Fears of Enchantment: Advertising Theory in Britain and the Making of a Modern Myth

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> That essential spark that burns clear in the breast of the seer and visionary is denied many opportunities in these our days; yet that same spark is the sole unquenchable, imperishable thing in the world. Can it then be that, refused its proper altar, it burns up with its immortal fire the very dampers cast upon it to extinguish it? For it is certainly not extinguished. An age that can turn a mere work, a song … an appearance, an impalpable impression, the unseizable stuff of Thought itself, to hard, quotable, saleable values, is not deserted of Imaginativeness.
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> —Oliver Onions, *Good Boy Seldom: A Romance of Advertisement*

In an insightful yet oddly neglected novel of the early twentieth century, *Good Boy Seldom: A Romance of Advertisement* (*GBS*), Oliver Onions observed that advertisers captured the spiritual needs that a wannabe disenchanted culture suppressed.[1] Onions, better known for explicitly enchanted ghost stories, drew in this work on his early career in commercial illustration, poster art and journalism and on his era's debates about the system of mass advertising, to explore the implications of its recent rise. The novel suggested that the capitalist structures expected to lead the charge of disenchantment – the 'very dampers cast … to extinguish' the sparks of visionaries and seers – became enchantment's primary locus.

Enchantment generally refers in what follows to ontological viewpoints that cannot be reconciled with the assumption that the modern social order was based on an expanding rationalism. *GBS* was particularly attentive to the theories of professional advertisers, which

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centralized the non-rational mind. These theories implied reader responses beyond reason, achieved by the incredible powers of advertising experts.[2] As advertising theories developed, they undermined perceptions of the modern economy as disenchanted and disenchanting.

Following Onions's cue, this article revisits the pre-war industrial theories of advertising in Britain. It demonstrates the first emergence of theories of the non-rational mind that Onions addressed, which have not been sufficiently examined in the historiography of advertising. The theories appeared in a new genre of advertising literature: books, essays, pamphlets, course offerings and multiple periodical publications dedicated to advertising, which expanded in the mid-1880s and became salient towards the turn of the twentieth century, the years in which *GBS*'s narrative was set. A growing rank of advertising practitioners represented themselves as students of the psyche and began to argue that their unique expertise was creating adverts that worked magic across the distance between producers and consumers, capturing consumers' attention and altering their desires. In essence, they modelled themselves as market enchanters.

In exploring this emergence, the analysis highlights the discomfort of professional advertisers with their new terms of expertise. Contrary to Onions's critical portrayal and to many better-known critics who would confirm it over the twentieth century, professionals were not confident and bold canvassers of the public psyche, to borrow a phrasing from Ken Galbraith's famous critique.[3] They adopted the languages of the non-rational as a way out of a cultural and economic bind explained in this article, but were insecure and conscious that they were undermining perceptions of a disenchanted capitalist modernity. The spectre of an economy thriving systemically on enchantment was hard to stomach despite the vogue for the non-rational of the late nineteenth century, which manifested in a flourish of spheres of enchantment.[4] To be sure, treating enchantment as a psychological phenomenon, as advertising theories did, was less alarming than assuming the presence of mysterious powers in the outer physical and social world. Charles Taylor has argued that circumscribing enchantment to the mind – and the mind of humans only – was a disenchanting move in the sense that it removed the possibility of mystery, non-human agency and magic from the world into the bounded or buffered self. However, contemporary responses reveal that locating enchantment in the mind was still ambivalent, because it turned the mind into a supernatural space, in Terry Castle's words, and cast doubt on the significance of human volition, hence the contested status of psychology as the academic discipline that represented this perspective.[5]

The ambivalence was particularly important for advertising, which was increasingly viewed as essential to capitalist expansion. In the years of advertising's formation as a systemic feature of capitalism, professionals introduced a sense of magic into mundane economic life, which caused anxiety as many contemporaries saw the capitalist economy of their times as a disenchanted and disenchanting force, a victory of reason.[6] This was a challenge that could not be easily answered by theological frameworks that otherwise justified or were reconciled with capitalism, because such theologies were not perceived as themselves a product of capitalism, as advertising was.[7] *GBS* was an early articulation of fears about this process. Professional advertisers were aware of them and therefore made serious efforts to reconcile their image as market enchanters with the rationality of consumers as well as advertisers.[8] In the process they addressed related concerns, particularly about the feminine connotations of enchantment. Advertising literature thus reveals not only the rise of new theories but also attendant anxieties and the industry's attempts to alleviate them.

As theories of the non-rational became more robust among professional advertisers in the post-war era, critics worried about the aggression they implied, thus, for example, Raymond Williams's description of post-war advertising as 'psychological warfare'.[9] Onions was an early harbinger of these critiques. Professionals were not as confident as he assumed, but he nonetheless identified the lasting power of the new theories. As I argue in conclusion, despite their insecurity, early professionals created a myth still harboured today, that advertisers are masters of subliminal control in capitalism.

The rise of mass advertising, professional advertisers and *Good Boy Seldom*

Between the 1840s and 1914, advertising became a mass phenomenon and an immersive experience in Britain. Its main forms were press adverts, outdoor posters and printed ephemera, but print was also set in a context of more expansive promotional efforts. Advertisers reached consumers of all classes and places, and regularly, where in earlier decades advertising beyond commercial centres and to lower classes was low in intensity and tended to concentrate around events. Manufacturers and service providers became the dominant advertisers, rather than the wholesalers and retailers whom the previous century would have identified as key. Contemporaries observed how images expanded in occurrence, complexity and size and how variety in rhetorical and visual style left no cultural association untapped. The march of commodities appeared limitless, and with it the incidence of brands. Cultural and legal

controversy, comments and rhymes about advertising, and sustained efforts to theorize and historicize it multiplied. Advertising emerged as a field as well as a profession, with training options, dedicated publications, trade associations, social clubs and expanding international networks that intensified from the late nineteenth century.[10]

Theories of advertising that centralized the non-rational mind appeared from the close of the nineteenth century in the advertising literature. This literature facilitated processes of professionalization, but it was more critically a form of advertising that spoke to clients, articulating the logic of the industry's existence in an effort to expand the scope of professional advertising services. The significance of professionals, especially in the most familiar function of advertising agencies today, that of planning and creating campaign content, was not obvious to many potential clients; they failed to see why someone who did not invent, manufacture or sell the product could represent it better than they could.

Meanwhile, the industry was threatened by an atmosphere that approached advertising with suspicion. Professionals could not assume a seamless integration of their field with concepts of knowledge, information, aesthetic progress or even common morality, because it was repeatedly conceived in terms of exaggeration, bias and vulgarity. These views informed not only elite reactions to mass advertising but also diverse legal structures associated with trade sectors such as news reporting, with scientific discourses and with popular perceptions.[11] By the late nineteenth century, professionals interested in defining their unique authority were up against a conceptual void: What *was* their expertise? Why *should* clients rely on them? They embraced enchantment in the psychological terms of the non-rational mind in an attempt to fill the void.

GBS interrogated these historical developments with the story of its protagonist, James Enderby Wace, nicknamed Good Boy Seldom. Wace is attracted to advertising from youth, when he watches the village reverend using it to overcome a dwindling attendance in church. While the reverend hopes to retain a congregation by harnessing 'the forces of the New' (74), the narrative depicts a competition between religious and capitalist experience as alternative sources of spirituality, and traces religious devotion reoriented towards new, putatively secular objects of reverence.[12] Wace soon abandons Christian commitments to become a phenomenally successful advertising agent – the modern seer and visionary, according to Onions.

By narrating Wace's rise, Onions explored an enchanted capitalist ontology. He showed the professional advertiser's focus on mastering

consumer minds, or as Wace explains, 'The article isn't your material. It's the public' (150). The agent's role is to imbue inanimate matter with meaning beyond physical and utilitarian qualities, by accessing the psyche. In so doing the agent animates everyday life and supplies a public need for magic and spirituality: 'The merchant deals perforce in ponderable commodities, but the manner in which he does so is of the spirit' (113).

Onions's modern prophet inspires unbridled imaginaries and spans commercial magic in which adverts vivify things and transfigure people. Echoing the religious sensibility of Thomas Carlyle, who half a century earlier bemoaned the phantasms that 'walk the Earth at noonday' in the shape of a hat-cart advertisement,[13] Onions had his fictional agent wheel an equally fantastic shoe-cart:

> What did the eye see in that [shoe]? … The poor bodily eye perhaps saw only a painted and varnished 'property' … but the eye of the spirit saw … Lola, the new Astraea… rise from the Shoe…'Up, up, up,' until her head was lost in the constellation that was her final metamorphosis – Virgo, the Virgin … (226)

The cart's banal construction, which advertises the theatrical performances of Lola, becomes animated and spiritualized, ultimately mixing with astrological mystique.

The era's most famous novel about advertising, H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay*, was published two years earlier, in 1909, and unlike *GBS* has been extensively studied and written into the history of advertising.[14] However, *Tono-Bungay*'s insight remains limited because Wells narrated a patent-medicine maker who advertises his own product. Onions set his narrative apart by fictionalizing a professional advertiser who self-defines as a market enchanter. His rendering was critical and ironic and so foreshadowed a long line of twentieth-century critics who warned against an enchanting industry.[15] To recall one influential writer, Roland Barthes theorized adverts as mythical distortions. As he argued, in advertising commercial motivation is doubled by a broader representation of great human themes, and so the dream is reintroduced into the humanity of purchasers, adding the truth of poetry to the alienation of competition, and transforming simple use into an experience of mind.[16]

Advertising historiography has overlooked *GBS* and the broader context in which pre-war industrial theories embraced the non-rational. Two almost opposite reasons might explain the oversight. On the one hand, non-rational persuasion and enchanting appeals appeared in earlier decades as advertising techniques and effects, and attracted commentary; therefore, locating the story of the market enchanters at

the turn of the twentieth century would seem too late.[17] However, findings from earlier decades reveal practices rather than consistent theorization in the industry, which is unsurprising because professionalization was in its early stages.[18] Moreover, in earlier decades advertising professionals were still in search of a definition and had not yet settled on the non-rational mind as their expertise. On the other hand, the periodization appears too early in view of the historiography of *professional* theories of advertising, which points to later decades in which psychological approaches dominated the industry: the interwar rise of consumer research and post-war motivation research, a systemic role of academic psychology in advertising agencies, and a shift towards a view of advertising in terms of social engineering. Indeed, Liz McFall observes an epochal bias in advertising historiography, which sees the post-war era as unprecedented in terms of the fetishizing powers of advertising.[19] The later periodization can be explained by the fact that pre-war theories appear partial, hesitant and disorganized by comparison with later uses of psychology, when they became elaborate, theoretically sophisticated and methodical. Yet the pre-war era was important precisely for its infancy. It reveals the first uptake of concepts of enchantment in the industry and the first industrial exploration of their implications.

From sales to psychological effects

Until the close of the nineteenth century, advertising literature rarely discussed the psychological appeal of advertisements. Consumers were typically categorized according to formal class data based on geographical locations, income and occupational patterns, and those were linked directly with types of commodities and services presumably appropriate for each group. Where psychological appeal was mentioned, it was likely to apply a rigid partition in which minds were reducible to a single overarching power of either rationality or its absence, predetermined by social type. In this view, for example, social elites were typically logical, and the masses emotional or superstitious. By the early twentieth century, the reflex was changing. All minds were increasingly represented as complex compounds of rational and non-rational elements. In 1882 the advertising agent and publisher of press directories Henry Sell confessed himself 'incompetent to discuss or analyse the exact manner in which the mind is influenced by Advertisements'; thirty years later professionals already insisted that the advert writer must 'know a good deal of the psychology of the customer …' Having a deep knowledge of human nature began to be seen as a set of psychological problems.[20]

The turn to the mind involved a subtle but profound recasting of the goals of advertising. Until the last years of the nineteenth century,

comments on 'effective' advertising typically meant sales, and occasionally a more tailored consumer response to an advert, for example a follow-up request for information or samples. In other words, advertisers were looking for an observable response. On professionals' own accounts, the sales framework – today known as a modelling approach – created difficult tensions. Sales do not correlate in a linear way to advertising investment; therefore, traders complained that advertising did not work and were reluctant to pay for services. As *GBS* expressed the anxiety, 'You never know how much you owe to it [advertising]' (112).[21] Yet, when clients did pay, they expected measurable results.

Professionals' turn to consumer mind management displaced sales as the paradigm of effectiveness. They suggested that advertising 'worked' and was not a wild guess, but its effects should be analysed in terms of the mind. Creating interest, impressing the brand name on memories, encouraging a structure of feeling in favour of commodities, these became new terms of art for effects. They complicated and extended the space between advert and sale, and therefore also facilitated concepts of creativity for its own sake, which are familiar in contemporary discussions of advertising. Today this is known as a behavioural model, yet long before academics formalized these models, professionals began to develop them.[22]

It is worth emphasizing the non-obvious gap we see here: in the years in which an audit culture was coming into its own and could abstract from persons to calculation on the basis of data, professional advertisers turned from the apparent objectivity of numbers to the complexities of minds. Advertising's effects were repositioned between the rationalist concept of observable sales, which was downplayed but not dismissed, and an enchanted culture of the imagination. Even someone like Thomas Russell, the former advertising manager of the *Times* and founder of the Incorporated Society of Advertisement Consultants (1910), who theorized 'scientific advertising' in terms of sales, accepted that they were not a necessary goal. He recognized the alternative of creating 'some sort of public belief'.[23]

The rise of the non-rational in advertising theory echoed changes in the era's psychology. As Alex Owen explains, the psychologized self of the second half of the nineteenth century marked a break with an earlier Enlightenment legacy focused on the conscious thinking 'I'. The latter – detached from the non-rational spiritual dimension, the soul – was the hallmark of post-Enlightenment culture. In the new psychologized self, theological formulations remained subdued, but the soul was exchanged for a secularized non-rational – the unconscious, as

integral to the process of self-constitution. Investigations of the nature of consciousness, memory, experience and sensation led to an explosion of interest in questions of psychic subjectivity, for which the concept of a single, stable consciousness seemed inadequate. The 'I' was now a fragmented or multiple creature.[24] Publications in applied psychology, including the psychology of advertising, were part of this trend. For example, the American psychologist Walter Dill Scott, among the most influential early writers, described human sense organs as windows of the soul. He maintained that economic behaviour was often based on emotion or sentiments rather than rationality and promoted the application of psychology to problems of business.[25] His articles appeared in the British *Advertising World*, and his *Psychology of Advertising* was published in Britain in 1909.

Of course, some psychological topics appeared to pull towards enchantment more than others. Psychological investigations of paranormal and psychic phenomena were particularly obvious candidates for casting doubt on disenchantment. Hypnotism, too, was ambivalent; it essentially recast the mesmerism of old in a scientific garb and demonstrated the precariousness of consciousness.[26] But even topics at the conventional end, such as memory and attention, could not be rid of notions of transcendence and mystery, which they attempted to rationalize. Ian Hacking, for example, explains psychological studies of memory, which were central to nascent theories of advertising, as efforts to scientize the transcendent category of the soul.[27] New theories of advertising thus resonated with a broader occurrence that concerned itself with the place of enchantment in modern Britain.

Resistant minds

Minds were theorized in advertising literature as resistant things: they failed to pay attention and were hard to persuade. The question for professionals was how to overcome resistance. Wace's advertising philosophy in *GBS* submitted that appeals to reason were useless, for his business was about passion: 'Did they think that people's deeper passions … were going to be stirred by such academic appeals to the mere intellect …? … He hadn't sold Caramels and Cigarettes like that!' (242). Historical professionals, too, moved beyond 'mere intellect'.

The dominant account of consumer psychology in the advertising literature was a dynamic one that theorized attention and persuasion as consecutive stages attained by a mix of rational and non-rational appeals. The sequence was generally in keeping with the hierarchy-of-effects model originally attributed to the American advertising practitioner E. St. Elmo Lewis, known as AIDA: Attention, Interest, Desire, Action.[28]

The model did not assume a direct link between the advertised message and consumer response but rather intermediate steps. In its first, cognitive stage, consumers directed conscious attention to an advert's content. The subsequent stage, desire, was affective, as thinking gave way to emotional responses and the formation of preferences for the brand. Finally, a conative stage included behaviour, such as purchasing or reusing a product. The hierarchy was both temporal and substantive, in the sense that each stage not only followed the previous one but also depended on it. Research has since cast doubt on the validity of think-feel-do models given variations in levels of consumer involvement and the diversity of influences that interact with discrete adverts.[29] The early models deserve attention for the historical efforts they reveal on the part of professionals to theorize a prominent role for consumer agency while they embraced what lay beyond reason. Professionals, wary of critiques like *GBS*'s, insisted on reason's role even as they claimed deeper insight into the non-rational mind. Their efforts to combine the non-rational and rational capacities of the mind implicated various aspects of their theories.

The problem of attention was typically explained in terms of the overloaded modern environment, where every advert competed with a rush of stimuli: '[T]he panorama of daily incidents diverts the mind … [H]appenings increase in number and importance, and the public mind is ever being conducted to a new channel of thought and consideration.'[30] One commentator observed, as Georg Simmel would soon argue, 'Human beings collectively are … not unlike a blasé child.'[31] Some consumers were actively resistant to advertising, professionals explained, and none were ever eager.[32] Professionals therefore theorized how attention could be gained.

Procedures of stimulation and technologies of attraction preoccupied the advertising literature. For example, professionals clamoured to theorize the old common wisdom of 'striking' the eye in the languages of attention management, which gave images a key role. As *Advertising* advised, the love of pictures was a universal human weakness that could be harnessed to profit-making.[33] This was a line of thought that Jonathan Crary describes as the model of the attentive human observer that emerged in the 1880s.[34] There was a troubling tension between induced stimulation and ideals of consumers' free will, but professionals smoothed it by arguing that stimulating the senses supported rational agency. The logic was that arresting attention made consumers more rather than less alert, because matter activated mind: advertising's stimulation of the sensual body was 'like a succession of gentle knocks at the door of popular intelligence'. The goal was to nudge the public to

exercise judgement. It was the 'awakened citizen' who would respond to the 'hypnotic influence' of poster images and exclaim, '[T]he blessed thing is everywhere!'[35] The rational and non-rational thus worked in tandem.

Persuasion was a separate problem, since attentive readers were not yet committed consumers. While professionals classified consumer types such as the British, the female or the colonial consumer with growing nuance, they also treated all of them with the aid of generalized psychological concepts. All consumers were described as more or less responsive to rational and non-rational appeals under circumstances that could be broken down to workable units.[36] Here again, the non-rational became increasingly important, albeit never exclusive.

One recurrent advice of a non-rational ilk was to imprint messages on memories. Professionals liked to quote William Gladstone on iteration. In an 1876 speech, he commented on advertising apropos his complaint that even important publications would not be read if they were not advertised: 'Its power is enormous … It depends wholly on producing an impression upon the public mind by iteration or by constant repetition of the same thing …'[37] The wisdom was to '[k]eep on hammering away at the public, and do it so persistently that they cannot overlook you …'[38] The image of iteration as a hammer was a popular visualization of an otherwise elusive form of control. Towards the turn of the twentieth century, ideas became more sophisticated as psychology was brought into the fold:

> Authorities on what has been called psychology of publicity, a science which examines the operations caused in the public mind by advertising, assert that if a fact is kept constantly and vividly before the world, the world in time grows to accept it, and albeit unconsciously, associates it with certain things and circumstances.[39]

The subliminal appeals of adverts translated into a set of responses: '[T]he person will reason something like this: "Oh, that 'Sypno'" Where did I read about it? I can't remember, but, never mind, they sell it here. I'll try it!'[40] A rhyme book containing brand names demonstrated a similar process, in which the 'child as a factor in advertising' functioned as the agent of iteration:

> [T]he transcendent merits of Diploma Milk are kept well to the fore … [T]he mother is continually hearing the words 'Diploma Milk' prattled in artless innocence by her unsuspecting infant … It is not long – such is the inevitable effect of familiarity – before she says to herself: 'I might as well try a tin …'[41]

Psychological experiments on the effects of repetition by Scott and by the German-American psychologist Hugo Münsterberg gained professional attention in Britain.[42] Even earlier, professionals were flattered to find academic references to their practice, for example in James Sully, whose popular *Outlines of Psychology* explained that single impressions were insufficient because images grew faint in memories. The 1892 edition (but not earlier ones that appeared from 1884) noted advertisements as 'not very interesting' impressions that nonetheless 'manage by their importunity to stamp themselves on the memory'.[43]

Sully was among the pioneers of associationism in Britain, a concept with origins in mental philosophy that was widely discussed by advertising professionals. The theory maintained that knowledge was acquired and ordered through the linking of ideas, so that simple elements combine into complex mental experiences.[44] Professionals applied local understandings of associationism to a variety of cases. For example, the *Advertising World* celebrated a Kodak campaign that associated cameras with 'some absorbing interest present in the minds of those appealed to', like the charm of childhood and the pleasure of holidays.[45] In emergent branding theory, advertisers' work with associationism was akin to a conjuror's method of forcing a card: '[Y]ou have to link a necessity with a nonentity', the latter being an impersonal brand.[46] The concept of business identity was based on associations created by advertising with desirable qualities. As an advertising course manual explained, like a badly dressed person, a badly dressed business covered with sub-standard adverts suggested a suspect identity. By contrast, a 'dignified' advert would make it 'almost impossible to imagine that [the] firm … would … deal in any way dishonestly …'[47] Gordon Selfridge similarly explained that an advert 'should be a reflection of the … personality of the house'.[48] This is what historians have called the *corporate soul*, or as McCarraher describes it, a pecuniary metaphysics of corporate enchantment achieved through advertising animation.[49] Onions narrated it happening in an advertising campaign: '[T]he … Companies had taken upon themselves human, all but personal attributes' (276).

Suggestion was another term of art, concerned with a non-deliberative assimilation of ideas.[50] Images of crowds, for example, were theorized as a suggestion that activated emulative instincts. Cultural heroes short-circuited deliberation by linking elite ideas with consumer products, as the *Advertiser's Weekly* demonstrated in a campaign for a furnishing business. The advertiser quoted personas like Goethe, John Ruskin and William Morris ('Have nothing in your homes that you do not know to be useful and believe to be beautiful'). Suggestion and atmosphere, the author wrote, were key in this appeal to the imagination and call on

spirituality.[51] At the other extreme of suggestion was direct advertising command. The mysterious effect, which one author explained as 'almost "hypnotic" suggestion', overcame the inaction caused by overload and produced mechanical compliance.[52]

As occurred in discussions of attention, so in discussions of persuasion professionals were careful to draw on reason and tie it with their expertise in the non-rational mind. For example, the advertising manager of Colman's Mustard opened an essay on advertising by stating that a remarkable advertiser necessarily 'believes in the outstanding intelligence of the people' and ended by insisting that you had to advertise 'until the very name of the product is unconsciously associated with that of the manufacturer'. Others recommended diversity in adverts so that they appeal first to 'the visual sense, and through that sense to the reason'. One professional, Charles Vernon, saw this as the very definition of advertising: 'an appeal to man's understanding through his senses'. Vernon exalted facts and logic, yet explored their relationship to the unconscious. He was convinced, for example, that 'the Hebrew' had the 'quality of hypnotism or magnetism … in an ordinary form', which allowed him to influence customers' minds. The anti-Semitic trope drove Vernon to recommend turning adverts into magnets. Professionals theorized 'magnetic features' as techniques for focusing restless minds on their rational needs.[53]

Alongside theories of consumer response, professionals discussed diversity in style as a strategy that combined the non-rational with the rational. Rational appeals were commonly viewed as the effect of text, and therefore of press and pamphlet advertising. As one advertising handbook put it, '"All letterpress" advertisements are generally favoured by advertisers having a definite proposition to put before the public, capable of being argued out and proved logically …' Text could also be turned from 'education' to non-rational influence with 'great reiterativness', which some advertisers adopted. Meanwhile, images worked on a subliminal level.[54] Mather & Crowther's agency applied the advice of combining styles in its self-advertising (Fig. 1). The advert identified the role of visual imagery in 'holding the eye' and 'compelling the mind' to consider the argument, and proposed a combination of 'terse' text and good visuals. The vocabulary of power – 'strength', 'hold', 'compel' – and the appeal to a sensual response governed by sight mixed with rational argument. The agency told readers that it had created all the adverts in the picture and could make theirs too. In this way, it performed the sequence it advocated, from holding the eye, to compelling the mind, to presenting a logical argument (experience of success).

Fig. 1: Advertisement for agency services. Practical Advertising 1905–1906, History of Advertising Trust.

The conditions of the market facing advertisers were occasionally used to motivate specific appeals. On a common assumption, when introducing a new product, a rational appeal or 'educational advertising' was required to explain to consumers why they wanted what they did not know. By contrast, in a saturated market, advertisers managed competition with equivalent products. In this case, the goal was branding, and reasons were less important than brand loyalty, which depended on penetrating memories.[55] Some commentators argued conversely. For example, the *Advertisers' Review* quoted the American author Joel Benton, who explained the role of mystery in introducing new things, when the mind was ready for wonder.[56] Either way, the professional was a student of human faith under differing market conditions. The governing question was how to mix appeals. No professional seemed content to leave the non-rational out, just as none would let go of consumer reason.

Magic?

The uncomfortable position between enchantment and rationalism needed careful management in not only the stories told about consumers but equally those about the professionals themselves. Professionals craved the respectability of rational experts, yet openly reintroduced the forbidden element of enchantment, supposedly rejected in capitalism, into the heart of the system. In bringing the non-rational into the fold, they claimed something approaching magical powers; as one aspiring philosopher of advertising put it, '[T]he successful advertiser and the successful conjuror are one and the same.'[57] They had to claim such powers to convince businesses that they could re-present commodities in ways that those who invented and manufactured them could not, could in fact *make* commodities by imbuing things with accelerating movement. *GBS*'s narrator commented that magical powers gave vitality to otherwise evanescent matter, starting with print matter itself: 'Advertisement … of such impermanent stuff is it made that it will turn to decay in your hand unless you find means continually to revivify it' (32).

Historical professionals worried about their close relationship to enchantment and therefore rejected associations with its traditional loci. As one advice book argued, to be considered 'a serious business force', advertising had to disentangle itself from 'quackery, magic, the circus or the theatre'.[58] All concepts of chance, gamble and mystery as the basis of success were vehemently denied.[59] In 1914 the advertising agent E. S. Hole asked, 'What is the essential secret of advertising? … [I]s it, as was said … "white magic"?' How did it lead to 'voluntary purchases of the same known product' and culminate 'in the *habit* of buying and

recommending it … producing … crescendo of demand …'?[60] In a joint treatise with a fellow agent, Hole charged economic theory with the 'Great Omission' of failing to explain the utility of advertising. At first glance, the theme appeared thoroughly disenchanted, as Hole offered an economic account to replace 'white magic'. However, his style was saturated with religious imagery and revealed enchantment lurking close to the surface. In his excited vision, the Twelve Apostles were 'the most successful advertising men of the Christian era', and the Bible was 'the most successfully advertised book of all time'. In the early twentieth century, the apostles were advertising agents, and the disciples were the ranks of *employés*. The power of advertising was 'mighty in its influence upon the destinies of the race'.[61] *GBS*'s move from the church to the advertising agency could not have been nearer the mark.

The 'Great Omission' that Hole condemned began to be rectified only after the war. The first major economist to theorize advertising was Alfred Marshall in his 1919 *Industry and Trade*. His analysis was not all that Hole desired, because Marshall criticized subliminal appeals that bypassed reason in a distinction he made between constructive and combative advertising.[62] Unlike Marshall, Hole and his fellows refused to set apart the rational and non-rational. They realized that the separation led to visions of dangerous enchantment voiced by critics like Carlyle, Wells and Onions. Therefore, just as professionals claimed to engage consumers' logical capacities and non-rational minds together, so they described themselves by combining concepts of science as well as art, with vocabularies of enchantment thrown into the mix.

Science, art and magic on top

Scientific tropes were a broad tent in the quest for rational expertise. They included 'laws' of advertising to be discovered and applied, professional training based on streamlined knowledge, practical experience cast as empirical investigation, and the occasional academic reference. Psychology was identified as a scientific ally. Do not sneer at the word *psychology* as mere theory was one advice: 'When we say a man "knows human nature" … it is only another way of saying that he is a practical psychologist.'[63] Scientific aspirations were also expressed visually in the images of the modern agency, a material environment that enforced a logical process. Rationalization inhered in the specialization of departments and in visions of carefully calculated practice, architecture and movement (Fig. 2).

Timothy de Waal Malefyt argues that divisions in contemporary agencies are essential to magic, which depends on managing tensions between creative and commercial imperatives, or sacred and mundane


Fig. 2: T.B. Browne's agency, checking department and newspaper filing room. Images of straight lines bespoke rational order and calculable movement. William Stead, *The Art of Advertising: Its Theory and Practice Fully Described* (London, 1899), 67, 69.

elements of advertising work.[64] His emphasis on the creative department as the locus of magic helps us see the specificity of early perspectives. They did not locate magic only in functions we would today associate with creatives but rather dispersed it among functions, each of which exhibited superpowers, while all were bound together by the authority of rationality. For example, T. C. Bench's agency marketed its 'essential seven' to clients: the 'idea producer', the 'supplier of scientific facts', the 'finder of weak spots', the 'keenest of keen space buyers', the man '[t]horoughly conversant with every important town in the British Isles', the 'writer of strong appeals' and finally also a woman professional, 'whose experience in appealing to the millions of readers of the *Daily Mail, Daily Graphic and Daily Chronicle* is now concentrated on advertising'.[65]As Brian Moeran comments, the 'motley crew' requires different magicians to negotiate the best way of getting audiences to believe in their efficacy.[66]

There was a fundamental tension between the powers claimed for advertising and the disenchanted image of science; therefore, science was rejected as often as it was invoked. On a common view, expertise in human nature lacked 'hard and fast rules'.[67] Many commentators thought that no protocols could apply to a field in which intuition was pivotal. Stuart Hirst, advertising director of a pharmaceutical company, rejected arguments that advertising was a science with discoverable laws:

> The problem how to make advertising pay, has … produced more grey hairs than any other perplexity of modern commerce. Laws in advertising, notwithstanding all that your young experts in psychology may say, are chiefly conspicuous for their exceptions. Advertising men … are men with a subtle sensitiveness to the public pulse …[68]

He went on to describe the advertising industry as full of 'mental monstrosities'.[69] Professionals in agencies did not share the wild insults, but many resisted the reduction of their expertise to laws. There was no 'exact science'. Advertising was done 'by arts unteachable … by methods inscrutable he must kindle the flame of desire'. As one advertising consultant put it, 'If all were a matter of reason, of logic, of calculation, of experience, then … all … would reap gold. The born advertiser must have insight; he must be endowed with … imagination …' Knowing how to 'rivet the attraction' was a gift.[70]

The dilemma of domain was clearest when professionals discussed the mushrooming schools of advertising, which implied an objectifiable craft. Their rise was necessary for the idea of a profession but appeared too straightforward for experts on minds. In 1911 the Thirty Club, which included leading lights of the industry, addressed schools in a debate titled 'Do Advertising Schools Make for the Good of Advertising?' Most commentators argued that schools were good on technicalities such as type, layout and media but could not teach a man 'who had not got it in him' to become a professional. This view retained an aura of mystery around advertising, which was smoothed with the argument that the same was true of every wise profession.[71]

Many commentators settled the dilemma by representing advertising as both science and art. As one put it, '[S]cience was the door to the temple of High Art.'[72] This perspective resonates with what Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison describe as trained judgement, a view that emerged in the scientific disciplines of the early twentieth century. It supplemented mid-nineteenth-century ideals of objective science that devalued subjectivity, with judgement that brought the interpretive position of the expert to the fore, and in which intuition was key to scientific knowledge. The emergent paradigm, informed by the efflorescence of psychologies of the unconscious, moved away from contrasts between science and art by combining patience and industry with intuitive and instinctual thinking.[73]

The most important and theoretically developed mode in which commentators combined art and science was the idea that facts required expert treatment, which turned them from neutral things into powerful effects on minds. The professional advertiser was described as a sorcerer of facts who made the commodity come to life. A favourite one-liner of postmodern quality put the advertising wisdom succinctly: 'A rose is not a rose, if improperly described.'[74] As Daston and Galison describe the twentieth-century scientific episteme, only the trained eye of the scientist could make objects transcend the silent obscurity of the mechanical form and bring out significant structures from the morass of uninteresting

artefacts and background. To be sure, advertisers' goal was to show uniqueness in the products they represented while scientists sought common patterns in natural objects, but the dialectical relationship between the unusual and the regular meant that problems of representation troubled both.[75]

The 'work of a master' with facts was repeatedly exemplified in the advertising literature. Only a professional could make, say, coffee, yield facts that showed it unlike any other coffee on the market, and only he could find 'unanswerable reasons why … books, calculated to work enthralling charm upon a certain class of people, should be bought'.[76] Onions had Wace similarly explain the sorcery of facts, yet in his hands the magic was aggressive in its apathy to real value: 'There was, for example … Beer. In capable hands, what could not be made of the subject of Beer? … If one thing could be forced on the Public so could another' (242). The starting point for this aggression is Wace's early belief in the reality-making power of mind control:

> [H]e was perpetually haunted by that answer … once given him: 'If you can cod people it's good enough, then it is good enough.' In that answer he already apprehended something of a bed-rock. It never ceased to astonish him … that that simple proposition, far too good to be true, should nevertheless be true. (88)

Wace turns the proposition into a professional undertaking that lacks ethical limits. While his work with facts is sophisticated, his lack of scruples implies that adverts displace products altogether, to the point that brands rule production: '[T]here's no sense in wasting a valuable name for the want of a commodity or two to call by it' (177). As one character puts it, Wace's milieu of professionals 'sucks the virtue out of the commodity and breathes it forth again in mere afflatus of name' (186). Fittingly, contemporary reviewers saw in Onions's advertising agent a 'superman'.[77]

Wace comes to see material things as disturbances: 'the materia of business … so many unimportant and rather cumbersome counters, designed merely to give a stiffening of actuality to … other things that really mattered' (274–5). He eventually falls victim to his own myth that persuasive power needs no ties to material and social constraints. With growing faith in his ability to forge reality out of thin air, he abuses the collegiality of other advertising agents; deceives lovers, friends and investors; and, being seldom good, loses all. Onions thus gave narrative form to contemporary fears about the dangers of professional advertising.

Meanwhile, early professionals' ideas of fact sorcery sought compromises in which they represented themselves not as gods but as servants of products. In their idealized accounts, their powers, while unusual, bolstered rather than displaced realism. They reimagined adverts in terms of ever more careful work with facts, so much so that like microscopic detail unavailable to the naked eye, they would be experienced as a revelation. On this theory, adverts did not displace products by evading their objective qualities, as Onions feared; they worked by expert exposure. Truth itself was seductive in the right hands. Consequently, advertising could be explained ever more openly, in a process that only enhanced its powers: 'In the bad old days the less the public knew about advertising, the more the advertiser profited; now it is all to the advantage of the majority of advertisers that the public should learn as much as possible of their aims and methods.'[78] Much like science, the distinguishing ideal that set professional advertising apart from sorcery was public openness.[79]

Insecurity

Try as they might to reconcile powers over minds with reason, professionals were insecure about their own arguments and never sure how their magic really worked. Recurrent languages of courage, nerve and grit spoke to the vast expanses of the unknown. They were intended for clients and agents, encouraging them all to overcome a wavering resolve. The more commentators tied their cultural capital with the mind, the more courage became a secular version of faith. Vocabularies of force recurred to the point of obsession:

> The showcard should be effective, and so strong; the iron plate should be aggressive; the poster must be striking; but it is particularly in the Newspaper and Magazine advertising that an Agent has an opportunity to introduce force … whether it be in the working, in the illustrations, or in the type, the one essential to success is 'strength'.[80]

The languages were gendered and forthcoming in proportion to the rising emphasis on the non-rational mind, which had a feminine resonance. Despite the modern reference to scientific psychology, concepts of the non-rational, of intuition, feeling, temptation and influence, were associated with femininity. Here, for example, was Eleanor M. Clark, who had been on the advertising staff of the Wanamaker New York-based department store, recasting her sex as the future of advertising for a British audience:

> Temperamentally, a woman is fitted to be an advertiser … [A] woman has more intuition and is a quicker reader of character than a man – two assets more valuable in advertising than in perhaps any other profession. As the subtler sex she can more often get 'right there' with less striving after effect than a man, and as the 'appealing' sex her writing will … carry an appeal which cannot be resisted.[81]

Clark introduced clichéd femininity as a new power in the era of the mind. Professionals also highlighted women's dominance as consumers. Surely, some argued, a woman could appeal to her sisters better than men.[82] These perspectives informed calls for a greater place for women in the male-dominated advertising industry. They were an immediate threat to male power but more profoundly to men's just-emerging expertise, which came under the shadow of conceptual feminization. The continual flow of masculine vocabularies implicitly counteracted the threat.

In 'Advertising: The Magic System', Williams interpreted the languages of force and attack in professionals' discourse as hostility. Like Onions, whose narrator saw forces of commerce 'brandish their weapons at the passer-by' (191), so was Williams terrified. And Onions's narrator went on: 'Of all those who have been called Kings of Advertisement, not one has had the constructive vision' (192). Attack, Williams said, is the structure of feeling in which impact has become the normal description of successful communication. He thought it was monstrous that advances in psychology, sociology and communication were used against people. However, at least in the pre-war years, the majority of writers in the advertising literature were not confrontational in their imagined relationship to consumers. The typical approach treated consumers as forces to be reckoned with, not subjugated or outmanoeuvred. After all, professionals were performing the double task of speaking to clients as advertisers (to the public) but also as consumers (of advertising services) and could not afford suspicion. Instead, vocabularies of aggression compensated for the insecurity of a profession claiming expertise on the elusive concept of the mind, which was encouraging itself and its clients to persevere.

As noted earlier, professional advertisers were in a bind for which psychology offered a way out. Incidentally, this should warn us against treating the process teleologically as a growing impact of psychology on advertising. Pre-1914, the causal relationship was not unidirectional. Practical insight often preceded academic theory, while professionals also drew on a cross-border flow of industrial ideas.[83] Onions himself was

mindful of this process. He prefaced *GBS* with extracts from a 'manual for commercial travellers' created by a US-based cash-register company that operated in Britain. The extracts instructed the salesman how to persuade, telling him to look 'steadily in the eye' of the possible purchaser, dubbed 'P.P.', and watch his face and movements for the right moment to present the order. They originally appeared in the *Times* in 1910, when it reported a lawsuit by a tobacconist who argued that aggressive selling methods led him to sign a contract he did not want.[84] Onions used the extracts to warn against a culturally insensitive transplantation of potent advertising ideas.

But even granted an influence of psychology on advertising, its ambivalent relationship to disenchantment meant that it was not an obvious boon for advertisers, as historians and critics often imply. On a common assumption, it was inevitable that advertisers should adapt psychology to their purposes once it attained a disciplinary status, because the vocabularies of the non-rational simply suited their proclivities, as *GBS* suggested, or were a necessary response to market pressures that required them to create and accelerate consumer demand.[85] However, if natural fit had been the case, the non-rational would not have appeared so late and so uneasily in professional theories. It is also irreducible to the necessary counterpart of economic competition, or else we might have expected to find arguments tailored to specific commodity markets, rather than cast as the new language of advertising expertise in general. Market conditions do carry some explanatory power.[86] However, the industry's embrace of the non-rational was, more importantly, a response to clients' scepticism about professional advertising services, and a way to bypass criticisms that burdened professionals' access to strictly rationalist languages of expertise. By talking about the non-rational mind, professional advertisers persuaded clients to let them talk about their products.[87] They saw that their new claims to expertise threatened the rule of reason, which was risky. They therefore attempted to reconcile their theories of mind with concepts of consumer volition, and their image as market enchanters with rational professionalism.

Conclusion

> [T]he true nature of that commercial power, so elusive, so indispensable, so heart-breaking to have to pay in cash for, yet so ruinous to reject – Advertisement. (Onions, *Good Boy Seldom*, 113)

Advertising professionals would have endorsed Onions's argument that their power was indispensable, claimed that they understood and

controlled its elusive nature, and tried hard to make that conclusion less than heartbreaking. They tried to overcome dismissive views of their field without nourishing the fears that advertising undermined modernity-as-disenchantment. We can see their efforts in nascent theories of advertising that attempted to retain rationalist concepts of consumer volition and professionalism, while bringing the non-rational mind onto the historical stage as the new brand of advertising expertise.

In their theories of contained enchantment, in which the incalculable was confined to minds and in turn described as both explicable and controllable by rational commercial calculation, early advertising professionals laid the foundations of a myth that would become incredibly powerful over the twentieth century, of advertisers as experts of subliminal control in capitalism. Like Onions, twentieth-century critical theories and histories in the Western world did not trust advertisers.[88] Only in recent decades do we find a significant rethinking of the value of enchantment.[89] Despite their oppositional stance, however, critical views actually solidified the central myth that professionals started building. That advertising enchants by design has become a familiar argument. Today, argues Moeran, the creatives of the advertising industry possess magical powers because of the way society regards them as able to accomplish things beyond the power of normal human beings. Those who doubt advertisers' power have had their work cut out for them.[90]

In its most recent version, an avalanche of work on the attention economy repeats the early myth. For example, Tim Wu argues:

> From the 1890s through the 1920s, there arose the first means for harvesting attention on a mass scale and directing it for commercial effect … [A]dvertising was the conversion engine that, with astonishing efficiency, turned the cash crop of attention into an industrial commodity.[91]

Professionals certainly tried, but mostly out of a sense that attention was becoming ever more elusive, that persuasion was uncertain, and against an urgent need to provide a resonant account of a nascent industry. While the efficiency of advertising remains contested, the myth that advertising experts could enchant to rational ends was certainly efficient. In the mythical form of a unidirectional force deployed by experts on minds, enchantment was enlisted to give advertising meaning and reason and, perhaps most crucially for the industry's early actors, a powerful cultural role.

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Notes

1. Oliver Onions, *Good Boy Seldom: A Romance of Advertisement* (London: Methuen, 1911). Subsequent cites are given parenthetically in the text.
2. On the relation of enchantment to the psychology of the non-rational, see introduction and discussion in text by notes 24–7. On enchanting effects, see also note 17. For differing approaches to enchantment, see readings and memos produced for the Network on Enchantment in the History of Capitalism, co-organized by Astrid Van den Bossche and the author: https://economic-enchantments.net.
3. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (1958; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), p. 170.
4. On the vogue, see Albert O. Hirschman, *The Essential Hirschman*, Jeremy Adelman (ed.) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 209. As historians have shown in recent decades, these spheres of enchantment included avant-garde spiritualist movements, fringe magic, fantasy fiction and popular entertainment. The literature is expansive, for example, Joshua Landy and Michael Saler (eds), *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael T. Saler, *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Prehistory of Virtual Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Jeremy Patrick, *Faith or Fraud: Fortune-Telling, Spirituality, and the Law* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2020); and Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). On discomfort with enchantment, see, for example, Daniel Pick, *Svengali's Web: The Alien Enchanter in Modern Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); and Peter Melville Logan, *Victorian Fetishism: Intellectuals and Primitives* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009).
5. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Terry Castle, 'Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie', *Critical Inquiry*, 15:1 (1988), pp. 26–61; and William R. Woodward and Mitchell G. Ash, *The Problematic Science: Psychology in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (New York: Praeger, 1982). See further discussion of psychology below.
6. As Rachel Bowlby observes regarding the rise of consumer capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was a double enterprise of rationalization alongside the association of commerce with values opposed to mundane actualities: fantasy, pleasure, divertissement. Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York: Methuen, 1985). On the expectation that capitalism would be a disenchanting force, particularly in Max Weber, see Eugene McCarraher, *The Enchantments of Mammon: How Capitalism Became the Religion of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019). Weber's most famous expression of the thesis of disenchantment was his 1917 lecture 'Science as a Vocation'. See Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds and transl.) (London: Routledge, 1946). For a discussion of its appearance in his earlier work, see Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, 'Disenchantment and Secularization: Narratives and Counter-Narratives', in Robert A. Yelle and Lorenz Trein (eds), *Narratives of Disenchantment and Secularization: Critiquing Max Weber's Idea* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). Jason Josephson-Storm argues that the

Scottish folklorist and classicist James George Frazer penned a disenchantment thesis in the 1890s and that Weber drew on Frazer's work, yet stripped it of complexities that suggested the survival or re-emergence of magic. Jason Ānanda Josephson-Storm, *The Myth of Disenchantment: Magic, Modernity, and the Birth of the Human Sciences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), ch. 5.

7. Historians have traced theological roots for both producer and consumer drives, and have demonstrated ongoing efforts in Britain to reconcile capitalism with religious world views. On theological roots, and particularly the decline of evangelical influence on economic thought after mid-century, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988). On differing Christian approaches to capitalism and efforts to reconcile it with religion also after mid-century, see G. R. Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). On consumerism and theology, see Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); and Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
8. The coexistence of enchantment and disenchantment in modernity has been theorized as *disenchanted enchantment*, but the term carries varied implications. As used by Michael T. Saler in *As If*, it implies keeping illusions at work without compromising a sense of disenchanted reality. This sense does not exhaust the meaning of *enchantment* used here because the non-rational in advertising was entangled with mundane and practical realities. As used in George Ritzer, *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 2005), *disenchanted enchantment* refers to rationally planned manipulations. It aligns with the efforts of professional advertisers to claim rational mastery over enchantment, but at the same time they resisted accusations that this mastery was distortive and extortive.
9. Raymond Williams, 'Advertising: The Magic System', in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), pp. 170–95.
10. For additional discussion, see Anat Rosenberg, *The Rise of Mass Advertising: Law, Enchantment, and the Cultural Boundaries of British Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). On early modern advertising in Britain, see Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982); John Styles, 'Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1994); and Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 'Selling Consumption in the Eighteenth Century: Advertising and the Trade Card in Britain and France', *Cultural and Social History*, 4:2 (2007), pp. 145–70. For accounts of trends before and after the mid-nineteenth century, see Terry R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London, 1982); Blanche B. Elliott, *A History of English Advertising* (London: Heinemann, 1982); E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (1952; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2012); Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (1929; New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); and reviews in Roy Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 53:4 (2000), pp. 621–45; Richard A. Hawkins, 'Marketing History in Britain from the Ancient to Internet Eras', in Brian Jones and Mark Tadajewski (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Marketing History* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 315–31; and Fred K. Beard, 'A History of Advertising and Sales Promotion', in Jones and Tadajewski, *Routledge Companion to Marketing History*, pp. 203–24.

11. For a detailed discussion, see Rosenberg, *Rise of Mass Advertising*.
12. McCarraher draws on William Cavanaugh to describe the reorientation of devotion in capitalism as a 'migration of the holy'. McCarraher, *Enchantments of Mammon*, p. 13.
13. Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (Project Gutenberg, 2004), bk 3, ch. 1, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13534.
14. E.g. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), ch. 11; Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), ch. 4; Elizabeth Outka, *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 4; McCarraher, *Enchantments of Mammon*, ch. 10; and Michael L. Ross, *Designing Fictions: Literature Confronts Advertising* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), ch. 2.
15. E.g. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception', in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947; Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 94–136; F. R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, *Culture and Environment: The Training of Critical Awareness* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959); Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers (transl.) (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972); Williams, 'Advertising'; Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit, MI: Black & Red, 1983); Wolfgang Fritz Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics: Appearance, Sexuality and Advertising in Capitalist Society*, Robert Bock (transl.) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986); Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage, 1998); Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (London: Ig Publishing, 1957); Galbraith, *Affluent Society*; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976); Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978); and Ritzer, *Enchanting a Disenchanted World*.
16. Roland Barthes, 'The Advertising Message', in *The Semiotic Challenge*, Richard Howard (transl.) (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); and Barthes, *Mythologies*. See also Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*.
17. Carlyle, noted above, was one example of early commentary. An examination of enchanting techniques and effects is beyond the scope of this article, but generally, symbolic meanings in the era's advertising, which speak to some of its effects beyond rationalist frameworks, have been studied in various contexts, including nationalism, class, race, gender, imperialism and modern subjectivity. For example Lori A. Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Brian Lewis, *So Clean: Lord Leverhulme, Soap and Civilisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); Paul Jobling, *Man Appeal: Advertising, Modernism and Menswear* (Oxford: Berg, 2005); John Strachan and Claire Nally, *Advertising, Literature, and Print Culture in Ireland, 1891–1922* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); and Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017). For studies of social reading, see Jennifer Wicke, *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement and Social Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); and Sara Thornton, *Advertising, Subjectivity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Dickens, Balzac and the Language of the Walls* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009). For a historiographical discussion of change in advertising's class reach during the nineteenth century, which speaks to its expanding impact, see Victoria Kelley, *Soap*

and Water: Cleanliness, Dirt and the Working Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), ch. 3. For a discussion of the middle class, see Loeb, *Consuming Angels*. For an application of Guy Debord's spectacle to late Victorian advertising for the middle classes, see Richards, *Commodity Culture*. For print culture's enchanting effects more generally, see Susan Zieger, *The Mediated Mind: Affect, Ephemera, and Consumerism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Fordham University Press, 2018). For a study of some of these themes in American advertising of the same period, see Lears, *Fables of Abundance*. His argument about enchantment's decline with the rise of corporate managerialism has been challenged by McCarraher, *Enchantments of Mammon*.

18. For the industry's development, see, for example, Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*.
19. Liz McFall, *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004). On developments, see Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'What was Advertising? The Invention, Rise, Demise, and Disappearance of Advertising Concepts in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Europe and America', Business History Conference, 2009, https://thebhc.org/sites/default/files/schwarzkopf.pdf. The interwar and later uses of psychology in advertising have been studied by historians, and contributed to a narrative that sees pre-war advertising as the prehistory of sophisticated persuasion. See Williams, 'Advertising'; see also Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising History: Methodological and Theoretical Challenges in the Post Advertising Age', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 3:4 (2011), pp. 528–48. In the context of branding, Schwarzkopf argues that its beginning, usually a post-First World War story, was earlier and located in the practices of leading agencies. This article shows not only an earlier practice but also an earlier conceptualization that focused on consumer minds as the loci of brands. Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Turning Trademarks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Practiced and Conceptualized Branding, 1890–1930', in Teresa da Silva Lopes and Paul Duguid (eds), *Trademarks, Brands and Competitiveness* (New York: Routledge, 2010). See also Jobling, *Man Appeal*, ch. 1.
20. Henry Sell, *The Philosophy of Advertising* (London: Sell's Advertising Office, 1882), p. vi; *Advertising World*, London (*AW*), September 1912, p. 259, History of Advertising Trust (HAT); and *Advertising*, London, October 1899, p. 9, HAT.
21. As Mica Nava notes regarding the late twentieth century, investigations have demonstrated remarkably little correlation between sales and investment in advertising. Mica Nava, 'Framing Advertising: Cultural Analysis and the Incrimination of Visual Texts', in Mica Nava (eds), *Buy this Book: Studies in Advertising and Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 34–50.
22. For a review of the modelling and behavioural approaches, see Bob M. Fennis and Wolfgang Stroebe, *The Psychology of Advertising* (New York: Psychology Press, 2010), ch. 1.
23. *AW*, May 1911, pp. 537–9; and *AW*, October 1911, p. 420. Russell remained more comfortable than other commentators with letting clients define the goal of their adverts rather than reframing it for them, but like others he was advocating the concept of entire campaign policy.
24. Owen, *Place of Enchantment*, pp. 115–20. In addition to histories noted in the text, I have found the following helpful: Leslie Spencer Hearnshaw, *A Short History of British Psychology, 1840–1940* (London: Methuen, 1964); Kurt Danziger, *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Iwan Rhys Morus

and Peter J. Bowler, *Making Modern Science: A Historical Survey* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Duane P. Schultz and Sydney Ellen Schultz, *A History of Modern Psychology*, 10th edn (Belmot, CA: Wadsworth, 2011); and David B. Baker (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Psychology Online: Global Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

25. Walter Dill Scott, *The Theory of Advertising* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1904); Walter A. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); and Schultz and Schultz, *History of Modern Psychology*, ch. 8.
26. Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 65–71.
27. Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
28. Lewis provided the blueprint for the majority of sales books in 1910s and 1920s America. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman*, p. 158.
29. Fennis and Stroebe, *Psychology of Advertising*, ch. 1; Michael Schudson, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society* (London: Routledge, 1993); and Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods'.
30. *Profitable Advertising*, London, September 1901, p. 47, British Library.
31. *Advertising*, March 1898, p. 259; and Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in Richard Sennett (ed.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. 47–60.
32. *AW*, January 1914, pp. 106–8.
33. *Advertising*, May 1895, front page.
34. Crary, *Suspensions of Perception*, ch. 1.
35. *Advertising*, March 1898, p. 259; *AW*, October 1902, p. 295; *Advertising*, July 1898, pp. 484–6; and Cyril Sheldon, *Billposting* (Leeds: Sheldon Limited, 1910), pp. 8–10.
36. Incidentally, this approach could mystify social divisions and serve the positionality of professionals and of advertising as trans-social. On the unstable political valence of psychology itself, see Erik Linstrum, *Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).
37. William Gladstone, speech before Society for Aiding Distressed Persons, *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 24 April 1876, p. 8. When Gladstone started his second premiership, his statements became adverts for advertising. See, for example, *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 27 September 1881, p. 2. For a repetition of his statements, see, for example, *The Advertiser's Guide to Publicity: A Practical Treatise on the Principles of Successful Advertising*, 2nd edn (Birmingham: Moody's Printing Company, 1887), p. 16.
38. *Profitable Advertising*, May 1903, p. 45.
39. *Practical Advertising*, London, 1905–6, p. 20, HAT.
40. *AW*, June 1911, p. 677.
41. *AW*, June 1912, pp. 659–60.
42. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 3 May 1913, p. 84, British Library.
43. James Sully, *Outlines of Psychology, with Special Reference to the Theory of Education* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892), p. 190, noted in Clarence Moran, *The Business of Advertising* (London: Methuen & Co, 1905), pp. 10–11.
44. Schultz and Schultz, *History of Modern Psychology*, ch. 2; and Alan F. Collins, 'England', in Baker, *Oxford Handbook of the History of Psychology Online*.
45. *AW*, August 1911, pp. 139–41.
46. Clarence Rook, *Advertising News*, 26 August 1904, p. 26, British Library.

47. Thomas Dixon, *The Advertising Course of the Dixon Institute* (London: The Dixon's Institute of Salesmanship and Advertising, 1909), John Johnson Collection, Publicity box 4, p. 19, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Dixon ran an agency and opened an advertising school which was originally a branch of the Chicago Page-Davis school of advertising instruction.
48. *AW*, February 1911, p. 132.
49. McCarraher, *Enchantments of Mammon*, ch. 10.
50. On the concept's broad cultural scope, see Pick, *Svengali's Web*, ch. 4.
51. *Advertiser's Weekly*, 19 April 1913, p. 9.
52. *Progressive Advertising*, May 1903, p. 24, British Library.
53. R. C. Carmichael, 'Methods and Moments for Advertising', in H. Simonis (ed.), *Success in Advertising* (London: Morning Leader, 1908), pp. 29–37 (34); C. Manners Smith, "Principles in Advertising," *Advertising*, March 1898, p. 258; *Profitable Advertising*, July 1900, p. 132; Charles Vernon, *Profitable Advertising*, September 1900, p. 54; and *Advertisers' Review*, 5 December 1903, pp. 8–9, British Library.
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55. Sheldon, *Billposting*, pp. 8–10.
56. *Advertisers' Review*, 6 September 1902, p. 11.
57. Rook, *Advertising News*, 26 August 1904, p. 26.
58. George Edgar, *Twelve Months Advertising for a Jeweller* (London: Carlton Service, 1910), p. 14.
59. E.g. *Profitable Advertising*, June 1902, front page; Philip Smith, *Successful Advertising: Its Secrets Explained*, 24th edn (Birmingham: Moody's Printing Company, 1909), pp. 13–14; and *Advertising*, June 1900, p. 450.
60. E. S. Hole, *Advertising and Progress: A Defence by E.S. Hole and a Challenge by John Hart* (London: Review of Reviews, 1914), pp. 161–3 (emphasis in the original).
61. Ibid. pp. 27, 37–47, 179–80.
62. Alfred Marshall, *Industry and Trade*, 2nd edn (London, Macmillan and Co., 1920). On economists ignoring advertising, see Denys Thompson, *Voice of Civilisation: An Enquiry into Advertising* (London: Frederick Muller, 1943), p. 31.
63. International Correspondence Schools, *Advertisers' Pocketbook* (London: International Correspondence Schools, 1913), pp. 8–9.
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65. *AW*, February 1914, p. 249.
66. Brian Moeran, 'Business, Anthropology, and Magical Systems: The Case of Advertising', *Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference*, 2014:1 (2014), pp. 119–32.
67. *Advertising*, October 1899, p. 650.
68. Stuart A. Hirst, 'The Art of Understanding the Public', in Simonis, *Success in Advertising*, pp. 37–46 (40).
69. Ibid. p. 43.
70. *Profitable Advertising*, May 1901, front page; *Practical Advertising*, 1909, p. 12; W. Teignmouth Shore, 'The Craft of the Advertiser', *Fortnightly Review*, 81 (1907), p. 302; and Ernest A. Spiers, *The Art of Publicity* (London: Unwin, 1910), p. 18.
71. *AW*, November 1911, pp. 644–8.

72. Ibid. p. 649.
73. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Book, 2007), ch. 6.
74. *Advertising*, June 1900, front page.
75. Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p. 328. On realism and representation in advertising and the era's aestheticism, see Rachel Bowlby, *Shopping with Freud* (London: Routledge, 1993), ch. 1.
76. *Practical Advertising*, 1905–6, p. 18; and *Practical Advertising*, 1906–7, p. 12.
77. *Bookman*, December 1911, p. 170; and *Saturday Review*, 28 October 1911.
78. *AW*, January 1914, p. 16.
79. On openness in psychology-as-science, see Danziger, *Constructing the Subject*, p. 27.
80. Hole, *Advertising and Progress*, pp. 36–7.
81. *AW*, January 1914, pp. 116–18.
82. Florence A. Degen, 'The Industrial Emancipation of Woman', *AW*, January 1909, pp. 220–22. Historiographical studies of women's construction as consumers abound, for example Bowlby, *Just Looking*; Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Anat Rosenberg, 'Rational Households: Consumption between Love and Hate', *Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law*, 19:3 (2018), pp. 499–531.
83. For a similar finding in the United States, see Merle Curti, 'The Changing Concept of "Human Nature" in the Literature of American Advertising', *Business History Review*, 41:4 (1967), pp. 335–57. For psychology's dependence on marketing more generally, see Bowlby, *Shopping with Freud*.
84. 'Cash Registers', *Times*, 7 December 1910, p. 3.
85. For example, Erika Rappaport points to surplus production handled by creating more consumers, rather than new uses for products. Rappaport, *Thirst for Empire*, p. 39. As a general explanation for the rise of mass national and international advertising, the argument about surplus goods is contested. For a critique of the argument in Nevett's *Advertising in Britain* and Richards's *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, see Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods'. Historians also point to pressures on advertising to serve the oligopolistic market that emerged after two decades of depression from the mid-1870s, which was dominated by large firms reliant on branding. For a discussion, see Peter Gurney, *The Making of Consumer Culture in Modern Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), ch. 4; and Williams, 'Advertising'. Advertisers themselves spoke to the competitive interest of manufacturers to differentiate their products and to compel retailers to stock their brands. E. g. *AW*, April 1911, p. 389. On the novel need to force demand for a higher standard of living in the twentieth century as opposed to earlier periods, see Thompson, *Voice of Civilisation*, ch. 3. For accounts of psychology as a ready opportunity for advertisers elsewhere, see for example, Marjorie A. Beale, *The Modernist Enterprise: French Elites and the Threat of Modernity, 1900–1940* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), ch. 1 (France); and Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman* (the United States).
86. As professionals acknowledged; see discussion in text by endnotes 55–6.
87. In his study of American advertising in the 1920s, Stuart Ewen describes it as an attempted change in the psychic economy, which could be achieved only if advertisers began to talk about readers rather than products. In pre-war Britain the converse process occurred: a change in the psychic economy followed from efforts by professionals to be allowed to talk about products. Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness*.

88. See endnote 15.
89. E.g. Campbell, *Romantic Ethic*; Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); David Morgan, *Images at Work: The Material Culture of Enchantment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); and William Mazzarella, *The Mana of Mass Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
90. Michael Schudson's book was among the better-known efforts to debunk the myth as he argued that advertisers were stabbing in the dark much more than they were practising precision microsurgery on the public consciousness. Instead of marketing effects, he analysed advertising as a cultural force preaching, without consistent success, individualist consumer values. Schudson, *Advertising*.
91. Tim Wu, *The Attention Merchants: The Epic Struggle to Get inside our Heads* (London: Atlantic Books, 2017), pt. 1.

Your short guide to the EUP Journals Blog http://euppublishingblog.com/

A forum for discussions relating to Edinburgh University Press Journals

1. The primary goal of the EUP Journals Blog

To aid discovery of authors, articles, research, multimedia and reviews published in Journals, and as a consequence contribute to increasing traffic, usage and citations of journal content.

2. Audience

Blog posts are written for an educated, popular and academic audience within EUP Journals' publishing fields.

3. Content criteria - your ideas for posts

We prioritize posts that will feature highly in search rankings, that are shareable and that will drive readers to your article on the EUP site.

4. Word count, style, and formatting

- Flexible length, however typical posts range 70-600 words.
- Related images and media files are encouraged.
- No heavy restrictions to the style or format of the post, but it should best reflect the content and topic discussed.

5. Linking policy

- Links to external blogs and websites that are related to the author, subject matter and to EUP publishing fields are encouraged, e.g.to related blog posts

6. Submit your post

Submit to ruth.allison@eup.ed.ac.uk

If you'd like to be a regular contributor, then we can set you up as an author so you can create, edit, publish, and delete your *own* posts, as well as upload files and images.

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- A photo/headshot image of the author(s) if possible.
- Any relevant, thematic images or accompanying media (podcasts, video, graphics and photographs), provided copyright and permission to republish has been obtained.
- Files should be high resolution and a maximum of 1GB
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