century marketing experienced a significant disruption with the  
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34 invention of printing. Handwritten notices were gradually superseded by printed ones. William Caxton appears  
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36 to have printed the first English advertisement in 1477 [according to Voss \(Voss 1998, p. 738\)](#). By the second  
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38 half of the sixteenth century printers, publishers, or authors were inserting prefaces in many different types of  
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40 publications. Often these prefaces were used for a wide variety of advertisements promoting printed  
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42 publications. The evolution of the newspaper was also made possible by printing. Newspapers were given  
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44 various names including newsbooks. With small circulations only the literate elite could afford these relatively  
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46 expensive items ([Nevett 1982, pp. 7-9](#)). [According to Nevett \(1982, p. 8\)](#) {The earliest example of a newsbook  
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48 advertisement is from 1622 ([Chalmers 1794, p. 110](#)). Although very few early newsbooks have survived it is  
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50 believed the number published grew in number during the following few decades. Books, real estate and patent  
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52 medicines [were](#) advertised during this period. By 1657 advertising had become significant enough for  
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54 permission to be granted for the first publication consisting solely of advertisements (Nevett 1982, pp. 7-9).  
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56 Modern advertising emerges towards the end of the seventeenth century when there is a shift from “simple  
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58 announcement” to the use of rhetoric to embellish information (Church 2000, p. 627).  
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Another important innovation in marketing was sale through credit. Cox (2000, pp. 146-149) notes that the earliest evidence is from the mid-sixteenth century but that it emerged almost certainly earlier. Customer credit was recorded in shop books. Cox notes that shop books could be abused by either party. In 1609 the English parliament passed a law which allowed the debt recorded in the shop book to stand as evidence for a maximum of one year unless there was a Bill of Debt, which would be not likely for much shop credit. While this law recognised with some exceptions the shop book as a legitimate record of debt it did not address the challenges involved in recovering the debts of deceased retailers. It would also appear that many retailers lacked the basic bookkeeping skills to manage their credit (Cox 2000, pp. 146-149).

Following the Interregnum of 1649-1660 the restored English monarchy attempted to introduce censorship with the Printing Act of 1662. Publishers resisted the censors with the extensive production of illegal newsletters. The act lapsed in 1695 (Nevett 1982, pp. 9-14). From the early days of newspapers advertising made an important contribution to offsetting their costs of production and distribution. Craven (1992, p. 11) notes "Advertisements were standard fare from the middle of the seventeenth century: "advices" and "notices" told of lost and found, books for sale, real estate, shipping, commercial prices and medical remedies." The first recorded advertisement for a patent medicine, Holman's Ink Powder, was published in 1688. However, in this early period it was relatively expensive to place advertisements in newspapers and so this must have served to limit the number of advertisers (Craven 1992, p.11). For retailers seventeenth century newspaper advertising was insignificant as an advertising medium compared with shop signs. Nevett (1982, pp. 9-14) observes that the printed poster was another significant form of advertising in the second half of the seventeenth century (Nevett 1982, pp. 9-14).

#### Emergence of Modern British Marketing: 1700-1850

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the establishment for the first time of a single national market for all categories of goods in Britain. This was made possible by the transport revolution. Bogart and Oandasan (2013) argue this began in the period immediately following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Parliament approved a series of river navigation acts. They brought about what Bogart and Oandasan (2013, p. 9) argue was "the first significant improvement in Britain's transport infrastructure since the Middle Ages." The extension of Britain's navigable waterways through the construction of locks and dredging from 850 miles in 1660 to 1,600 in 1750 made a significant contribution to the development of marketing. This was followed by the construction of a nationwide network of canals, and then a nationwide network of railways.

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7 The eighteenth century also saw urban centres begin to focus on improvements to the public  
8 infrastructure, including pavements. Raised sections of paving assisted the movement of traffic and the removal  
9 of rubbish (Corfield 1990, p. 150). Bath had paved promenades alongside which were shops selling luxury  
10 goods from the early seventeenth century (Borsay 1986, pp. 127-128). However, Bath and a small number of  
11 wealthy resort towns remained the exception until the 1760s when in 1762 parliament enacted the Westminster  
12 Paving Act followed by later amendments. White (2010, pp. 96-97) observes this legislation established a  
13 completely “new framework for paving, cleansing and lighting the streets west of Temple Bar.” The  
14 transformation of the pedestrian experience meant shopkeepers elsewhere in London lost business to  
15 Westminster thoroughfares such as The Strand. The City Corporation responded relatively quickly by securing  
16 the enactment of the London Paving and Lighting Act in 1776. Other neighbouring local authorities soon won  
17 similar powers. ~~Corfield (1990, p. 150) observes that b~~By the late eighteenth century pavements had been  
18 installed in other towns and cities such as Oxford, Cardiff, Macclesfield, and Doncaster (Corfield 1990, p. 150).  
19 The architectural journalist, Edwin Heathcote (2016), suggests the installation of pavements was  
20 transformational. “The introduction of pavements transformed the streets, not only in practical terms - by  
21 making them places where it was possible or acceptable to wander - but in the way streets evolved. Where  
22 shopping arcades had once been necessary to engender a sense of security and cleanliness, places protected  
23 against the rain from above and the mud and filth from below, now shops spread along the streets. These streets  
24 increasingly became spectacles in their own right as shops began displaying their wares in windows,  
25 illuminating the sidewalks and making them places of fashion, food and longing. What was once a utilitarian  
26 thoroughfare became an avenue of consumption - streets of desire.” Towards the end of the eighteenth century  
27 and in the early nineteenth century various British towns and cities also began to improve the environment of  
28 their markets by recentralising them and enclosing them (but not necessarily fully covering them) from the often  
29 inclement weather. This was followed by the construction of magnificent new market halls from the 1820s  
30 onwards (Schmiechen and Carls 1999, pp. 28-34). Schmiechen and Carls (1999, p. 34) observe that “The  
31 market hall was an original but not surprising invention that by the second half of the nineteenth century had  
32 become arguably the most important building in the British townscape...”

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48 Britain also acquired an extensive overseas empire during this period. The expanding empire included  
49 white settlement colonies which Belich (2009) has argued formed a “Greater Britain”. Metropolitan Britain  
50 underwent an industrial revolution based on steam power which was to result in it becoming by the nineteenth  
51 century “the workshop of the world”. Steam power was also applied to shipping resulting in a reduction in the  
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cost of ocean transportation. This helped British firms to expand into both Greater Britain and markets in other parts of the British Empire. Fullerton (1988, p. 122) has argued that modern British marketing began in the period 1750 to 1850 and that “this period marked the beginning of pervasive attention to stimulating and meeting demand among nearly all of society.” However, as noted above, the literature would suggest it began a few decades earlier at the beginning of the eighteenth century hence this paper has modified Fullerton’s periodisation.

In the late seventeenth century ~~Berry (2002, pp. 385-386, 389-390, 392) observes that~~ there was not much notion of specialisation in marketing and sales techniques. However from the eighteenth century retailers began to have a growing awareness of the contribution salesmanship could make to their businesses. This included the negotiation of prices with their customers and the provision of credit. Printed media such books, pamphlets and newssheets were among the exceptions because many had the prices printed on them (Berry 2002, pp. 385-386, 389-390, 392). Cox (2000, p. 103) suggests new practices of cash only sales combined with fixed prices can be traced back to at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. ~~She Cox~~ (2000, p. 149) also suggests that during the second half of the eighteenth century retailers, at least in London and other large cities, had adopted bookkeeping to assist the management of credit.

Billposting was the foremost type of advertising in the eighteenth century ~~according to Nevett (1982, p. 20)~~. Although only a small number of examples have been preserved. ~~Nevett observes that v~~endors of patent medicine were among the advertisers to use bills. Evidence of newspaper advertising is much more ubiquitous. During the eighteenth century the number of newspaper titles increased from 25 to 258. In 1702, the first daily newspaper was established, the *Daily Courant*. In contrast to the seventeenth century newspaper publication in the eighteenth century was no longer centred in London. During this century newspapers began to be printed and read in the provinces in particular in the English Midlands and the North of England which were undergoing industrialisation (Nevett 1982, pp. 20-22). Outside England newspapers began to be published on a profitable basis in Scotland from the early eighteenth century (Eaman 2009, p. 254). Furthermore as the close of the eighteenth century approached the London newspapers began to be printed early enough for the mail deliveries to the rest of the country (Craven 1992, p. 10). However, one British nation region, the principality of Wales, remained too economically underdeveloped poor to support a local newspaper. Until the publication of the first newspaper in Wales in 1804, newspapers published in English border towns and cities such as Bristol, Chester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Shrewsbury filled the gap in the market (Black 1992, p. 22; Welsh Newspapers

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Online 2017). Furthermore Craven (1992, p. 10) has observed as the close of the eighteenth century approached the London newspapers began to be printed early enough for the mail deliveries to the rest of the country.

The government saw the growth in access to news as a threat and responded in 1712 with the introduction of taxes on newspapers and newspaper advertisements. These taxes were subsequently raised in 1757. However, this attempt to ensure that only the wealthy could access the news appears to have failed. It would appear that newspapers were widely read in the eighteenth century with the exception of the poor and the illiterate. Those who could afford to purchase a newspaper were able access them in many coffee houses where newspapers were available for customers to read on their premises with their beverage. This explains why eighteenth century newspaper advertisers targeted both the wealthy and those of lesser means (Nevett 1982, pp.

17-19). However, Black suggests that an examination of the news content and advertising in eighteenth century newspapers does not “suggest much of an effort to serve or create a mass readership” (1992, p. 23). Black (1992, p. 15) also notes that “There was a huge expansion in postal services and improved communications in the eighteenth century resulting from the construction of turnpike roads and more regular coach services. London newspapers took advantage of this development to further increase their sales in provincial markets. Black further observes that “At the same time provincial newspapers sought to monopolise or dominate their local market. This allowed them to acquire all or most of the advertising in their locality (Black 1992, p. 15). Black observes “The pressure for exclusivity was further enhanced by the expensive nature of rural distribution networks, whose real cost was lessened if they could serve all readers on a particular route. Newspapers were delivered by riders who followed extensive circuits (Black 1992, p. 15).” The importance of advertising is suggested by the fact that many provincial newspapers had networks of provincial and London agents to take in advertisements (Black 1992, pp. 16-18).

Nevett (1982, pp. 15-19) observes products advertised in the eighteenth century included soap, tobacco, cheap brandy, and patent medicines as well for country estates, expensive books, and race meetings (Nevett 1982, pp. 15-19). However, he (Nevett 1982, p. 20) observes the incidence of advertisements for some categories of consumer goods was low. Beer and common foods were very rarely advertised, while tea and coffee ceased to be advertised once they had become well established in the marketplace (Nevett 1982, p. 20).

Black (1992, p. 13) also notes that newspaper advertisements were usually unillustrated. When pictures were used they were mostly “small and simple.” Using evidence from newspaper advertisements Nevett (1982, pp. 21-24) also notes that producers began to adopt brands to market such products as ink powder, polishes, blackings, sauces, and patent medicine started to be branded from the early eighteenth century. Bickham (2008,

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p. 82) has observed that eighteenth century advertisements were far from a “crude preface to the more modern Victorian age”. They “were prevalent, powerful and complex.” All kinds of products were advertised in eighteenth century newspapers. For example, illustrated Scottish literary editions of books were advertised in Scottish newspapers such as the *Glasgow Courier* in the 1790s (Jung 2015). Food was one of the exceptions. Instead grocers used trade cards as their primary advertising channel. Bickham (2008, pp. 83) observes “By emphasizing images over words, trade cards signalled the entry of advertising into visual culture. Images of clocks, clothing, shop interiors and the like dominated the cards in the hope of provoking a desire for a particular good or experience... Thus the trade card is remarkably akin to advertising on modern billboards, magazines or even television – in which a voiceover provides product details against a backdrop of visual images.”

~~Berg and Clifford (2007, p. 146) argue that b~~Before the nineteenth century newspapers and newsheets were a small part of a wide variety of advertising media which included street posters, shop signs, trade catalogues, manuals, almanacs, town directories and histories, handbills, letterheads, and insurance policies. Indeed ~~Berg and Clifford (2007, p. 146)they~~ argue that the trade card or bill head “was the earliest widely circulated form of advertising combining image and printed text, and [that] it was more central to pre-19th century advertising than were newspapers and newsheets.”

Growing demand from wealthier consumers, in particular the upper class, led to an expansion of fixed shop retailing during the eighteenth century. Luxury and semi-luxury retailers had adopted the carefully focussed use of display and advertising by the close of the century. But retailers and advertisers seldom labelled goods as luxuries. Cox (2015, p. 146) observes “Probably because of its long history of pejorative connotations, luxury was seen as a dangerous concept – one ‘that dare not speak its name’, like the homosexual love of Lord Douglas a century later.” More acceptable alternative terms were used instead. At the same time less wealthy customers continued to patronise traditional retailers such as markets and peddlers (Mitchell 2014, pp. 1-2). It would appear that about four tenths of markets in English towns during the eighteenth century specialised in a particular product or a group of products. At the same time they also served as a place for the purchase of necessities of life and other essential items (Mitchell 2014, p. 17). Before the nineteenth century, at least in London, contemporary commentators and businesspeople seldom differentiated between retail and wholesale markets, according to Smith’s case study of London markets (2002, pp. 41-42). Nonetheless from 1660 to 1840 the number of “wholesaling” markets trebled (Smith 2002, pp. 41-42). During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Mitchell (2007, p. 550) suggests provincial English fairs were significant for agricultural

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7 marketing and retailing. However, by the early 1800s many of the fairs were in gradual decline [\(Mitchell 2007,](#)  
8 [p. 550\).](#)

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10 Before the advent of mail order catalogue firms in the nineteenth century hawkers and peddlers helped  
11 fill the distance selling market niche. However, Cox and Dannehl (2007, pp. 141-142) observe that some  
12 eighteenth century retailers anticipated the mail order catalogue retailers by advertising goods in catalogues,  
13 handbills and cards which they would deliver to customers. ~~Cox and Dannehl suggest that~~ This was not an  
14 especially unusual practice in the eighteenth century. Mitchell (2014, p. 69) observes that in the eighteenth  
15 century hawkers and peddlers were outnumbered by fixed shopkeepers. Nonetheless they played a significant  
16 role in widening the market for consumer goods, especially textiles, clothing and hardware. They were able to  
17 provide a service to those customers who lived a long distance from shops and those who preferred to have  
18 goods home delivered. Some eighteenth century peddlers hired rooms in the towns on their itinerary and  
19 advertised their goods in local newspapers or through the distribution of printed handbills ~~(Mitchell 2014, p. 64).~~  
20 ~~Mitchell suggests that that~~ there is some evidence that some manufacturing sectors by the late eighteenth century  
21 saw hawkers and peddlers as a vital part of their distribution chain [\(Mitchell 2014, pp. 64, 69\)](#). French and Popp  
22 (2008, p. 793) have also observed the advent of the commercial traveller, or bagman. Some of these travellers  
23 were employed directly by manufacturers but the majority were employed by merchants at the beginning.  
24 Travellers might seek to solicit orders from retailers by showing them samples or directly supply products.  
25 They were also usually required to collect payments. [Mitchell \(2014, p. 69\)](#) ~~Observes~~ during the first half of  
26 the nineteenth century increasing numbers of textile and clothing peddlers formalised this interdependence with  
27 particular firms by becoming their agents.

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29 At the time of the Union of Scotland with England in 1707 fairs and markets were still the main form of  
30 retailing north of the former border. Urban Scotland quickly converged with England and by 1725 shops had  
31 largely displaced fairs and markets. From the mid-eighteenth century the significant growth in the number and  
32 variety of urban Scottish shops became very noticeable. By the 1820s this had become a feature of rural  
33 Scotland as well. The number of Scottish multiple retailers also grew from the 1830s. In common with their  
34 English counterparts, Scottish retailers gradually ceased to use non-fixed prices. While the first retail  
35 cooperative in Scotland was founded in 1769 the most significant period for retail society formation was the  
36 1850s and 1860s. The Scottish cooperative retail movement was founded in opposition to employers' truck  
37 stores. However, neither the cooperative movement nor government legislation was able to break the  
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ascendancy of truck stores in Scottish mining and iron working districts until after the mid-nineteenth century (Lythe and Butt 1975, pp. 138-139, 142-143).

The Industrial Revolution in Britain was accompanied by a growth in population together with urbanisation. Former agricultural labourers living in the rapidly expanding industrial towns and cities sacrificed most of the self-sufficiency in the necessities of life that had been possible in the countryside. In the early nineteenth century Mitchell (2014, pp. 10, 102, 111) observes that a greater amount and a much more diverse variety of consumer goods were available to a broader spectrum of people than had been the case at the beginning of the eighteenth. He also observes that retailers' marketing became increasingly sophisticated in response. Retailers used trade cards, window displays, and advertisements in newspapers and town guides. They focussed on, for example, price, credit availability, quality, or customer service, to attract customers from different sections of the potential market (Mitchell 2014, pp. 10, 102, 111). Strachan (2007, p. 14) also suggests that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were major advances in advertising techniques and a progressively refined range of marketing techniques. He notes that advertisers sought to differentiate their products. A variety of secondary marketing techniques were used to supplement newspaper advertising including widely distributed handbills, advertising carts, roadside advertisements, wall posting and wall painting (Strachan 2007, p. 14). The use of these other types of advertising media is probably not unrelated to the fact that the Napoleonic Wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to an increase in political repression which manifested itself in an increase in the taxes on newspapers and newspaper advertisements in 1797 and the introduction of a tax on paper in 1803. The aftermath of the wars saw a further increase in the tax on newspaper advertisements in 1815 (Wadsworth 1955 as cited in Nevett 1982, p. 25).

There was significant innovation in retail spaces during the first half of the nineteenth century including the construction of bigger shops, alternative forms such as arcades and bazaars and the predecessors of department stores (Mitchell 2014, pp. 129-300). The restoration of peace after the end of the Napoleonic wars marked the foundation of the first arcades and bazaars (Mitchell 2014, p. 140). There are echoes of the medieval *selds* in the arcades. The growing purchasing power of the industrial working class led some of them to organise in fair trade movements and, as noted above in the earlier discussion of Scottish retailing, the creation of retail cooperative movements. In England significant numbers of cooperative retail stores were founded in the 1820s and 1830s (Purvis 1992, pp. 107-111). These fair trade stores paid dividends to their customers. However, they were often short-lived. However, the well-known Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society founded in 1844 survived as an independent society until 1991.

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7 As noted above from the end of the eighteenth century there was an increase in the rate of taxation on  
8 newspapers together with a new tax on paper. The period of political repression began to abate in the 1830s.  
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10 The newspaper stamp duty was effectively reduced by two-thirds in 1836 and subsequently abolished in 1855;  
11 the newspaper advertisement tax was reduced by a slightly lower amount in 1833 and subsequently abolished in  
12 1853; while the paper duty was halved in 1836 and subsequently abolished in 1861 (Wadsworth 1955 as cited in  
13 Nevett 1982, p. 25). While the impact of the increased duty did not prevent a nearly fourfold increase in  
14 advertisements in stamped newspapers, ~~Nevett (1982, pp. 26-27) suggests that it~~ may also have led to a  
15 diversion of advertising to illicit unstamped newspapers or substitute media such as placards and circulars  
16 ~~(Nevett 1982, pp. 26-27)~~. Nevett suggests that this diversion effect also partly accounts for the popularity of  
17 posters during the first half of the nineteenth century. Another reason for their popularity is that large  
18 advertisements or illustrations were not possible in newspapers in this period. Moreover posters could be  
19 commissioned, created, and placed in a much shorter period of time than advertisements in newspapers.  
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21 However, posters were extremely vulnerable to over-sticking and advertisers responded by employing sandwich  
22 board men and advertising carts (Nevett 1982, pp. 53-61).

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29 Early nineteenth century newspaper advertising was dominated by small classified advertisements  
30 (Brown 1992, p. 26). During the first half of the century new types of advertisements also emerged including  
31 ones placed by company promoters soliciting applications for shares in newly floated companies (Nevett 1982,  
32 pp. 15-40). Advertisements for branded grocery products also start to appear in newspapers from the 1790s  
33 onwards including James Schweppe's imported mineral waters from 1793 (Evening Mail 1793, p. 1);  
34 Robinson's Prepared Barley for making the finest barley water from 1822 (Morning Post 1822, p.1) and  
35 subsequently rebranded Robinson's Patent Prepared Barley from 1824 as Matthias Robinson sought to protect  
36 his brand from imitators (Morning Post 1824, p.1); Crosse & Blackwell's Soho Sauce from 1833 (Morning Post  
37 1833, p. 1), Huntley and Palmer's Superior Reading Biscuits from 1842 (Morning Post 1842, p. 1); and  
38 Horniman & Co.'s tea from 1852 (Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, 1852, p. 1). This period also  
39 marks ~~the beginning of~~ the emergence of advertising as a profession. Advertising agencies were established as  
40 intermediaries between the advertisers and publishers. According to Nevett the first recorded British advertising  
41 agent was William Taylor who established his business as early as 1786. By the early nineteenth century  
42 London had several advertising agency firms. Elsewhere in Britain ~~Nevett notes~~ an advertising agent was  
43 offering his services in Edinburgh by 1819 (Nevett 1982, pp. 61-66).  
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### Era of British Marketing's Institutional Development: 1850-1914

In Fullerton's (1988, p. 122) periodisation the third era of modern British marketing's historical development ~~for~~ begins in 1850. In this era he argues the super-structure of modern British marketing was constructed.

Fullerton suggests the next dividing point is the Great Depression of the 1930s. However, the outbreak of

World War I seems a more logical dividing point given the impact the war was to have on the British economy.

This era began with Britain's adoption of free trade. The 1848 act of parliament which ended the Scottish burghs' monopoly of trade is just one of example of the move to the new regime. However, in the case of the burghs their monopoly had been progressively weakened during the eighteenth century (Keith 1913a, p. 461; Keith 1913b, pp. 688-689). The Great Exhibition of 1851 at the specially built Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, symbolised the economic progress that gave Britain the confidence to adopt free trade. Richards (1991, pp. 21-22, 36-37) suggests the exhibition represents a pivotal turning point. He argues that it was the start of a "commodification" process of which one of the consequences was that goods became potentially more desirable to middle class consumers. However, Church (2000, p. 641) argues that Richard's thesis is invalidated by patterns of consumption before and after the exhibition.

The nationalization of the telegraphs in 1868-70 was another important development. The service was henceforth delivered by the Post Office. The civil servant who oversaw the acquisition of the telegraphs, Frank Ives Scudamore, believed that some parts of the private sector of the economy such as the telegraph companies suffered from waste and inefficiency. Where this was the case competition or nationalisation was the remedy rather than government regulation (Perry 1980, p. 366). ~~(Standage (1998) has described the telegraph as the~~ Victorian internet because it allowed the long distance transmission of information almost instantaneously for the first time. It should have allowed provincial newspapers to gather their own news from London and publish and distribute it before the trains had delivered the metropolitan newspapers to the provinces. However, before nationalisation, ~~as Silberstein-Loeb (2009, pp. 759-788) observes,~~ telegraphy was controlled by a price cartel which provided poor service with exorbitant charges for telegrams. After nationalisation this changed. Low rates were charged for telegrams because the Post Office gave priority to the social importance to the widest dissemination of news throughout Britain. In 1870 the leading provincial newspaper publishers decided to reduce costs by preventing competition in news provision through the foundation of the Press Association (PA). The PA subsequently established an effective monopoly as a provider of national news to the provinces. The service provided by the PA probably contributed to increase from 79 to 211 in the number of daily newspapers published outside London between 1870 and 1900 (Silberstein-Loeb 2009, pp. 759-788).



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7 The removal of duties on newspapers, newspaper advertisements, and paper during the mid-nineteenth  
8 century as might be expected led to a significant increase in the number of both newspapers and advertisements  
9 during the remainder of the century (Nevett 1982, pp. 67-68). The adoption of a free market policy on the  
10 dissemination news proved to be a more effective method of suppressing seditious literature. Advertisers did  
11 not wish to patronise publications whose readers lacked the income to purchase the products or services being  
12 advertised (King 1999a, p. 396). Baylen (1992, p. 34) notes that from the start of the 1860s the appearance of  
13 newspaper advertisements was made more attractive "but in visual appeal they never equalled those of the  
14 American press." (Nevett 1982, pp. 67-86) observes that manufacturers of repeat purchase household  
15 products became some of the most prolific advertisers (Nevett 1982, p. 72). At the end of the 1870s illustrated  
16 advertisements began to appear in the new weekly illustrated newspapers such as *The Graphic* and in magazines  
17 such as the *Illustrated London News*. In common with continental European countries such as Austria-Hungary  
18 (Hawkins 2017, pp. 73-74), from the late nineteenth century some advertisers sought the endorsement of the  
19 strongest of national institutions, the monarchy. Regardless of whether they had permission or not they  
20 displayed the Royal Warrant, printed royal testimonials, placed images of members of the Royal Family next to  
21 those of their products, and tried to include royalty in their publicity stunts (Benson 1994, p. 145).

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Until the late 1880s paper was a relatively costly product manufactured from rags or esparto grass. This  
limited the number of pages in a newspaper and the space available to advertisers. However, during the late  
1880s a new process allowed the manufacture of paper from imported wood pulp which led to a significant  
reduction in its cost (Cox and Mowatt 2014, pp. 25-26). Newspaper publishers responded with the foundation  
of cheap mass market daily newspapers such as such as the *Daily Mail* in 1896, the *Daily Express* in 1900, and  
the *Daily Mirror* in 1903. These newspapers were partly funded by the revenue derived from illustrated  
advertising. At the same time upmarket newspapers increased their pagination which allowed the publication of  
more and larger advertisements. Upmarket newspapers such as *The Times* also started publishing illustrated  
advertisements during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Newspaper advertising continued to be just one of a variety of advertising media. The production of long  
runs of colour posters in the 1870s saw as the large scale use of lithography became commercially viable  
for the first time. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the widespread use of direct junk mail in  
response to the earlier introduction by the Post Office of a reduced postal rate for circulars. Advertisers also  
used telegrams during this period too (Nevett 1982, pp. 86-99). This period also marked the beginning of

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7 central government advertising. Schwarzkopf (2008, p. 175) observes the British government issued a million  
8 handbills to promote government savings schemes, life insurance and annuities in 1876-1877.

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10 In the eighteenth century retailing had been essentially structured to serve the requirements of a  
11 commercial society. Mitchell (2014, p. 11) observes this does not mean it was not dynamic or often modern.  
12 However, the emergence of an industrial society required retailing to evolve. He observes there is evidence of  
13 structural change and radical innovation in the decades immediately prior to 1850 which affected the size of  
14 individual retail businesses and their organisational structure. Mitchell believes a key watershed in retailing  
15 history is the middle decades of the nineteenth century. However, the really far-reaching developments were  
16 principally a feature of the second half of the nineteenth century. These include the spread of multiple and  
17 department stores, the growing use of brands, and the rise of the mass consumer market. By the last quarter of  
18 the nineteenth century Fitzgerald (1995, pp. 19, 26, 67) observes fixed shops were winning over even working  
19 class customers from retail markets and travelling salesmen. Many of those fixed shops were part of the big  
20 expansion in cooperative store numbers from 1850 to 1914. This expansion was underpinned by the Industrial  
21 and Provident Societies Act of 1852 which introduced a specific legal status for the cooperative societies that  
22 opened these new stores (Purvis 1992, pp. 111-130). Shaw (1985, p. 293) also notes that the movement of  
23 population to the new residential suburbs was accompanied by retailing. Food shops dominated suburban  
24 retailing.

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26 The purchase of goods involves trust. Traditionally this involved trust in the retailer (Mollanger 2017,  
27 pp. 1-22; Harding 2016, p. XX). However, the emergence of packaged branded consumer goods during the  
28 nineteenth century meant consumers began to transfer their trust from the retailer to the manufacturer or  
29 processor. In the wine and spirits trade the wine merchants firm, W. & A. Gilbey, introduced in 1861 what  
30 Harding has argued was the world's first true range brand, "Castle", which was used on all the wines and spirits  
31 in the firm's extensive range. In a market where counterfeiting and adulteration was rife the firm's brand  
32 addressed the consumers' desire for reassurance and direction. It transformed wine from a luxury product into  
33 one for daily use (Harding 2016, pp. 45, 57-58). Wine and spirits unlike soap had always been retailed in  
34 packaging. The soap manufacturers were one of the industries which newly adopted packaging. Thomas  
35 Barratt first used advertising for his packaged soap "Pears" brand in the late 1870s. From 1878, his advertising  
36 (Pall Mall Gazette 1878, p. 15) included the information from the Prince of Wales that Pears soap was and  
37 always had been exclusively used at Marlborough House and Sandringham. Barratt used illustrated colour full  
38 page display advertising as early as 1880 (Illustrated London News 1880, p. 34). Nevett (1988, p. 267) suggests

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7 Barratt “had a considerable influence on the evolution of advertising both in Britain and overseas through the  
8 techniques he employed, his consistently high expenditure, and the case for advertising which he put so  
9 forcefully.” Barratt was influenced by the American soap manufacturer and advertiser, Benjamin T. Babbitt.  
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11 Barratt’s advertising predated that of William Lever for Sunlight packaged household soap. Lever began  
12 advertising and marketing Sunlight soap in 1886. Lever was a very innovative marketer and was for example  
13 the first to include instructions with his soaps and in his advertising. Lever believed many consumers needed to  
14 be introduced to the gospel of cleanliness (Graham 1993, pp. 53-59.)  
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18 There was a danger that unscrupulous retailers would seek to take advantage of the trust embodied in the  
19 brand by selling fake copies. ~~Higgins and Tweedale (1995, p. 23) suggest i~~In the case of the Sheffield cutlery  
20 and tool industry trademarks had been in use since the seventeenth century and that companies sought to defend  
21 them in court actions begun well before 1850. However, litigation was challenging without national trade mark  
22 registration (~~Higgins and Tweedale 1995, p. 23~~). Mercer (2010, p. 20) ~~notes has noted~~ that there was no  
23 national registry of trademarks before 1876, and there was no law against trade mark infringement. After  
24 several years of pressure from the business community the Victorian state responded with the legal recognition  
25 of trademarks in Britain in 1876 (Duguid, da Silva Lopez, and Mercer 2010, p. 13). To ensure consumers  
26 retained their trust in the brand required manufacturers and processors to more closely monitor the retailers, for  
27 example to make sure they stocked their brands. This required an increase in the numbers of travelling salesmen  
28 as in the case of the confectioner, Rowntree, from the 1870s (Goodall 1988, pp. 32-33). British multinational  
29 firms that registered their brands as trademarks also sought to protect them in their overseas markets too from  
30 imitators and counterfeiters. As da Silva Lopes and Casson (2012, p.287) observe, many of the imitators were  
31 based in the newly industrialising countries of the era, in particular the United States, Germany, and Japan, and  
32 served British export supply chains as licensees, franchisees, or wholesalers. British companies reacted against  
33 infringements by lobbying governments, employing local agents to gather intelligence, and cooperating with  
34 other companies. Higgins and Tweedale’s (1995, p. 23) research suggests that defending trademarks is only  
35 useful up to a point and argue that the significance of trademarks should not be exaggerated. However, as  
36 Higgins (2012, p. 284) also observes ~~that there is~~ a fundamental difference between trademarks and brands.  
37 Trademarks primarily denote trade origin, whereas brands incorporate a variety of characteristics including  
38 image, social values, and emotional attachment. Higgins argues “[a]dvertising plays an important role in  
39 transforming trademarks into brands because it enhances consumer expectations. Consequently, one reason for  
40 the greater number of successful brands among the nondurables was their greater advertising expenditure.”  
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U Higgins argues unlike manufacturers of chocolate, soap, and bread, those of durable goods such as cotton textiles, cutlery, and other types of metal fabrication had little interest in transforming their trademarks into brands. Their principal concern was to ensure that their products competed on the basis of quality and craftsmanship, unimpeded by infringement.

The emergence of branded goods is closely associated with the beginnings of mass production during the second half of the nineteenth century (Mitchell 2014, p. 174). The development of branded and mass-produced goods offered consumers consistent quality and standardized shape and size. Mass production also led to the development of mass marketing in Britain. The retention of brand loyalty required new types of marketing strategies. For example, Rowntree introduced trading stamps in the 1890s to encourage loyalty to its Elect cocoa brand. Once sufficient numbers of stamps had been collected they could be exchanged for a free box of Rowntree's chocolates and gums. Rowntree advertisements also included coupons that could be exchanged for a free sample of Elect cocoa (Goodall 1988, pp. 32-33). Initially these marketing strategies were devised and implemented by the advertisers. Schwarzkopf (2010, pp. 168-170) observes that advertising agencies only became actively involved in the mass marketing process at relatively late. Prior to 1914 most advertising agencies were only involved in the placement of their clients' advertisements in print media. The advertisers employed other professionals such as trademark and patent agents to create their brands (Schwarzkopf 2010, pp. 168-170).

Marketing development in this period also included the service sector. In 1845 Thomas Cook, who had previously organised excursions for the Temperance movement, organised his first railway excursion for profit from Leicester to Liverpool which he advertised using handbills. He also produced a handbook, a sixty page booklet detailing every stage of the journey. The venture was a success. Despite being declared bankrupt in early 1846, he continued to organise excursions, in particular to historic cities, resorts, and areas of natural beauty (Swinglehurst 1974, pp. 28-31; Morning Post 1846, p. 2). In 1851 Cook founded a travel magazine, *The Excursionist*, in which he promoted leisure travel (Swinglehurst 1974, p. 35). Cook was not the first entrepreneur to offer domestic or, later, overseas excursions for profit. John Wood advertised an excursion to the Rhine as early as 1849 (Bradford Observer 1849, p. 1). However, Cook was one of the most successful. He went on to organise excursions to continental Europe, the Middle East, around the world, and North America. Although originally Cook did not offer hotel accommodation as part of his excursions, by the 1860s he was offering package holidays with hotel accommodation included (Swinglehurst 1974, p. 64). Organised excursions were only a small part of the travel industry in this period. Railway travel of all kinds was to become

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7 by far the largest category. From the 1860s the growing number of railway companies in Britain began to  
8 develop sophisticated advertising and publicity strategies (Shin 2014, pp. 188, 191). Shin (2014, p. 203) argues  
9 that the railway industry was one of the pioneers “in setting the standard of marketing an intangible commodity  
10 – travel – through advertising and branding.” Other companies also entered the travel industry including for  
11 example Liverpool’s Booth Steamship Company which offered a portfolio of holiday tours to Madeira, Portugal  
12 and Galicia during the Edwardian period. To promote its Galician tours Booth either commissioned or  
13 sponsored a number of prestigious illustrated publications on the Spanish region. Hooper (2012, pp. 211-212)  
14 observes these publications seldom explicitly acknowledged their connection to the shipping line. However, it  
15 becomes clear when their focus is compared with Booth’s own *Holiday Tours in Spain, Portugal and Madeira*.

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17 It is important not to overlook business to business marketing. During the first half of the nineteenth  
18 century businesses who wished to advertise to other businesses were limited to trade cards, daily and weekly  
19 press, magazines, and books. However, during the second half of the century specialist trade journals began to  
20 emerge. *The earliest trade journals were The Bookseller launched in January 1858 (King 1999b, pp. 634-635)*  
21 *and The Ironmonger first published the following year (Tweedale 2014).* During the remainder of the century  
22 trade journals were founded to cover a wide variety of manufacturing, wholesale, retail, and financial sectors.

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24 Furthermore two dedicated national daily newspapers were established to serve the ~~the~~ business community, the  
25 *Financial News* in 1884 and the *Financial Times* in 1888 (Kynaston 1988).

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27 During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was an increase in the number of  
28 commercial travellers. French and Popp (2008, pp. 790-791) note that the number increased between 1871 and  
29 1911 from 20,730 to 98,428. It has been noted above that some manufacturers such as for example Rowntree  
30 employed travellers directly and engaged in their own marketing. Church (2005, pp. 281-298) has also shown  
31 that American businessman, Silas Burroughs, introduced American style “detail men” into the British  
32 pharmaceutical industry in the late 1870s. The detail men were required to add an “educational function” to  
33 their marketing work, because they were required to promote the technical and scientific characteristics of the  
34 new biological therapeutics manufactured by their employer. “[I]n addition to calling on chemists and  
35 druggists, [they] visited doctors to explain and promote innovative medicines, preferably employing the  
36 appropriate technical and scientific language (Church 2005, p. 282).” However, other businesses in this period  
37 continued to use wholesalers and agents in addition to their own travellers. In 1900 as in 1800 ~~French and Popp~~  
38 ~~note that~~ travellers were concentrated in the grocery, drapery, and hardware sectors, while wholesale agencies

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7 continued to play an important role in the marketing of iron products, jewellery, rubber, and tinplate ([French and Popp 2008, p. 791](#)).  
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### 10 **Conclusion**

11 The development of British marketing from the Roman Empire to the zenith of the British Empire in the early  
12 twentieth century suggests that the state is a necessary condition for successful marketing. Marketing first  
13 developed in Britain while it was part of the Roman Empire. It is clear that the Roman British state created the  
14 environment which made that possible including security, roads, and a civic built environment. There are still  
15 gaps in our knowledge of the Roman British infrastructure. It is possible that in addition to the port in London  
16 that the Romans constructed provincial coastal and river ports to further facilitate trade with the rest of their  
17 empire (Rippon 2008). The collapse of the Roman British state led to the collapse of marketing in Britain. The  
18 British economy disintegrated. It took several centuries for British marketing to develop again to the level of  
19 Roman Britain. This is closely linked to the restoration of relatively stable, secure, and cohesive states in  
20 Britain, that is to say England and Scotland, and later the United Kingdom.  
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27 Friedman and Friedman (1980, p. xvii) have argued that Victorian Britain was a golden age of *laissez*  
28 *faire*. It is true that Britain abandoned many of the restrictions on trade such as the Scottish burgh monopolies.  
29 However, that does not mean the state ceased to be necessary. Victorian marketing benefited from investment  
30 in civic infrastructure such as urban pavements and market halls and saw the central government enact laws to  
31 protect aspects of marketing such as trademarks. Contrary to the Friedmans' paradigm, the Victorian British  
32 state recognised that perfect information does not exist in the real world. For example, in 1887 it enacted the  
33 Merchandise Marks Act (Fisher 1987, p. 2) to prevent foreign manufacturers misleading British consumers that  
34 their products were made in Britain. The country of origin mark helped protect British manufacturers' home  
35 market by creating consumer animosity toward shoddy German goods. However, Sidney Pollard has observed  
36 that rapid German industrial and technical progress in the 1890s caused the legislation to go amiss. German  
37 success in the second industrial revolution in areas such as chemicals, electrical goods and engineering led  
38 British consumers to regard "Made in Germany" as a mark of quality. Pollard observes that the law was  
39 "counter-productive." While it is true that the Victorian and Edwardian states were much smaller than that of  
40 the twenty-first century Elizabethan state, the scale and scope of the state was expanding in areas that  
41 underpinned the development of marketing. It is interesting that some Victorian civil servants believed that  
42 there were areas of market failure in the economy and, as in the case of the telegraph, advocated state ownership  
43 as one of the solutions rather than regulation. It can be argued that there is scope for further research on the  
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relationship between the state and marketing in Britain since the beginning of the Roman era. There is also considerable scope for research on the history of marketing in Wales and Scotland which has been neglected by historians especially in the case of the former. It is also a significant weakness of the British literature that Nevett's 1982 monograph remains the only academic historical survey of British advertising since the Roman era (albeit without footnotes). The digitisation of a significant amount of British historic primary sources such as newspapers during the last two decades has made them more accessible. This provides an opportunity for historians of British marketing and advertising to revisit Nevett's survey and improve on it.

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