

‘HEE-HAW . . . LLELUJAH’: HANDEL AMONG THE VAUXHALL ASSES (1732)

ILIAS CHRISSOCHOIDIS



ABSTRACT

The discovery of a satirical list from 1732 helps us revisit Handel's affairs during the early 1730s. Placing the composer among elite guests at the opening night of Vauxhall Gardens in 1732, the new document predates his known links with the venue by six years, offers a rare description of him as subservient to John James Heidegger and possibly alludes to his medical condition prior to 1737. It also invites an exploration of hidden affinities between English oratorio and John Henley's much-abused Oratory, including a hypothesis about the strictures applied to Esther by the Bishop of London. Much more important, it helps launch a re-examination of Handel's role in the 'Second Academy' as a court composer in an entrepreneurial milieu.

It is hard to find a Georgian English composer listed with the kingdom's political and social elites. Except for George Frideric Handel, of course, whose rise from fashionable artist to theatrical entrepreneur and cultural Messiah changed music's social position in unpredictable ways.¹ From the exceptional commissioning of the

This essay was born at Harvard's Houghton Library, began to grow teeth at the Folger Shakespeare Library and came of age at the Huntington, in San Marino, California. My scholarly Grand Tour of 2007 was made possible through generous fellowships and solid administrative support from all three institutions. I wish to thank by name William Stoneman, Monique Duhaime, Susan Halpert and James Capobianco; Carol Brobeck and Heather Wolfe; Mary Robertson, Stephen Tabor, Carolyn Powell and Susi Krasnoo. Lowell Lindgren got me started with a cheerful 'go for it', David Coke offered valuable comments on an early version of the essay, and so did Ellen T. Harris, who more than anyone else has sustained my belief in the usefulness of my Handel research. Substantial feedback from three anonymous readers helped improve the structure and tone of the essay, and Dean Sutcliffe granted me both time and freedom to revise things as needed, while graciously coping with my poor antipodal humour. At Stanford I remain grateful to Karol Berger and Tom Grey for my post-doctoral survival, and to Eleanor Selfridge-Field, Craig Sapp and the Center for Computer-Assisted Research in the Humanities for academic hospitality, technical advice and much-needed friendship. Stanford's Continuing Studies Program and Sarah Hope Ames deserve substantial credit for my financial ability to continue advanced research on Handel these past few years. In Britain, finally, I am particularly thankful to John Irving for an Associateship at the Institute of Musical Research, University of London, and to the Gerald Coke Handel Collection librarians Katharine Hogg and Colin Coleman for their warm reception and expert assistance. Above all, my gratitude goes to Steffen Huck, *deus ex Londinium*, who granted me the one-in-a-lifetime opportunity to interact with world-class economists at University College London and benefit from Bloomsbury's unparalleled academic resources.

- 1 Messianic views of Handel can be found as early as in Daniel Prat's *An Ode to Mr Handel, on his Playing on the Organ* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1722). Aaron Hill and the James Harris circle aspired to turn him into the saviour of English music drama (see *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq; in Four Volumes* (London: printed for the benefit of the family, 1753), volume 1, 115–116). His *Messiah* alone saved countless individuals, prompting Burney's comment 'it has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, fostered the orphan, and enriched succeeding managers of Oratorios, more than any single musical production in this or any country' (Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon . . . in Commemoration of Handel* (London: for the Benefit of the Musical Fund, 1785), 27). On the composer's intellectual impact see Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Handel's Reception and the Rise of Music



1727 Coronation anthems onwards,² Handel trod a risky yet consistent path that extricated him from the company of his fellow musicians. Behind the confidence of doubling admission prices for *Deborah* (1733), the self-aggrandizing in the score of *Alexander's Feast* and (possibly) the Vauxhall Gardens statue (1738), the refusal to join Lord Middlesex's opera company (1743) and, not least, the disregard for other composers³ lies Handel's ambition to create a unique social space, one which blends the rewards of a living celebrity with the glory of a fallen hero.⁴ That such a daring vision, one that Handel's friends and supporters also shared,⁵ came true is astonishing. Indeed, Handel's self-awareness is a milestone in the social history of music.

We already know that from the 1720s on Handel is regularly listed as composer of the Chapel Royal and music master to the Royal Princesses.⁶ A hitherto obscure document, however, places him in a new setting, exactly when his social ambitions were taking off. A *Collection of several choice, fine, finnickig, strange, wonderful, surprizing and astonishing Jack-Asses, She-Asses and Owls, which have of late weekly been seen, and pised upon by a certain Fox at Vaux-hall* (Figure 1) is a broadside (32 × 19 cm) featuring a two-column list of eminent persons, each labelled as an ass or an owl marked by physical, social and moral characteristics. It survives in a single copy at the Huntington Library, bound together with other printed and manuscript

Historiography in Britain', in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), 387–396.

- 2 See Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the 1727 Coronation', *The Musical Times* 118 (June 1977), 469–473.
- 3 'Indeed, he had a thorough contempt for all our composers at this time' (Burney, *Commemoration*, 33n (continues from 32)). Britain's most venerable master was not spared: 'Mr. Handel made no secret of declaring himself totally insensible to the excellences of Purcell's compositions' (John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne, 1776), volume 2, 105n). The anecdote of Handel clandestinely savouring burgundy while serving port to his dinner guests takes on new meaning when we consider that these guests were performers of his oratorios (Burney, *Commemoration*, 32n). His heavy indebtedness to Italian masters, recognized already in the eighteenth century, does not necessarily qualify as artistic appreciation of their work.
- 4 Madame du Bocage's description of an oratorio performance in 1750 confirms that Handel was both its physical and its artistic centre; see *Letters concerning England, Holland and Italy* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1770), volume 1, 14–15. In private life Handel appears to have contemplated marriage only with high-society females, at the same time refusing to sacrifice his musical career ([William Coxe,] *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel, and John Christopher Smith* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1799), 28–29). William Hayes extolled his social activism in these words: 'let Infants . . . chaunt forth his Praise, whose annual [Foundling Hospital benefit], will render HIM and his MESSIAH, truly Immortal and crowned with Glory' (*Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753), 130). Handel took care of his posthumous reputation, reserving no less than £600 for a commemorative statue at Westminster Abbey and leaving his music library to John Christopher Smith, Jr, a key decision for the survival of his Covent Garden oratorio series (*The Letters and Writings of George Frideric Handel*, ed. Erich H. Müller (London: Cassell, 1935), 63, 73–74; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), 691, 814; *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary*, ed. Donald Burrows (London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2009), 35, 53–54). The moulding of Handel's national image by visual means is examined in Suzanne Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone": The Composer as Monument', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55/1 (2002), 39–90.
- 5 'so great a man . . . who's musick will ever be in esteem'. *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732–1780*, ed. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 207.
- 6 Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 608; Richard G. King, 'On Princess Anne's Lessons with Handel', *Newsletter of the American Handel Society* 7/2 (1992), 4. For a thorough examination of the topic see David Hunter, 'Royal Patronage of Handel in Britain: The Rewards of Pensions and Office', in *Handel Studies: A Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer*, ed. Richard G. King (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 2009), 127–153. Handel's appointments are frequently listed in John Chamberlayne's annual editions of *Magnae Britanniae Notitia: or, The Present State of Great Britain* (for instance, in 1727 (part 2, 59) and 1728 (part 2, 267)), and mark the beginning of his regular investment activity (see Ellen T. Harris, 'Courting Gentility: Handel at the Bank of England', forthcoming in *Music & Letters* 91/3 (2010). I am obliged to Professor Harris for granting me advance access to her essay).



ephemera attributed chiefly to Jonathan Swift and his circle.⁷ Its uniqueness, satirical content and reference to the popular Vauxhall Gardens make it an intriguing addition to Handel documentation.

In this article I extract from the new source the maximum information on Handel, first by identifying the cryptic names in the list and then by probing their known or potential links with the composer. While satirical statements do not constitute facts and can be entirely fictional, they typically contain an element of truth (satire being an attack on 'wickedness or folly'⁸). Joseph Goupy's famous caricature does not prove Handel to have been a hog, nor should the *Scandalizade's* reference to the composer's waistline as 'Three Yards, at the least' be taken literally.⁹ Both allude, however, to his gluttony, a fact attested to by reliable witnesses. Upon this basis, and lacking counter-evidence, I regard the *Collection* as reality stretched or distorted rather than a figment of someone's imagination.

If walking a tightrope on the edge of factual and potential reality can be risky, it also expands the historiographical matrix, heightens intellectual tension, may yield surprising insights and can disclose obscure intersections. Needless to say, the validity of this approach can be assessed only retrospectively and according to the fruits it bears. As in previous essays on Handel, I aspire towards an organic discourse whose 'parts' may or may not be causally related, yet they all emerge from a common source: not a question hatched in terms of a certain school of thought or methodological practice, but the undisputed reality of a new document and its power to unsettle existing views. A growing tree of life rather than a tight chain of reasoning is my objective. Without the linearity provided by a single argument, the reader will have to reach the end before the rich cultural tapestry of Handel's England appears in all its splendour and with its full weight of contradictions.

ID, PLEASE

Nothing seems to be known about the *Collection* itself, and a cursory view of its content will only puzzle the reader. Following satirical etiquette, the names appear with ellipses to protect the author from libel but with sufficient provision of letters to allow (variable spelling notwithstanding) for a good guess about their owners (see Table 1). Generic initials like 'D', 'L' and 'S' readily invoke titles (Duke, Lord, Sir). Students of early Georgian England will have no problem recognizing the names of Sir Robert Walpole ('S. R. W-*l*') and his brother Horatio ('H. W-*p-l*'), George Dodington ('D--*dd--ton*'), William Pulteney ('P--*t--y*') and Sir William Young or Yonge ('Sir. W. Y-*eg*'). Identification is possible in a few cases thanks to a person's rare

7 Huntington Library, shelfmark 143253. The leather-bound volume (spine title: 'BROADSIDES BY SWIFT AND OTHERS') was described as early as 1849 by W. R. Wilde in *The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1849), 154, 164–181, though he says nothing about this document. It passed through several hands before Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge auctioned it on 9 May 1900 as 'A UNIQUE COLLECTION consisting of 16 SATIRICAL PIECES IN MS. SAID TO BE IN SWIFT'S AUTOGRAPH, and 62 Broad-sides by Swift and others printed at Dublin, many bearing dates, WITH MS. NOTES giving Authorship, Names, Places and other particulars, APPARENTLY IN SWIFT'S HAND'. At the Huntington's collections since at least 1929, it includes sets of forty and forty-four folios, each preceded by a manuscript table of contents. The numbers in pencil on the upper right corner of each recto designate the order of items in each set. A parallel numbering (continuing that of the first set) appears in the lower left corner of the second set, which indicates its addition to the first. The chronological range of the earlier is 1716–1725, with the majority of the items printed in 1724–1725; the second covers the period 1727–1734. The volume's content varies from poems to theatrical prologues, two issues of *The Flying-Post; Or, Post-Master* 5627 (Tuesday, 13 May 1729) and *George Faulkner. The Dublin Journal* 873 (Saturday, 10 – Tuesday, 13 August 1734).

8 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. Knapton and others, 1755), volume 2, page heading 'SAT–SAT'.

9 'The Charming Brute' (London, 1754), engraving once attributed to Hogarth; Porcupinus Pelagius [Morgan McNamara], *The Scandalizade: A Panegyri-Satiri-Serio-Comi-Dramatic Poem* (London: G. Smith, 1750), 27. For Goupy's caricature see Ellen T. Harris, 'Joseph Goupy and George Frideric Handel: From Professional Triumphs to Personal Estrangement', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71/3 (2008), 432–434, and Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Handel, Hogarth, Goupy: Artistic Intersections in Handelian Biography', *Early Music* 37/4 (2009), 581–591.

A

COLLECTION

Of several choice, fine, finnickig, strange, wonderful, surprizing and astonishing

Jack-ASSES, She-ASSES and OWLS,

Which have of late weekly been seen, and pissed upon by a certain Fox at Vaux-hall.

A Prudent and Wife Ass,	<i>P. W-</i>	One Skeleton Ass,	<i>C. H-g-et.</i>
A learned and virtuous Ass,	ditto	One drolling Ass,	<i>Mr. H-d.</i>
A modest and barren Ass,	<i>M. V--</i>	One Confessing Ass,	<i>L. B-i.</i>
A Miraculous Ass,	<i>S. R. W-l.</i>	One She-Ass like a Bawd at Prayers,	<i>D. L--s.</i>
A Seven headed Ass,	ditto	One Ass covered with Parliament Colours	} <i>Sir C--b.</i>
A chaste, a naked and innocent Ass,	<i>L. G--ge.</i>	and Standards,	
An Ass bringing forth Mountains,	<i>S. W. L-f-n</i>	One Weather-Cock Ass,	<i>Paulo.</i>
An Ass with an Head unfinished,	<i>L. T--</i>	One prodigal Ass turn'd Penitent,	<i>B-f-n.</i>
A mystical Ass,	<i>B----tle.</i>	One <i>Virgilean</i> and Venerable Ass,	<i>J C--y.</i>
A Ruby Faced Ass,	<i>C--ker.</i>	One <i>Durfsyan</i> or Poetical Ass,	Ditto.
A Valliant Ass,	<i>D. B----</i>	One Ass bearing the Resemblance of the	} <i>L. Sh----;</i>
A long headed Ass,	<i>Sh--p-n.</i>	Battle between Death and Time,	
A Fighting Ass,	<i>Ad. Ca--sb.</i>	Two Asses, <i>Diana</i> and <i>Alton</i> ,	<i>E. G--m.</i>
A Winter, a Spring, a Summer and an		One florid and rhetorical Ass,	<i>L. Ebl--ge.</i>
Autumn Ass,	<i>Winej ou.</i>	One learned <i>Æsculapean</i> Ass,	<i>Sir H. S--n.</i>
The still and quiet Ass,	<i>D--dd--ton.</i>	One learned and <i>Homeric</i> Ass,	<i>P--pe.</i>
The Uxorious Ass,	<i>D. K--</i>	One beautiful shap'd Ass,	idem.
The Embroidered Ass,	<i>L. Ca-l-m-e.</i>	One Ass with a Fox's Head,	<i>B. H-d-y.</i>
The Night Ass,	<i>S. J. R-r.</i>	One Conney Warren Ass,	<i>Cbi-f-t--n.</i>
One of his Companions,	<i>S--d--s.</i>	One generous, unfortunate, miserable and	} <i>Dut. M-b.</i>
The Ass of <i>Jupiter</i> and <i>Ganymede</i> after		poor She-Ass,	
the <i>Italian Guffo</i>	<i>Sir. J. S-</i>	One Noble Ass paying Debts,	<i>L. T--le.</i>
The Ass of the nine Muses,	<i>L. W. P-</i>	One She-Ass in love with <i>Mr. Heydeger</i> ,	} <i>H-d-d-l.</i>
The Magdalen the Ass,	<i>D-h-s M-f-s</i>	and taking Poison,	
The Ass in Embryo,	<i>L--l--y.</i>	One He-Ass dress'd in a She-Ass's Apparel,	} <i>L. E--</i>
The Maiden-head Ass,	<i>L. H-b-b.</i>	Quality-like,	
The three Quarters Gentleman Ass,	<i>H--ope.</i>	One fine, genteel, accomplished Ass,	<i>Mr. P-f-n</i>
The Devout the Ass,	<i>D-h-s M-t-g.</i>	One Rabbit Warren Ass,	<i>Da-v-n-ut.</i>
The ruined Ass,	<i>Peter W-t-r.</i>	One sage, prophetic Ass,	<i>D. K--t.</i>
The Fine headed Ass,	<i>S. T--ff-l.</i>	One Star-gazing Ass,	<i>G. P-r-k-r.</i>
The Fiery Ass,	<i>P-t-y.</i>	The able Law-Ass, found in Judgment,	<i>T. K--</i>
The converted Ass,	<i>Lew-s.</i>	Many sage Asses,	<i>F. N--th.</i>
The Dark Ass of Ponson,	<i>C. V-n-n.</i>	The Ass marrying <i>durante bene Placito</i> ,	<i>C--r--is.</i>
The Imprisoned Ass,	<i>Og--sb--pe.</i>	Eight Asses at a Country Christening,	<i>O--a--n.</i>
A Dutch Wedding Ass,	<i>Sir. W. T-eg</i>	The Loyal Ass,	<i>D. B-f-d.</i>
The fine Church Ass,	<i>Sir. R. S-n.</i>	The Right Worshipful Asses, all the	} <i>Ju-t affe.</i>
The Flower of Asses,	<i>A. O--w.</i>	learned <i>Middlesex</i>	
The Graces thine in this Ass,	<i>H. W-p-l.</i>	The honest Dray, alias Brewing-Ass,	<i>Ca-v-r-t.</i>
The Huge Sea Ass,	<i>L. M--s.</i>	The honest Printing-Ass,	<i>Ray--r.</i>
The Humble and Merciful Ass,	<i>L. C. J--</i>	His Brother,	<i>Walt--r.</i>
The chaste curious Ship Ass,	Ditto.	Equity-pleading Ass,	<i>Ju--c--th.</i>
The <i>Herculean</i> Judgement Ass,	<i>L. S-f--p.</i>	Brawling Ass,	<i>K----by.</i>
The Modest Eloquent Ass,	<i>Orator Henly.</i>	The Cuckoldly Ass,	<i>L. --g-ay.</i>
The Solid Divine Ass,	Ditto.	The Generous Ass,	<i>D. M--ng.</i>
<i>Apulian's</i> Golden Ass, very Religious,	Ditto.	The State Ass bullying,	<i>L. T--s--n.</i>
Many holy and sanctified Asses, all	<i>N-t-b--per.</i>	Slouching Ass,	<i>D. N-f-t.</i>
The Land of Promise Ass,	<i>W. W. W--ne.</i>	<i>French</i> Cross Ass,	<i>De F--y-s.</i>
The Dutyful Ass,	<i>S. G-g W--ne.</i>	A Scribbling Ass,	<i>E. Bog--ll.</i>
The Charitable and generous Ass,	<i>F. C--d.</i>	His Brother,	<i>Ca--sb.</i>
The Gaming Ass,	<i>L. F.</i>	The Silver-tongued Ass;	<i>T--b--t.</i>
The beautiful naked effeminate Ass,	<i>J. F--b.</i>	The Screech-Owl,	<i>Mrs. D'F-ges</i>
The Winter Ass,	<i>E. S--k.</i>	Leech-Owl,	<i>Dut. M--b-r.</i>
The large well built Ass,	<i>T. Sc--n.</i>	The Lean Owl,	<i>ead--m.</i>
The <i>Bactalian</i> or Drunken Ass,	<i>D. B.</i>	An Honourable Owl,	<i>Sir R. Roy--d.</i>
His Brother Ass,	<i>L. S--le.</i>	One Owl just and wife;	idem.

F I N I S

Figure 1 A Collection of several choice, fine, finnickig, strange, wonderful, surprizing and astonishing Jack-Asses, She-Asses and Owls, which have of late weekly been seen, and pissed upon by a certain Fox at Vaux-hall. Undated broadside, US SM (Huntington Library) 143253. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California



initials, as for example Watkins Williams Wynne ('W. W. W--ne'), the Speaker of the House of Commons Arthur Onslow ('A. O--w'), the President of the Royal Society Sir Hans Sloane ('Sir H. S--n') and, not least, Alexander Pope ('P--pe'). Occasionally the attached description helps secure an identity among various possibilities: 'Fighting' suits well a commander like Admiral Cavendish ('Ad. Ca--sh'); 'Scribbling' allows the identification of Eustace Budgell ('E. B-g-ll'), publisher of the weekly *Bee*, as well as that of 'His Brother' at the *Craftsman* Caleb D'Anvers ('C--leb'), a pseudonym of Nicholas Amherst;¹⁰ and George Parker ('G. P--rk-r'), famous for his astronomical calendars, becomes a safe choice once we consider him as 'Star-gazing'.¹¹ Most of the remaining identifications are based on consultation of contemporary Parliamentary lists.

A FOX HOLED IN VAUXHALL

Once we have secured as many identities as possible, we may proceed to the alluded event. Obscure in many ways, the title of the print shown as Figure 2 reveals only its geographical reference, the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall.¹² The venue had been open to the public since the Restoration, but its prestige had declined in proportion to its fame as a 'rural Brothel'.¹³ In 1728 Jonathan Tyers (1702–1767) leased the property and, on Hogarth's suggestion,¹⁴ sought to reinvent its function. Thanks to his entrepreneurial zeal the gardens bloomed into London's fashionable entertainment for the summer. Following meticulous preparation,¹⁵ the inaugural *ridotto al fresco* of 7 June 1732 became the talk of the town:

there were about 100 Soldiers planted, with their Bayonets fix'd, at the outward Doors and along the Avenues to the House, to prevent any Disturbance: The Chief of the Company went in between Nine and Eleven; and the Dresses for the most Part, were Dominees [*sic*] and Lawyers Gowns, tho' one Third of the Company had no Dresses or Masks: It is reckon'd there were about 400 People there, and about ten Men to one Woman. The Company broke up between Three and Four on Thursday Morning, and about Five the Soldiers cross'd the Water to return Home[.]¹⁶

Security was a real issue: two nights prior to the event, an excited mob had stormed the premises after being denied free admission:

I belive thier / Was a great many people kill'd at a la frisko / Because thier was a great many Poeple / Went to see it a monday and so the People / Thought to get a good Deal of mony & ask'd / A Shilling for seeing of it & the common / People was so angrey that the[y] broke down / The fence & got in & knock'd down every / Body they mett with;¹⁷

10 See Bob Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 72, 57.

11 See, for example, Parker's *Ephemeris for the Year of our Lord 1731* (London, 1731).

12 For a detailed history of the site see Samuel Denne, *Historical Particulars of Lambeth Parish and Lambeth Palace* (London: John Nichols, 1795), 410–422.

13 *A Sketch of the Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall. In a Letter to a Noble Lord* (London: G. Woodfall[, ?1751]), 27; see also *The Champion; Or, The Evening Advertiser* 422 (Saturday, 31 July 1742)[, 1].

14 *Sketch of the Spring-Gardens*, 2.

15 'great Preparations are making at Spring Gardens, Vaux-Hall, for a Ball after the Italian Manner at their Carnevals'. *The Daily Post* 3915 (Tuesday, 4 April 1732)[, 1].

16 *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* [1] (1732), 149. See also *The Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (1732), 823; *The Grub-street Journal* 128 (Thursday, 15 June 1732)[, 2]; and [?Aaron Hill,] *See and Seem Blind: Or, A Critical Dissertation on the Publick Diversions, &c. Of Persons and Things, and Things and Persons, and what not. In a Letter from the Right Honourable the Lord B---- to A--- H--- Esq* (London: H. Whitridge[, 1732]), 30.

17 Lord Wentworth to the Earl of Strafford, 8 June 1732. British Library, Add. Ms. 31145, f. 42r, reproduced here for the first time.



Table 1 Individuals listed in *A Collection of several choice, fine, finnickig, strange, wonderful, surprizing and astonishing Jack-Asses, She-Asses and Owls, which have of late weekly been seen, and pissed upon by a certain Fox at Vaux-hall*

NAME	DESCRIPTION
P(rince) W(ales)	A Prudent and Wise Ass
ditto	A learned and virtuous Ass
M(iss) V(ane)	A modest and barren Ass
S(ir) R(obert) W(alpo)l(e)	A Miraculous Ass
ditto	A Seven headed Ass
L(ord) G(a)ge	A chaste, a naked and innocent Ass
S(ir) W(ilfred) L(aw)s(o)n	An Ass bringing forth Mountains
L(ord) T(ownshend)	An Ass with an Head unfinished
(Thomas) B(oo)tle	A mystical Ass
(Sir Robert) C(or)ker	A Ruby Faced Ass
D(uke) B(olton)	A Valliant Ass
(William) Sh(i)p(pe)n	A long headed Ass
Ad(miral) Ca(vendi)sh	A Fighting Ass
Winei(ngt)o(w)n	A Winter, a Spring, a Summer and an Autumn Ass
D(o)dd(ing)ton	The still and quiet Ass
D(uke) K(ingston?)	The Uxorious Ass
L(ord) Ca(st)l(e)m(ain)e	The Embroidered Ass
S(ir) J(ohn) R(ushou)t	The Night Ass
(Samuel) S(an)d(y)s	One of his Companions
Sir J(ohn) S(helley)	The Ass of <i>Jupiter</i> and <i>Ganymede</i> after the <i>Italian Gusto</i>
L(ord) W(illiam) P(aulet)	The Ass of the nine Muses
D(uc)h(ess) M-s-s	The Magdalen she Ass
L(um)l(e)y	The Ass in Embryo
L. H-b-b	The Maiden-head Ass
H---ope	The three Quarters Gentleman Ass
D(uc)h(ess) M(on)t(a)g(u)	The Devout she-Ass
Peter W(al)t(e)r	The ruined Ass
S(amuel) T(u)ff(nel)l	The Fine headed Ass
P(ul)t(ene)y	The Fiery-Ass
(Thomas?) Lew(i)s	The converted Ass
C. V(er)n(o)n	The Dark Ass of Ponson
(James) Og(le)th(or)pe	The Imprisoned Ass
Sir W(illiam) Y(on)eg	A Dutch Wedding Ass
Sir R(obert) S(utto)n	The fine Church Ass
A(rthur) O(nslo)w	The Flower of Asses
H(oratio) W(al)p(o)l(e)	The Graces shine in this Ass
L(ord) M(alpa)s	The Huge Sea Ass
L(ord) C(hief) J(ustice)	The Humble and Merciful Ass
Ditto	The chaste curious Ship Ass
L. S---s---p	The <i>Herculean</i> Judgement Ass
Orator Henly	The Modest Eloquent Ass
Ditto	The Solid Divine Ass
Ditto	<i>Apuleius's</i> Golden Ass, very Religious
N(e)l(t)h(ro)pes	Many holy and sanctified Asses, all
W(atkins) W(illiams) W(yn)ne	The Land of Promise Ass
S(ir) G(eor)ge W(yn)ne	The Dutyful Ass
F(rancis) C(hil)d	The Charitable and generous Ass
L. F.	The Gaming Ass
J(ohn) F(inc)h (?)	The beautiful naked effeminate Ass
E(arl) S(uffol)k	The Winter Ass
T(homas) Sc(awe)n	The large well built Ass

Table 1 *Continued*

NAME	DESCRIPTION
D(uke) B(uckinghamshire)	The <i>Backanalian</i> or Drunken Ass
L. S--le	His Brother Ass
C. H-g-es	One Skeleton Ass
Mr. H-d	One drolling Ass
L(ord) B-l	One Confessing Ass
D(uchess) L(eed)s	One She-Ass like a Bawd at Prayers
Sir C---h	One Ass covered with Parliament Colours and Standards
Paulo (Sir Paul Methuen)	One Weather-Cock Ass
(Hugh) B(o)s(cawe)n	One prodigal Ass turn'd Penitent
J C--y	One <i>Virgilean</i> and Venereal Ass
Ditto	One <i>Durfyan</i> or Poetical Ass
L. Sh----	One Ass bearing the Resemblance of the Battle between Death and Time
E(arl) G(rantha)m	Two Asses, <i>Diana</i> and <i>Acteon</i>
(Roger) L'Est(ran)ge	One florid and rhetorical Ass
Sir H(ans) S(loa)n(e)	One learned <i>AEsculapean</i> Ass
(Alexander) P(o)pe	One learned and <i>Homerical</i> Ass
idem	One beautiful shaped Ass
B(enjamin) H(oa)d(l)y	One Ass with a Fox's Head
Chi-s-t--n	One Conney Warren Ass
Du(chess) M(arlboroug)h	One generous, unfortunate, miserable and poor She-Ass
L(ord) T(ankervil)le	One Noble Ass paying Debts
H(an)d(e)l	One She-Ass in love with Mr. <i>Heydeger</i> , and taking Poison
L(ord) E(ssex)	One He-Ass dress'd in a She-Ass's Apparel, Quality-like
Mr. P(ar)s(o)ns	One fine, genteel, accomplished Ass
Da-v(e)n(a)nt	One Rabbet Warren Ass
D(uke) K(en)t	One sage, prophetic Ass
G(eorge) P(a)rk(e)r	One Star-gazing Ass
Y. K---	The able Law-Ass, sound in Judgment
F(rancis) N(or)th	Many sage Asses
C(hu)r(chi)ls	The Ass marrying <i>durante bene Placito</i>
O--a--n	Eight Asses at a Country Christening
D(uke) B(ed)f(or)d	The Loyal Ass
Ju(s)t asses	The Right Worshipful Asses, all the learned <i>Middlesex</i>
Ca--v--t	The honest Dray, alias Brewing-Ass
(William) Ray(n)er	The honest Printing-Ass
(Robert) Walk(e)r	His Brother
Ju---c---h	Equity-pleading Ass
K---by	Brawling Ass
L(ord) A(n)g(le)sy	The Cuckoldly Ass
D(uke) M(on)tag(u)	The Generous Ass
L. T-s-a-n	The State Ass bullying
D(uke) N(ewca)s(t)le	Slouching Ass
(Charles) De (la) F(a)ye	<i>French</i> Cross Ass
E(ustace) B(ud)g(e)ll	A Scribbling Ass
C(a)leb (d'Anvers)	His Brother
T--h--t (Townshend?)	The Silver-tongued Ass
Mrs. D'F-ye	The Screech-Owl
Du(chess) M(anche)st(e)r	Leech-Owl
eadem	The Lean Owl
Sir R(ichard) Rey(ne)ll	An Honourable Owl
idem	One Owl just and wise



So effective was Tyers's damage control that the incident is absent from the contemporary press. Even without it, the hyped publicity was sufficient to rouse satirical invective.¹⁸ A collection of poems on *arbor vitae*, aptly named *The Ladies Delight*, concludes with a piece on the ridotto, whose 'national' significance is described thus:

No more shall Duchesses to Bath repair,
Or fly to Tunbridge to procure an Heir;
Spring-Gardens can supply their every Want,
...
And future Lo[r]ds (if they'll confess the right)
Shall owe their Being to this blessed Night[.]¹⁹

A satirical who's who of London's rich and powerful, the *Collection* seems to be yet another response to the ridotto craze. It is no coincidence that the Prince of Wales's initials ('P. W—') top the list: the ground landlord of the property, 'His Royal Highness, attended by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, &c. went in about Ten, and staid about two Hours, and then return'd with his Company'.²⁰ One of them must have been George Dodington ('D--dd--ton'), the Prince's new political advisor.²¹ His departure for the Continent the following day (Thursday 8 June)²² offers a *terminus ante quem* and can lock in the association of the document with Vauxhall's opening night (the Earl of Essex, too, departed for Turin on 18 June, days before the ridotto's reprise on 21 June²³). The date of 7 June might also explain the common appearance of Heidegger (who is not properly listed as an attendee) and Handel. Still in a business partnership, they could have used the occasion to publicize their premiere of *Acis and Galatea*, only three nights later (Saturday, 10 June).²⁴ It is more likely, however, that the list combines attendance on both dates (as Miss Vane, the Prince's mistress, gave birth to his reputed child on 5 June, she could conceivably have attended only the second ridotto).²⁵

The application of an 'ass/owl' template in the list was anything but random. Both animals had strong allegorical associations going back to Aesop's time. The ass, in particular, was a popular emblem of ignorance, pride, stupidity, infatuation and sloth.²⁶ (The exhibition of a 'Flying Ass' at the ill-reputed Belsize

18 The ridotto was the concluding scene in Theophilus Cibber, *The Harlot's Progress; Or, The Ridotto Al' Fresco: A Grottesque Pantomime Entertainment* ([London:] for the benefit of Richard Cross, 1733), 12.

19 *The Ladies Delight* (London: W. James, 1732), 22–23. The collection appeared on 20 June (*The Daily Journal* 3576 (Tuesday, 20 June 1732)[, 2]). One of the poems is advertised as 'A merry Allegorico Botanico-Bawdinical Piece' (*The Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (1732), 831).

20 *The London Magazine* 1 [1732], 149.

21 John, Lord Hervey, *Some Materials toward Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ed. Romney Sedgwick (New York: AMS Press, 1970; original edition, 1931), [volume 1,] xxxix. For a review of his relationship with the Prince see John Walters, *The Royal Griffin: Frederick Prince of Wales, 1707–51* (London: Jarrolds, 1972), 74–89. Tyers bought part of Dodington's moiety of the property in 1752 for £3,800 and the remainder in 1758. Denne, *Lambeth Parish*, 419, and James Granville Southworth, *Vauxhall Gardens: A Chapter in the Social History of England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 17.

22 His destinations were Paris and Rome. *The Grub-street Journal* 128 (Thursday, 15 June 1732)[, 2].

23 *The Daily Journal* 3575 (Monday, 19 June 1732)[, 1]. Response to the event was lukewarm, though, as 'there was not half the Company as was expected, being no more than 203 persons, amongst whom were several persons of distinction, but more Ladies than Gentlemen'. *The Grub-street Journal* 130 (Thursday, 29 June 1732)[, 2].

24 *The Daily Courant* 5455 (Saturday, 10 June 1732)[, 2].

25 'Miss vane was brought / to bed a Sunday of a son[.] an Express was / emadaty [immediately] sent to the Prince[.] he gave / the Messenger a hundred & fifty Guineys'. Lady Strafford to Lord Strafford, 6 June 1732, British Library, Add. Ms. 31145, f. 40r. I thank David Coke for drawing my attention to this fact.

26 Caesar Ripa, *Iconologia: Or, Moral Emblems* (London: Benj. Motte, 1709), 41, 58; George Richardson, *Iconology; Or, A Collection of Emblematical Figures* (London: author, 1779), volume 1, 63, 98, and volume 2, 91, 93; James Hall,



House at Hampstead must have strengthened this last link.²⁷) Despite its reputation as Minerva's favourite bird, the owl, too, had its share of negative associations, most notably as 'the attribute of NIGHT personified, and of Sleep'.²⁸ With the explosion of print culture amidst the turbulent politics of early eighteenth-century Britain their popularity as tools of allegorical attack rose. An ass's head defines the satirical 'Jacobite's Badge' from 1697 (see Figure 3). In 1711 'The Ass Age' (Figure 4) offered an elaborate critique of the times depicting representatives from all walks of life riding on asses. Among the characters of the farcical *The British Stage; or, The Exploits of Harlequin* (1724) we find an ass and an owl, representing the Town and the Theatre respectively.²⁹ More famous is the title engraving for Pope's *Dunciad*, portraying an ass fraught with the dull literary productions of the age (Figure 5). The asinine image was soon returned to the censor with *His Holiness and his Prime Minister*, which has a Pope-faced monkey on a pedestal and an ass standing by (Figure 6).³⁰ We find similar deployments later in the century. *The Congress of the Beasts* (1748), a satire on the Aix-la-Chapelle peace conference (whose translation is curiously ascribed to Heidegger), portrays the various delegations as animals, with Britain being a lion under the skin of an ass.³¹ Handelian also recall the braying ass and perched owl in versions of Goupy's famous cartoon of the composer (and perhaps the animal-headed singers in 'The Opera House or the Italian Eunuch's Glory').³²

Whatever the satirical aims of the compiler might have been, the selection of both animals is certainly appropriate for an outdoors evening entertainment like the Vauxhall ridotto. Mr Tyers would have been proud to learn that the list contains only three 'owls' (boring guests). The division of asses according to sex might be tempting for theorizing buffs, yet it seems to follow the male–female ratio of those listed. Handel and Miss Vane are exceptions, perhaps because of the publicity they enjoyed in late spring 1732 (the one through *Esther* and the other as the pregnant mistress of the heir apparent).

The mystery here is, naturally, the identity of the 'Fox' and the meaning of his 'piss[ing] upon' the guests. Could this have been an ironic reference to Tyers, who charged a full guinea for admission? Or could the 'Fox' have been a Georgian paparazzo, spying for some Grub Street paper? David Coke has reminded me that 'Fox Hall' was a common form of reference to the Gardens, suggesting that the name should apply to its proprietor. What is more, Tyers's overtly moralizing stance (the decorations of the early 1730s censured vices

Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (London: John Murray, 1974), 34; and his *Illustrative Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art* (New York: IconEditions, 1994), 10.

27 'Belsize-House, where ev'ry sort and kind / Of Harlots, Fops and Beaux [one] may daily find' (*Belsize-House. A Satyr* (London: T. Warner, 1722), 15). An explicit link between this animal celebrity and Italian opera is drawn by the author of *A little more of that Same: Or, A Recollection of sundry Material Passages omitted in a late Treatise, entituled, The Devil to pay at St. James's. Particularly, . . . A most surprizing Account of the Miracles perform'd by the Flying Ass at Belsize. A Proposal for the Improvement of Musick, by manufacturing Eunuchs in England . . .* (London: A. Moore, 1727), 10–13: 'His Voice is a deep Bass of the Pitch of *Palmerini*'s, but he sings more after *Boschi*'s Manner, excepting when he attempts to sing through the Nose, like *Senesino* . . . if he had been castrated in his youthful Days, he would have had a most excellent Voice. If so, what need we be at the Expence of importing Eunuchs from *Italy*?'.

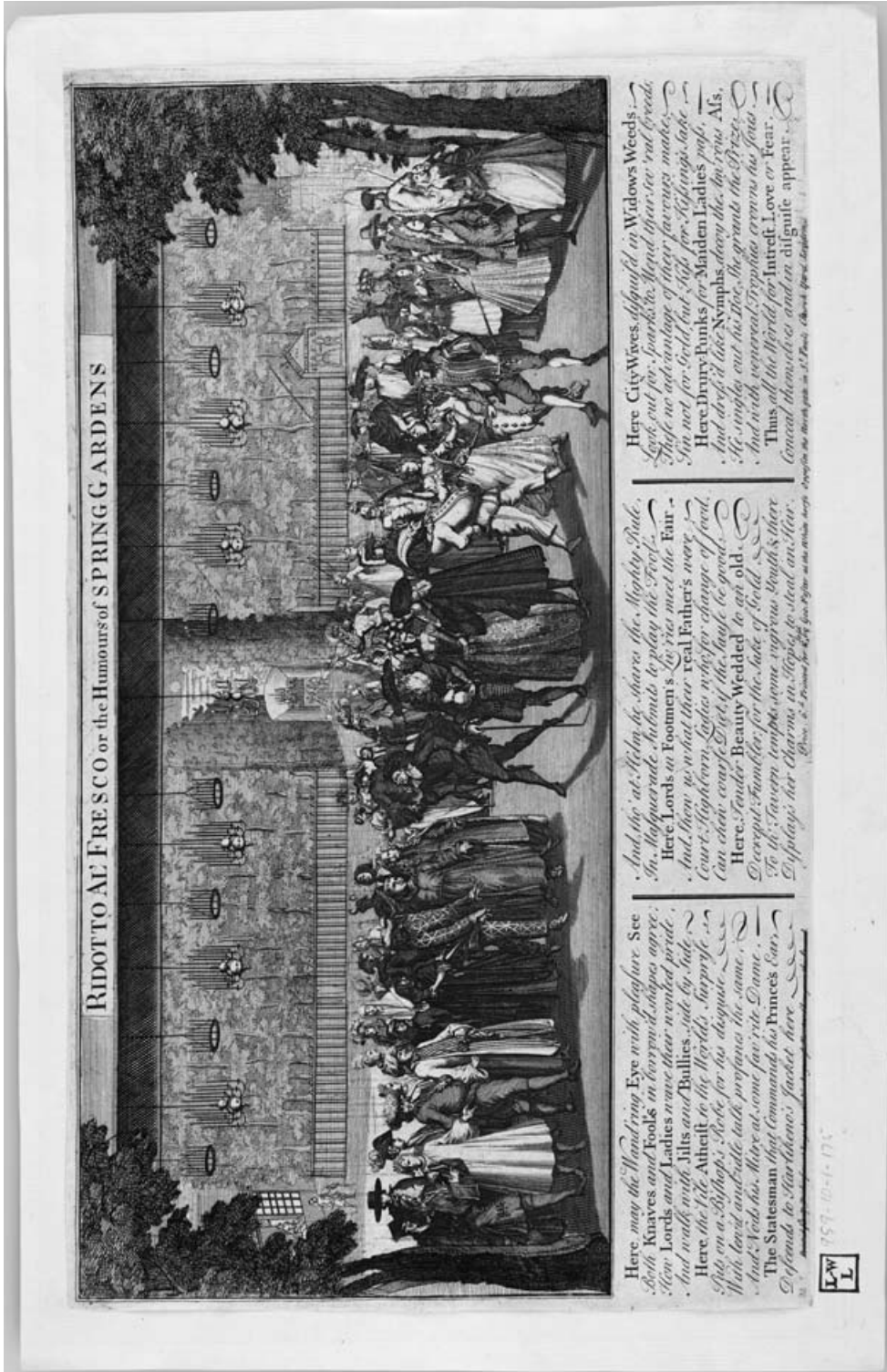
28 Hall, *Dictionary*, 231, and *Illustrative Dictionary*, 37; see also Richardson, *Iconology*, volume 2, 138.

29 (London: T. Warner, 1724.)

30 [George Duckett,] *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility examin'd; and the Errors of Scriblerus and his Man William detected* (London: J. Roberts, 1729). Copies of a better-quality engraving are housed in Houghton Library, f*EC75.W1654.Zz747t, and in the Folger Shakespeare Library, PR3625.A1.D41 cage.

31 Baron Huffumbourghausen [pseudonym], *The Congress of the Beasts* (London: W. Webb, 1748).

32 A discussion of their allegorical possibilities appears in Ellen T. Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 252–255. Owls appear in Joseph Goupy's 'THE true Representation and Character &c' (1749) and the anonymous 'Windy Bumm', a satirical attack on Porpora (1735). See Chrissochoidis, 'Handel, Hogarth, Goupy', 582, 586, and Xavier Cervantes and Thomas McGeary, 'Handel, Porpora and the "Windy Bumm"', *Early Music* 29/4 (2001), 608. On the 'Opera House' satire see Berta Joncus, 'One God, So Many Farinellis: Mythologising the Star Castrato', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28/3 (2005), 450 and [474], Table I, no. 25.



RIDOTTO AL FRESCO or the Humours of SPRING GARDENS

Here may the Wand'ring Eye with pleasure See
 Both Knaves and Fools in borrow'd shapes agree.
 Now Lords and Ladies wear their wretched pride,
 And walk with Jills and Bullies, led by side.
 Here the vile Affect to the World's surprize
 Spits on a Bishop's Nose for his disguise.
 With loud and idle talk profanes the name,
 And Needs his Airs at some low rate to blame.
 The Statesman that commands his Princes Ear,
 Depends to Parliament's pocket here.

And tho' at Night he shares the Mighty Duke,
 In Nightgarden, Attempts to play the Fool.
 Here Lords or Footmen's Airs meet the Fair,
 And here we see that their real Father's care
 Court's Highborn Ladies who for change of food,
 Can cheer, coast, Dice if they may be good.
 Here Tender Beauty Wedded to an old
 Diverges; Fumbles for the sake of Gold.
 To the Tavern, temple, some vulgar Youth's there
 Displays her Charms, to please, to steal an Air.

Here City Wives disguised in Widows Weeds,
 Lay out for Sparks the Head of their new bred Weeds,
 They no advantage of their favours make,
 But not for Gold but Gold for Rappings take.
 Here Drury Bunks for Maiden Ladies pass,
 And despite like Nymphs deny the lawless Mas.
 All smiles out his Dog, the grants the Prize,
 And with venereal Prophanes errors his Prize.
 Thus all the World for Int'rest Love or Fear,
 Conceal themselves and in disguise appear.

1759-18-173
 LAW
 L

Figure 2 Ridotto Al Fresco or the Humours of Spring Gardens (London: George Foster, after 1732), US FAY 740.0.7.2. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University



The Jacobite's Badge.



Figure 3 *The Jacobite's Badge* (London: printed for the use of the successors of Jack Adams and Hobody Boody, 1697). Broadside B124(2), Houghton Library, Harvard University. Used by permission

like pride and greed) evoked the proverbial hypocrisy of the fox in Aesop's fables. The effort at moral regeneration of London's corrupt elites in an Arcadian setting was an ideal target for satire.³³

Far more intriguing than the Fox's identity are some new Handelian links. The *Collection* features several acquaintances of Handel: The Duke of Newcastle, first governor of the Royal Academy of Music,³⁴ and William Pulteney, Wilfred Lawson, William Yonge, Richard Castlemayne and Thomas Gage, who had been directors of the company.³⁵ This may be one of his first documented social encounters with them in a public event. Perhaps not surprisingly, the two names fully spelled out in the list belong to public entertainers and popular targets of satirical invective, 'Orator Henly' and 'Mr. Heydeger'. John Henley (1692–1756) was a notorious preacher whose bizarre mix of topics, histrionic performance and, not least, subservience to

33 On Tyers's efforts to create an Arcadian utopia see Berta Joncus, "His Spirit is in Action Seen": Milton, Mrs Clive and the Simulacra of the Pastoral in *Comus*, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2/1 (2005), 30.

34 Burney, *Commemoration*, 15–16.

35 Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music, 1719–1728: The Institution and Its Directors* (New York: Garland, 1989), 320, and Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'The Charter of the Royal Academy of Music', *Music & Letters* 67/1 (1986), 50–51.



Figure 4 *The Ass Age, or the World in Hieroglyphick* (London, 1707). Broadside (detail), GB Lbma AN333660001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced with permission

Walpole's administration made him a synonym for nonsense and a constant object of attacks.³⁶ As he is minimally known to Handeliens, I shall discuss him later in the article. Attention has to turn to John James (or Jacob) Heidegger (1666–1749), whose close proximity to Handel at this period helps secure the identity

36 Graham Midgley, *The Life of Orator Henley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 126–165, especially 136–141. Timothy Scrub [pseudonym], *A Rod for the Hyp-Doctor, made out of his own Broom* (London: S. West, 1731). The Orator in Henry Fielding's play *The Author's Farce* (1730) is based on Henley. Sheridan Baker, 'Political Allusion in Fielding's *Author's Farce*, *Mock Doctor*, and *Tumble-Down Dick*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 77/3 (1962), 225.



of 'H--d-P' as George Frideric. After reviewing his career and early ties with the composer, I shall focus on their business partnership during the 'Second Academy' years (1729–1734) and explain their alluded-to presence at the *ridotto al fresco*.

HANDEL CUFFS: HEIDEGGER

A foreigner by birth, Heidegger began his social climb in England during the early 1700s and grew to become the undisputed king of big spectacles and an administrative pillar of London's Italian opera. His role as propagator of foreign taste and luxury alarmed contemporary moralists, and in 1723–1724 his *ridotto* entertainment faced organized opposition from civil and ecclesiastical authorities.³⁷ Universally known for his repulsive face or 'ill-favour'd Visage',³⁸ to which Pope famously alluded in the *Dunciad*,³⁹ Heidegger could barely hide his identity (in *ridottos* 'People are admitted disguis'd, [yet] without a Vizard'⁴⁰).

Active in London's opera since at least 1707,⁴¹ Heidegger first met Handel in the winter of 1710/1711 as assistant manager of the Queen's Theatre and helped his networking in the metropolis.⁴² A young Mary Granville remembered him introducing Handel to her uncle Sir John Stanley, secretary to the Lord Chamberlain.⁴³ Heidegger was involved in *Rinaldo*'s first run,⁴⁴ and his name appears alongside Handel's in a payment order from February 1713.⁴⁵ This was after the second performance of Handel's *Teseo*, when the opera manager Owen Swiney fled the country to avoid bankruptcy. The crisis must have brought the composer closer to Heidegger, now in charge of the King's Theatre.⁴⁶ It was at this venue that Handel had his

37 See *The Plain Dealer: Being Select Essays on Several Curious Subjects* (London: J. Osborn, 1734), volume 1, 10–11, and also *Heydegger's Letter to the Bishop of London* (London: N. Cox, 1724).

38 *The Plain Dealer* [no. 2, Friday, 27 March 1724], volume 1, 8. According to a source, despite his being 'an ugly Theatric Hero, or rather a Designer, Heidegger has found Means to charm, nay even captivate, more than one Female'. *The Fool: Being a Collection of Essays and Epistles ... published in the Daily Gazetteer* (London: Nutt, 1748) [no. 42, Saturday, 18 October 1746], volume 1, 298–299.

39 'And lo! her Bird (a monster of a fowl! / Something betwixt a H*** and Owl)', with 'H***' identified as 'A strange Bird from Switzerland'. [Alexander Pope,] *The Dunciad Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus* (London: A. Dob, 1729), 20. There is an explicit identification of Heidegger in *A Compleat Key to the Dunciad*, second edition (London: E. Curll, 1728), 10, even though only his initial appears in the poem's first edition. The challenge contained in *A Compleat Key*, 'Let Pope look to himself next *Masquerade*', is realized with the poet's inclusion among Vauxhall's asses.

40 *The Touch-Stone: Or, Historical, Critical, Political, Philosophical, and Theological Essays* (London, 1728), 192. Once attributed to James Ralph, this important source's authorship is now assigned to Robert Samber. See Lowell Lindgren, 'Another Critic Named Samber whose "particular historical significance has gone almost entirely unnoticed"', in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1995), 407–434.

41 *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706–1715*, ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 16–19.

42 Deutsch, *Handel*, 31.

43 'In the year [17]10 I first saw Mr. Handel, who was introduced to my uncle Stanley by Mr. Heidegger, the famous manager of the opera, and the most ugly man that ever was formed.' *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. Lady Llanover (London: Richard Bentley, 1861), volume 1, 5–6; also in *Mrs. Delany (Mary Granville): A Memoir, 1700–1788*, ed. George Paston (London: G. Richards, 1900), 3.

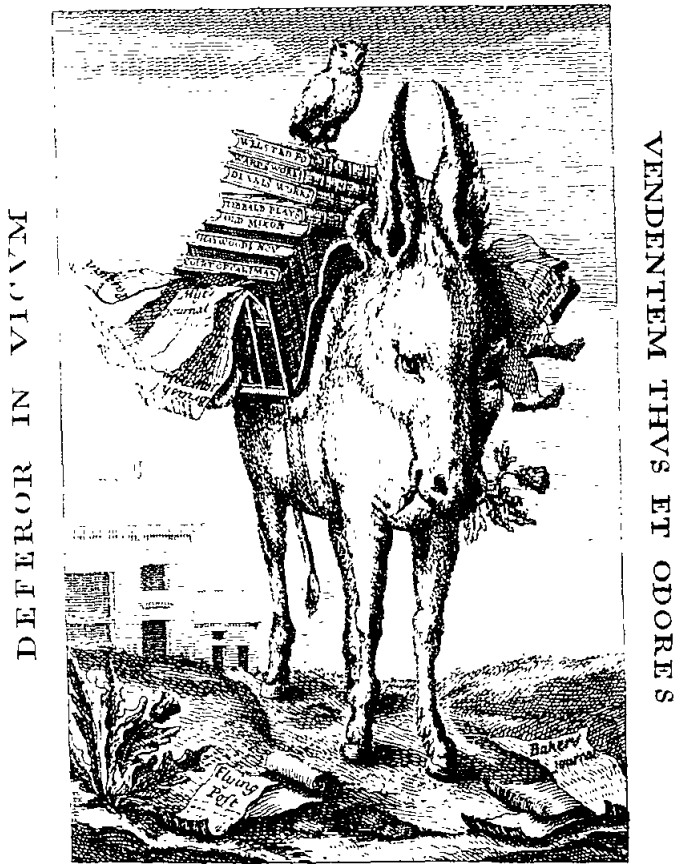
44 See *Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 176.

45 *Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 199.

46 Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704–1726* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 249. For a detailed examination of Heidegger's career at this period see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713–17', *Early Music* 27/1 (1999), 65–71, 73–84.



THE
DUNCIAD,
VARIORVM.
WITH THE
PROLEGOMENA of *SCRIBLERUS*.



L O N D O N .

Printed for A. DOB . 1729 .

Figure 5 Title page of [Alexander Pope,] *The Dunciad Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus* (London: A. Dob, 1729)

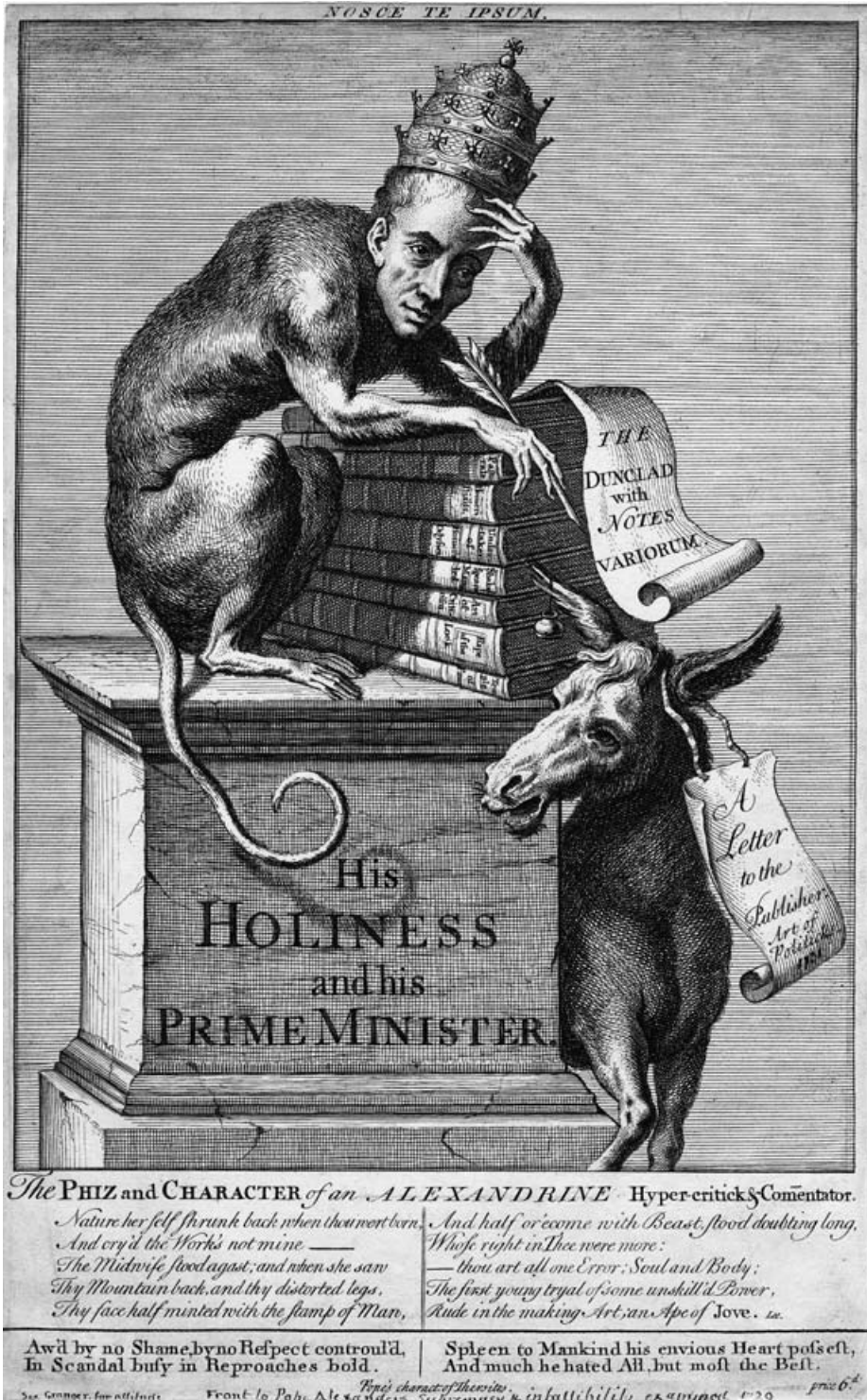


Figure 6 *His Holiness and his Prime Minister* (London, 1729), GB Lbma AN363072001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced with permission



Figure 7 Admission ticket for the *ridotto al fresco*, reprinted in John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth, in the County of Surrey* (London: J. Nichols, 1786), 98–99



first benefit night, on 16 May, earning £73:10:11;⁴⁷ Heidegger also signed the libretto dedication of the next Handel production, *Amadigi*.⁴⁸

The years 1713–1717, a period of struggle for Italian opera, helped Heidegger understand the economics of luxury entertainment.⁴⁹ Targeting the kingdom's elites, such enterprises required financial security from the outset. When George I requested a concert on the Thames in 1717, the one of *Water Music* renown, Heidegger declined the honour of organizing it on financial grounds.⁵⁰ It is no coincidence that his lucrative masquerades appeared regularly during this time.⁵¹ Unable to sustain opera productions after 1717 on account of low revenue, political instability from Jacobite activities and the deteriorating relations of the King with the Prince of Wales,⁵² he offered the King's Theatre to other profitable uses.

His and Handel's paths converged with the creation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1719, which turned London into a major opera capital. (Joint appearances of their names include a curious subscription to *Teatro Fisicosmografico: Overro trattato di Cosmografia*.⁵³) After the company's collapse in 1728 they joined forces in a new scheme, producing operas until 1734. This was a critical period in Handel's career, witnessing the birth of English oratorio and a bitter division in London's opera world. Unfortunately, the exact terms of their collaboration still elude us. Having thoroughly examined all evidence, Robert D. Hume concludes 'it is simply not known how their partnership worked'.⁵⁴

'COPPIA EIDEGRENDELIANA'⁵⁵

The *Collection* reflects how contemporary satirists understood this partnership. Its description of the composer as 'One She-Ass in love with Mr. *Heydeger*' is intriguing, and calls for an investigation of their relationship. Whatever the financial and administrative division of labour between the two might have been, it is fair to say that Handel was strategically inferior to, if not dependent on, the 'Swiss Count'. By 1729 Heidegger had accumulated vast experience as an administrator. He had been in charge of the King's Theatre for sixteen years and was unrivalled as an organizer of large-scale entertainments. Admirers and foes alike bowed before his entrepreneurial genius and gave him sole credit for innovative schemes. Already by 1717, Pope had referred to masquerades as 'Mr Heideker's institution',⁵⁶ and by 1719 'Swiss Count' was universally (though satirically) recognized as Heidegger's personal title '*by the Courtesy of England*'.⁵⁷ Indeed, by helping project the power and wealth of British elites during the years of Whig supremacy, he acquired national

47 Coke's *Theatrical Papers*, 199, 201; Deutsch, *Handel*, 57; 'Opera Register from 1712 to 1734 (Colman-Register)', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 5 (1959), 205.

48 *Amadis of Gaul. An Opera. As it is perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1715).

49 For a detailed account of these seasons see Milhous and Hume, 'Haymarket Opera, 1713–17', 69–82.

50 W. Barclay Squire, 'Handel's *Water Music*', *The Musical Times* 63 (December 1922), 866.

51 Milhous and Hume, 'Haymarket Opera, 1713–17', 80. For an overview of masquerades in eighteenth-century England, with special emphasis on their subversive role in gender identity, see Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 1–51, and *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 82–100.

52 Milhous and Hume, 'Haymarket Opera, 1713–17', 82.

53 This treatise on astronomy and natural history by 'F. A. di C.' was published in London by J. Bettenham in 1724. The subscription list also features the names of Bononcini, Ariosti, Riva, Haym, F. Bernardi (Senesino), P. Castrucci, Goupy and others, indicating the author's strong links with the Royal Academy of Music.

54 Robert D. Hume, 'Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s', *Music & Letters* 67/4 (1986), 350.

55 'Heideggerohandelian couple', Paolo Rolli's mocking reference to the new scheme in his letter to Giuseppe Riva, 12 June 1730. R. A. Streatfeild, 'Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera in London in the Eighteenth Century', *The Musical Quarterly* 3/3 (1917), 441.

56 Pope to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu[, June 1717], in *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), volume 1, 407.

57 *Charon; or, The Ferry-Boat. A Vision. Dedicated to the Swiss Count* (London: W. Lewis, 1719).



significance ('What can be a greater Demonstration how rich and powerful a People we are at present, than our Subscriptions to the Opera and Masquerades?'⁵⁸). He certainly enjoyed the approval of George I, who attended nearly half of his company's performances and frequented his masquerades, these last not for the noblest of reasons,⁵⁹ and during the early 1720s he was known as 'Director of the King's Balls'.⁶⁰ Although protests from the clergy forced the temporary suspension of masquerades,⁶¹ Heidegger soon replaced them with *ridottos* ('a *mask'd Masquerade*'⁶²), which once again were 'By'th' Court approv'd of, by the K[ing] protected'.⁶³ Luckily for him, George II was no less fond of such entertainments: 'it were to be wished the King would not encourage them', lamented the Viscount Percival.⁶⁴

His national fame grew even more in 1727 with an innovative system of lighting he devised for the Coronation festivities at Westminster Hall. According to Mary Granville, its '1800 candles, besides what were on the tables . . . were all lighted in less than three minutes by an invention of Mr. Heidegger's, which succeeded to the admiration of all spectators'.⁶⁵ A more detailed account appears in the correspondence of Cesar de Saussure:

When the King and Queen entered the hall the light was beginning to fade. About forty chandeliers, in shape like a crown, hung from the ceiling, each carrying about thirty-six wax candles. On the King's appearance all these candles were suddenly lighted, and everyone in the room was filled with astonishment at the wonderful and unexpected illumination. Little cords of cotton-wool, almost imperceptible to the eye, saturated with sulphur of saltpetre, with spirits of wine, and other ingredients, had been prepared and arranged so as to carry the flame rapidly from one candle to another. This arrangement had been so skilfully prepared that hardly a single candle failed to take fire.⁶⁶

58 *The Briton* (London: J. Roberts, 1724) [no. 23, Wednesday, 8 January 1724], 102.

59 A Jacobite ballad from 1721 portrays him as a sexual predator of young native girls (see 'George I Goes to the Masquerade (1721)', *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats* 42/1 (2009)). Its date suggests that George I attended masquerades during the 1720s (see Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, 'George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's *Water Music*', *Early Music* 19/3 (1991), 330) and possibly accounts for the royal present of £500 to Heidegger on 18 March 1721 (Deutsch, *Handel*, 124). The masquerade must have taken place before Craggs the Younger's premature death, on 16 February (*The Daily Courant* 6030 (Friday, 17 February 1721)[, 1]). Horace Walpole relates that he 'caught his death by calling at the gate of Lady March, who was ill of the smallpox, & being told so by the Porter, went home directly, fell ill of the same distemper & died' (Walpole, *Reminiscences* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), 36).

60 [John Macky,] *A Journey through England*, second edition (London: J. Hooke, 1722), 68.

61 Norman Sykes, *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669–1748: A Study in Politics & Religion in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press / London: Humphrey Milford, 1926), 187–192.

62 *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* 191 (Saturday, 3 June 1732)[, 1].

63 Moses Statute, *Ridotto: Or, Downfall of Masquerades* (London: A. Moore, 1723), 11. Sir John Vanbrugh wrote on 18 February 1724 that 'The masquerade flourishes more than ever' and that the King himself 'took occasion to declare aloud in the Drawing-room that whilst there were masquerades he would go to them' (*The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, preserved at Castle Howard* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1897), 48). Heidegger also drew support from the Freemasons, whom he joined in late 1725 on the recommendation of the Duke of Richmond, their Grand Master and also a director of the Royal Academy of Music (also Freemasons were the Duke of Montagu, Sir John Buckworth, Sir Thomas Prendergrass and James Sandys). See Andrew George Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD dissertation, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2007), 166–167. I am obliged to Dr Pink for an enlightening discussion on this topic, which remains unregistered in Handel studies.

64 Viscount Percival's diary, 23 January 1730. *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards First Earl of Egmont. Vol. I. 1730–1733* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 10.

65 Delany, *Autobiography*, volume 1, 138–139.

66 *A Foreign View of England in 1725–1729: The Letters of Monsieur Cesar De Saussure to His Family*, trans. and ed. Madame van Muyden (London: Caliban, 1995; original edition, 1902), 163.



Heidegger received a court appointment ('Gentleman of the Privy Chamber') thereafter,⁶⁷ and to the end of his career he would be viewed in unusually lofty terms: 'It may be said that the *English* nation has appointed him *director of their pleasures*'.⁶⁸ His impact on four decades of British culture would be recalled as late as 1771, when Horace Walpole dubbed the entrepreneurial Madam Cornely 'the Heidegger of the age'.⁶⁹

The above makes clear that for any attempt to revive Italian opera in 1729, Heidegger was indispensable. He controlled the King's Theatre and had the experience and contacts to raise capital, assemble a company and make things happen. Handel's prestige after the 1727 Coronation was, undoubtedly, far greater than ever before, but the artist lacked the social skills, not to mention the capital, to sustain a major theatrical enterprise. Many resented his imperious attitude, and he certainly was short of proper administrative experience. The Fourth Earl of Shaftesbury confirms that during the Academy years Handel 'was only employed as a Composer, in the same way as Buononcini'.⁷⁰ Even the satirical *Contre Temps* calls him 'Professor of Harmony to the Academy', while reserving the lofty designation 'High-priest' for the 'Swiss Count'⁷¹ (who had also been 'Master of Ceremonies' in the fictional *Session of Musicians*⁷²). Not surprisingly, public reports from the early 1730s, all but one reprinted here for the first time, name Heidegger as the company's head:

[28 March 1730]

We hear that Mr. Heydegger is going to Italy in the Month of June, to engage a new Set of Singers to come over hither against next Winter, the present Voices designing to leave us so soon as the Opera Season is over.⁷³

[28 August 1730]

Signor Senisino, the famous Italian Singer, hath contracted to come over hither against the Winter, to perform under Mr. Heydegger in the Italian Operas.⁷⁴

[early October 1730]

Signiora [*sic*] Senisini, a very famous Singer, arrived here last Week from Italy, and has agreed with Mr. Heydegger to perform in the Italian Operas this Winter.⁷⁵

[9 October 1730]

We hear Mr. Heydegger, Master of the Opera House in the Hay-market, having contracted with some extraordinary voices lately arrived from Italy, to perform in the Italian Operas, designs to open the same with a fine new Opera sat. the 24th instant.⁷⁶

67 On 13 June 1728. Edward Croft Murray, 'The Painted Hall in Heidegger's House at Richmond—I', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 78 (1941), 106, note 3.

68 'Some Account of the late M. Heidegger', in *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* 34 (1764), 213. Given that his personal integrity was never questioned, part of the criticism against his entertainments was really a covert attack on Whiggism.

69 Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 22 February 1771, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann VII*, ed. W. S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith and George L. Lam (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 271.

70 'Shaftesbury's Memoirs of Handel', Public Record Office 30/24/28/84, f. 424r; reprinted in Deutsch, *Handel*, 844.

71 *The Contre Temps; or, Rival Queens: A Small Farce* (London: A. Moore, 1727)[, 4].

72 *The Session of Musicians. In Imitation of the Session of Poets* (London: M. Smith, 1724), 4.

73 *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* 77 (Saturday, 28 March 1730)[, 2]; reprinted in *The Grub-street Journal* 13 (Thursday, 2 April 1730)[, 2].

74 *The Daily Post* 3414 (Friday, 28 August 1730)[, 1]; reprinted in *Read's Weekly Journal, Or, British-Gazetteer* 284 (Saturday, 29 August 1730)[, 3]; *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* 99 (Saturday, 29 August 1730)[, 2]; *The Evening Post* 3294 (Thursday, 27 – Saturday, 29 August 1730)[, 2]; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period . . . Volume the Fourth* (London: author, 1789), 349.

75 *The Evening Post* 3310 (Saturday, 3 – Tuesday, 6 October 1730)[, 3]; reprinted in *The Grub-street Journal* 40 (Thursday, 8 October 1730)[, 2].

76 *The Grub-street Journal* 41 (Thursday, 15 October 1730)[, 2].



[12 April 1732]

Monsieur Heydegger, we hear, intends to go to Italy this Summer, with a Design to engage some celebrated Singers of both Sexes to come over for the next ensuing Winter Season.⁷⁷

A COURT PROJECT

On what grounds, then, did Handel become ‘joint partner in the thing’ with Heidegger? The most likely explanation is his strong backing from the new monarchs. George II and Caroline had been Handel supporters since 1710⁷⁸ (‘They were both Handelists’⁷⁹) and their sumptuous coronation showed a desire to mark their rule with proper splendour. Given the cultural prestige of the Royal Academy of Music under George I, whom they both hated,⁸⁰ the company’s dissolution in 1728 was a setback in their plans for a culturally vibrant reign.⁸¹ According to Richard G. King, ‘the house of Hanover was involved in the affairs of the Second Academy from the outset’, offering advance publicity to Handel’s new productions or intervening during crises.⁸²

It was Princess Anne, however, who emerged as the strongest ally of the composer. She had been his personal and favourite student since at least 1723⁸³ (‘Handel disdained to teach his art to any but princes’⁸⁴), and would continue to support him even after her departure from London in 1734.⁸⁵ With the ascent of George II, she was created Princess Royal and ‘took a leading role in the public life of a glittering court’.⁸⁶ Uncommon intellectual and artistic gifts fuelled her pride and strong ambition (Hervey calls her ‘the proudest of all her proud family’⁸⁷). According to Horace Walpole, ‘She had early set her heart on being Queen of England’, and, when young, she expressly ‘wished that she had no brothers, that she herself might succeed to the Crown’ (Queen Anne was her godmother).⁸⁸ The arrival, in late 1728, of Frederick Lewis, heir apparent to the throne, after fourteen years of isolation in Hanover, naturally affected her position in court and in the public eye.⁸⁹ Eager to assert leadership as patroness of the arts, she presumably got involved in the efforts to revive opera in London. Her £1200 annual expense account certainly allowed her to offer critical financial support to Handel’s company.⁹⁰ Shaftesbury, who wrote explicitly to set the record straight on Handel, affirms that the new company was ‘under the Patronage of The Princess Royal’.⁹¹

77 *The Daily Advertiser* 375 (Wednesday, 12 April 1732)[, 1].

78 See the letters of Electress Sophia of Hanover from June 1710 in Donald Burrows, ‘Handel and Hanover’, in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 39.

79 Hervey, *Materials*, volume 1, 273.

80 See Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 22.

81 On Caroline’s patronage of the fine arts see Joanna Marschner, ‘Queen Caroline of Anspach and the European Princely Museum Tradition’, in *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 130–142, especially 133–140.

82 Richard G. King, ‘Two New Letters from Princess Amelia’, *Händel-Jahrbuch* 40/41 (1994/1995), 170. For a review of Handel’s court appointments see Donald Burrows, ‘Handel as a Court Musician’, *The Court Historian* 3/2 (1998), 2–9.

83 King, ‘On Princess Anne’s Lessons with Handel’, 4.

84 Hawkins, *History*, volume 5, 180.

85 Hervey, *Materials*, volume 1, 66; Richard G. King, ‘Handel’s Travels in the Netherlands in 1750’, *Music & Letters* 72/3 (1991), 378–379; Veronica P. M. Baker-Smith, *A Life of Anne of Hanover, Princess Royal* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 61.

86 Baker-Smith, *Anne of Hanover*, 23.

87 Hervey, *Materials*, volume 1, 195.

88 Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 123 (see also 111), and *Memoirs of King George II*, ed. John Brooke (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), volume 1, 140, note 5.

89 ‘the Queen to break her of this [ambition], asked her one day what She woud sell her Chance for, now the Duke was before her as well as the Prince—She replied, ‘if I had seven brothers, & they had each seven sons, I woud not sell my chance’. Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 123.

90 Richard G. King, ‘On Princess Anne’s Patronage of the Second Academy’, *Newsletter of the American Handel Society* 14/2 (1999), 1, 6.

91 ‘Shaftesbury’s Memoirs of Handel’, in Deutsch, *Handel*, 845.



Anne played a critical role in Handel's first oratorio productions. Writing on reliable testimony, Burney credits her with the idea of performing *Esther* 'in action' at the King's Theatre.⁹² Already at a marriageable age, and by April 1732 rumoured to become the next Princess of Orange,⁹³ she could easily identify with the virtuous biblical queen (interestingly, Henley's *Esther* was known to have been a tribute to Queen Anne, whose name she inherited⁹⁴). Her dislike of Robert Walpole, whom 'she hated ... as the Author of her intended Nuptials',⁹⁵ found expression in the fall of Haman, the corrupt Persian minister whom many had identified, possibly as early as 1717, with Walpole.⁹⁶ The fact that the Royal Family attended all six *Esther* performances was undoubtedly a reason for the oratorio's surprising success.⁹⁷ In the summer of 1732 the diplomat Zamboni was assuring his European correspondents of 'the interest that the Royal Princess takes in all things which concern Handel and the operas',⁹⁸ and especially of her 'great interest' in securing Porporino for his company.⁹⁹ Months later, her encouragement led the composer to raise the admission price to a full guinea for the premiere of *Deborah*.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, Robert Hume and Judith Milhous find an impressive twenty per cent of the company's revenue in 1732–1733 coming from the Royal coffers.¹⁰¹

What brought Handel back to the King's Theatre in 1729 was, then, not just 'a combination of passionate commitment to opera, ego, and a lot of sheer blind stubbornness',¹⁰² but chiefly the full support of the court. He was the Crown's representative in the new scheme. His 'love affair' with Heidegger, as the *Collection* describes it, was presumably manufactured at St James's Palace in order to raise the cultural prestige of the new monarchy. What else but royal intervention could have forged a partnership out of clashing views on opera revival? Heidegger, acutely aware of financial risks, insisted on rehiring Faustina Bordoni and Francesca Cuzzoni and even Senesino, while Handel, who had been fed up with the star system of the 1720s, called for a fresh beginning with new singers and original productions.¹⁰³ It was the King's aversion to Faustina ('if Faustina alone returned, he would contribute nothing'¹⁰⁴) and support for Handel that decided the matter ('His new plans find favour at Court'). Heidegger, whose participation was not a given, finally submitted to royal wishes and, no doubt, assurances of financial support. Handel then departed for Italy to secure a cast for 1729–1730. The new voices got mixed reactions in London, except at the court: 'If everyone

92 Burney, *Commemoration*, 100; see also Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 292.

93 'Tis considerably reported, that a Marriage is actually treating between his most serene Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange, and her Royal Highness the Princess Royal; on which Occasion the Prince is shortly expected at this Court.' *The Daily Advertiser* 375 (Wednesday, 12 April 1732)[, 1].

94 *A Guide to the Oratory: Or, an Historical Account of the New Sect of the Henleyarians* (London: W. Osborn, ?1726), 4.

95 *The Secret History of Mama Oello, Princess Royal of Peru. A New Court Novel* (London: J. Dent, 1733), 13. A handwritten key identifies the characters as Anne, Walpole and the Prince of Orange.

96 Kenneth Nott, 'Sacred and Profane', *The Musical Times* 136 (February 1995), 89.

97 See Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'His Majesty's Choice: *Esther* in May 1732', *Newsletter of The American Handel Society* 22/2 (2007), 4–6.

98 Gio. Giacomo Zamboni to Alexander J. Sulkowsky in Dresden, 26 August [according to Lowell Lindgren probably 26 August / 6 September] 1732, in Lowell Lindgren, 'Musicians and Librettists in the Correspondence of Gio. Giacomo Zamboni (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson Letters 116–138)', [*Royal Musical Association*] *Research Chronicle* 24 (1991), 146.

99 Gio. Giacomo Zamboni to Johann Heinrich von Heucher in Warsaw, 11 July 1732, in Lindgren, 'Zamboni', 144.

100 Lady A. Irwin [to Lord Carlisle], 31 March [1733], in *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, 106.

101 Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Handel's Opera Finances in 1732–3', *The Musical Times* 125 (February 1984), 88.

102 Judith Milhous, 'Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37/3 (1984), 592.

103 Letters of Rolli to Senesino, 21 December [1728] and 25 [January] 1729. See Deutsch, *Handel*, 229; Sesto Fassini, 'Il melodramma italiano a Londra ai tempi del Rolli', *Rivista musicale italiana* 19 (1912), 579–580; Luigia Cellesi, 'Attorno a Haendel: Lettere inedite del poeta Paolo Rolli', *Musica d'oggi* 15/1 (1933), 11–13; Streatfeild, 'Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera', 438–439.

104 Rolli to Senesino, 4 February 1729, in Streatfeild, 'Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera', 439. Streatfeild mistakenly reads 'di questo R.' as a reference to 'a questo residente Vignola' a few lines above in the letter. Deutsch corrects the mistake in his translation (Deutsch, *Handel*, 237).



were as well satisfied with the company as is the Royal Family, we should have to admit that there never had been such an opera since Adam and Eve sang Milton's hymn in the Garden of Eden.¹⁰⁵ Paolo Rolli's cynicism only highlights the true identity of the 'Second Academy' as a court project.

The opportunistic nature of the 'Coppia Eidegrendeliana' is reflected in the low percentage of original works they produced during the years 1729–1734. Compared with the Royal Academy years, revivals now increased roughly from two to four per season and pasticcios from a total of one to seven.¹⁰⁶ Subject matter also reveals the company's attachment to the new court, particularly the Queen and the Princess Royal. The inaugural production of *Lotharius* drew on a festal piece for the nuptials of the Bavarian Electoral Prince and centres on a female sovereign, Queen Adelaida, 'the most renowned Princess of her Time for Beauty and Virtue'.¹⁰⁷ *Partenope*, the company's second premiere, was the only opera after *Rodelinda* to be named after its leading female character and, according to Winton Dean, presents a 'woman's point of view'.¹⁰⁸ Nor is it accidental that Handel's first English oratorios concern female heroines, with *Deborah* dedicated to 'the Greatest and Best of QUEENS'.¹⁰⁹

THE DIVORCE

Viewing the 'Second Academy' as a court-only project helps us reconsider the career of Handel during the early 1730s. The exceptional description 'She-ass' could reflect his role as cultural agent of the Crown, with the support of which he turned from employed talent to co-director of a major company; and his being 'in love' with Heidegger acknowledges his recent attachment to the veteran impresario. Given the strong and personal involvement of the royal family in the scheme, the existence and duration of a binding contract between the two has little significance. If the Crown was ready to supply up to one fifth of annual revenue (in addition to voluntary cuts in directorial salaries), the company could go on 'perhaps indefinitely'.¹¹⁰ Another consequence is that *Esther*'s 'Hanoverianising'¹¹¹ could not have been a last-minute stroke of genius. Even if the production was hastily put together, the celebration template must already have been in existence. Handel was acting as a court composer in an entrepreneurial milieu.

This same reason underlies, I suggest, the split between Handel and Senesino, and the ensuing opera wars (1733–1737). New directorial powers gave Handel unprecedented control over his productions and exacerbated his authoritarianism. Bononcini was excluded from the new scheme and Senesino was invited only after a disappointing first season. Memories of his princely treatment during the 1720s must have clashed with the new regime of 'the Chief Composer, on whom everything depends'.¹¹² His experience in *Esther*, where he performed in a foreign language and without acting (one of his strong points), must have been a cause of resentment towards Handel ('[Senesino's] implacable hatred to *Handel*, for making him sing in the English Oratorio's, whereby he incur'd the Pope's Displeasure'¹¹³). Within a year, his relation with the composer had deteriorated to such an extent that the latter had to dismiss him.¹¹⁴

105 Rolli to Riva, 6 November 1729, in Streatfeild, 'Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera', 440.

106 Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726–1741* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 128.

107 *Lotharius, An Opera. As it is performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1729), 'Argument'; Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726–1741*, 140.

108 Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726–1741*, 156.

109 [Samuel] Humphreys, *Deborah. An Oratorio: or Sacred Drama* (London: John Watts, 1733), 'Dedication'.

110 Millhous and Hume, 'Handel's Opera Finances in 1732–33', 89.

111 Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 281.

112 'Riva è inferocito, perchè vede il Bonacino escluso dall'orgoglio proprio e dall'orgoglio del Capo Compositore, da quale dovrà dipendere ogni altro.' Rolli to Senesino, 4 February 1729, in Sesto Fassini, *Il melodramma italiano a Londra nella prima metà del Settecento* (Torino: Bocca, 1914), 165, and Streatfeild, 'Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera', 440.

113 *Do you know what you are about? Or, A Protestant Alarm to Great Britain* (London: J. Roberts, 1733), 16–17.

114 *The Bee: Or, Universal Weekly Pamphlet* 2 (1733) [Saturday, 2 – Saturday, 9 June], 635.



Although Thomas McGeary is right to assert the primacy of the Handel–Senesino rivalry over politics as the cause for the opera schism in London¹¹⁵ – ‘the first Symptom of this Rupture’, according to a source, was Senesino’s impregnating ‘a Favourite of Heidegger’s’¹¹⁶ – we should recall that both musicians were cultural outposts of influential constituencies. It is hard to believe that they jeopardized the city’s most prestigious entertainment in the absence of support from their respective patrons. Without the Royal family’s sponsorship there could not have existed a ‘Dominion of Mr Handel’,¹¹⁷ nor would the composer have become ‘so arbitrary a prince, that the Town murmurs’.¹¹⁸ We find a causal link between the two in the satirical *Harmony in an Uproar* (1733), where Handel, in a fictional apology, admits ‘I was prodigiously caress’d at Court . . . but more particularly [by] the divine Princess *Urania* . . . This Favour . . . created me fresh Foes’.¹¹⁹ One can readily imagine the explosive combination of a ‘proud & saucy’ composer being aggressively promoted by a Princess ‘of a most imperious & ambitious nature’.¹²⁰ The building-up of public resentment against Handel preceded *Deborah*’s premiere. In a rarely cited footnote Burney reports that Handel refused to allow his subscribers to ‘occupy their particular boxes in the Haymarket theatre, when he performed there his oratorio of *Esther*, in the summer [May] of 1732’.¹²¹ Equally important is the fact that both oratorios were tributes to the Crown and received explicit encouragement from the Princess Royal. Either Handel exploited the unconditional patronage of the Crown or the latter’s enemies used him to resist the court. The struggle over the Excise Bill, Walpole’s attempt to increase revenue by changing taxation for wine and tobacco, gave further momentum to anti-Handelism (the Earl of Stair, who led opposition to the Excise, would become one of the directors in Senesino’s company), and the interchangeability of the Crown’s favourite composer and minister became almost inevitable.¹²² It is worth asking whether the outcry against Walpole emboldened Senesino and his party to confront Handel.

If Heidegger stayed with Handel for one more season (1733–1734), it was not necessarily because of contractual obligations. Senesino’s ‘*contre-opéra*’¹²³ had no institutional legitimacy and received no royal bounty, and the Town’s reaction to his coup was anybody’s guess; even Cuzzoni’s participation was uncertain (‘Cuzzoni they say don’t come’¹²⁴). Handel, by contrast, scored a financial and cultural triumph with his Oxford Act performances (July 1733), and the fervently anticipated marriage of the Princess Royal secured him prestige and visibility during the season. This is not to say that Heidegger, a cultural unifier of the upper classes, enjoyed his awkward position in a dismembered company (Baron De la Warr implies that Handel’s ruin is a prospect ‘the Poor Count will not be sorry for’¹²⁵). As a businessman, he understood the folly of operatic competition, especially at a time when a single company could barely pay its expenses. The successful debut, honoured by royal attendance,¹²⁶ and resilience of Senesino’s opera must have led to a

115 Thomas McGeary, ‘Handel, Prince Frederick, and the Opera of the Nobility Reconsidered’, *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 7 (1998), 160–161.

116 *Do you know what you are about?*, 16.

117 Baron De la Warr to the Duke of Richmond, 16 June 1733, in McGeary, ‘Opera of the Nobility’, 157.

118 Charles Delafaye to William, Third Earl of Essex, 24 May 1733, British Library, Add. Ms. 27732, f. 12v, first given in Carole Mia Taylor, ‘Italian Operagoing in London, 1700–1745’ (PhD dissertation, Syracuse University, 1991), 279, note 60. Taylor’s erroneous identification of Delafaye’s first name as ‘Thomas’ is corrected in Suzanne Elizabeth Aspden, ‘Opera and Nationalism in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain’ (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1999), 68.

119 [Samuel Johnson,] *Harmony in an Uproar: A Letter to F—d—k H—d—l, Esq; . . . from Hurlothrumbo Johnson, Esq* (London: R. Smith, 1733), 24.

120 Sir Henry Liddell to Henry Ellison, 27 November 1735, in Taylor, ‘Italian Operagoing’, 279, note 60; Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 80.

121 Burney, *Commemoration*, *20n. (The asterisk is part of the original numbering.)

122 George E. Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London, 1715–1744* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967), 112–113.

123 Büнау to Zamboni, 22 December 1733, in Lindgren, ‘Zamboni’, 154.

124 Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Essex, 24 September 1733, British Library, Add. Ms. 27732, f. 246r. First given (without naming a specific day) in Taylor, ‘Italian Operagoing’, 195.

125 McGeary, ‘Opera of the Nobility’, 157.

126 Thomas Bowen to the Earl of Essex, 31 December 1733, British Library, Add. Ms. 27738, f. 95r.



reconsideration of his partnership with Handel. Given that the latter would never have capitulated to Senesino, regardless of financial cost, Heidegger very likely welcomed the end of their association. Whether Handel moved to Covent Garden theatre of his own accord or because Heidegger refused him the King's Theatre is an open question. It says a lot, however, that they would never again resume their partnership (in 1736 Baron Bielfeld identified Heidegger as Handel's 'redoubted rival'¹²⁷); and for their sole future collaboration, in 1737–1738, Handel was assigned compositional duties only. The important thing is that his divorce from Heidegger and the departure of the Princess Royal, his most fervent patron, marked the beginning of his period in the wilderness. (The subsequent clash of the Princess with George II, because of her ambition to replace the deceased Caroline as the King's most intimate advisor,¹²⁸ probably put an end to her influence on Handel's career and brought the composer closer to the Prince of Wales.)

By casting Handel as Heidegger's sweetheart, the *Collection* enables us to comprehend the degree of his transformation in the years 1732–1734. The successes of *Esther* and the Oxford Act performances, along with strong patronage from the Princess Royal, pushed his assertiveness to the limit, consolidating anti-Handelian sentiment from the 1720s into a party that actively sought his professional death ('Handell will be ruined I believe'¹²⁹). It was time for him to widen his support base and reach out to broader segments of British society, like the ones crowding the popular Gardens at Vauxhall.

HANDEL AND THE VAUXHALL GARDENS

It has long been assumed that Handel's links with the Spring Gardens began in 1738 and centred on the Roubiliac statue, whose commission remains, however, something of a puzzle. The *Collection* revises the date backwards by six years, at the very start of Jonathan Tyers's enterprise. Moreover, by pairing Handel and Heidegger, it offers a plausible exegetical frame for the celebrated artwork.

Recent scholarship has focused on Tyers's cultural politics¹³⁰ while leaving untouched the contributions of Heidegger in raising the Gardens' profile ('by the Address of . . . H———r they first began to shine, sparkle, and draw thither numberless Admirers'¹³¹). Reports and verses from June 1732 credit Heidegger for the innovative *ridotto al fresco* ('Who to *Ridotto* gave an *English Birth*'¹³²). Tyers presumably contracted the 'Swiss Count' to organize the opening night's entertainment for an exclusive clientele ('*At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality*'¹³³). The close links of Heidegger to the Prince of Wales, landlord of the Gardens, were publicly known ('His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is to sup next Week with Mr. Heydegger the Manager of the Masquerades, at his House at Barn-Elms; on which Occasion the Trees leading from the Water-Side to the House are to be illuminated with Flambeaux').¹³⁴ Lighting the huge

127 *Letters of Baron Bielfeld*, trans. 'Mr. Hooper' (London: Robinson and Roberts, and Richardson and Urquhart, 1770), volume 4, 63.

128 Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 111.

129 British Library, Add. Ms. 28050, f. 223v; reprinted in Thomas McGeary, 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: "tanto mio amico e patrone particolare"', *Early Music* 30/2 (2002), 205.

130 See David Bindman, 'Roubiliac's Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century', *The Sculpture Journal* 1 (1997), 22–31; Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone'", 45–54 (revised chapter of her PhD dissertation from 1999); Joncus, 'Comus', 28–40.

131 *The Fool: Being a Collection of Essays and Epistles . . . published in the Daily Gazetteer* (London: Nutt, 1748), volume 2, 140 [no. 70, Wednesday, 7 January 1747].

132 *The Ladies Delight*, 22. The subtitle for 'RIDOTTO al' FRESCO' reads: 'Describing the Growth of this Tree [*arbor vitae*] in the famous *Spring-Gardens at Vaux-Hall*, under the Care of that ingenious *Botanist Doctor H---GG---R*' [title page].

133 *The Daily Journal* 3559 (Wednesday, 31 May 1732)[, 1]; also in *The Daily Courant* 5036, for the same date[, 2].

134 *The Flying-Post: Or, Weekly Medley* 36 (Saturday, 7 June 1729)[, 4]; *The Country Journal: Or, The Craftsman* 153 (Saturday, 7 June 1729)[, 2]. The visit did not take place (*The London Evening-Post* 235 (Tuesday, 10 – Thursday, 12 June 1729)[, 2]).



property was another challenge that he was qualified to tackle.¹³⁵ The 'Ten Thousand Wax Lights, and the spangled *Chandeliers*, which are to run cross the *Alley*, the *Grove*, and the *Bal-Room*'¹³⁶ required a lighting system as efficient as the one he had used for the Coronation in 1727.

Heidegger seems to be, then, the critical link between Handel and the Vauxhall Gardens. As suggested earlier, the composer's appearance at the *ridotto* could have related to the forthcoming premiere of *Acis and Galatea*, whose pastoral theme was in full alignment with the publicity on the Gardens (see Figure 7).¹³⁷ A long satirical essay printed on Saturday, 3 June glossed the entertainment as a distortion of the Arcadian topos ('*Midnight ACADEMY at VAUX-HALL*' directed by 'Diana *Goddess of Chastity*').¹³⁸ Hardly a coincidence, then, that the following Monday (5 June) Handel expanded his advertisement of *Acis and Galatea*, stressing what it had in common with the Gardens: 'the Scene will represent, in a Picturesque Manner, a rural Prospect, with Rocks, Groves, Fountains and Grotto's; amongst which will be disposed a Chorus of Nymphs and Shepherds, Habits, and every other Decoration suited to the Subject'.¹³⁹ His presence at the *ridotto* undoubtedly served as a reminder of the premiere. Whether the rich scenery of his production alluded to the Spring Gardens or the *ridotto al fresco* boosted attendance for *Acis and Galatea* is a question with no ready answer.¹⁴⁰ However, the proximity of the two opening nights, 7 and 10 June respectively, suggests their synergetic relationship.

Synergy may be the right way to understand how Handel's Vauxhall statue came to exist. Back in the early 1720s, when opposition to masquerades was growing, Heidegger introduced *ridottos*, a mixed entertainment of music and dance. It was an ingenious move that drew on his dual expertise in opera and balls, immortalized in Hogarth's famous engraving. His first *ridotto*, on 15 February 1722, opened with a concert of '24 Select Songs, which lasted about two Hours, after which, the Company Pass'd over a Bridge, from the Pit to the Stage, where a Duke and Dutchess led up a Ball'.¹⁴¹ Given that the songs were 'chosen out of the late Operas' and sung by the Royal Academy of Music cast (Senesino, Baldassari, Robinson and Salvai),¹⁴² Handel was almost certainly a feature composer (performances of his *Floridante*, on 13 and 20 February, framed the *ridotto*). The *ridotto's* reprise on 6 March also included 'musick / in two places. / Singing'.¹⁴³ Explicit references to Handel's music appear, significantly, in 1729. Heidegger's Assemblies of 13 and 27 March and of 10 April at the Haymarket Theatre began with 'the Instrumental Opera [overture]' of *Julius Caesar*, *Otho* and *Radamistus* respectively,¹⁴⁴ and in May there was advertised 'a general Collection of Minuets made for the Balls at Court, the Opera's and Masquerades, consisting of 60 in Number. Compos'd by Mr. HANDEL'.¹⁴⁵ It makes sense that for the exceptional circumstances of the *ridotto al fresco*, a novel entertainment for the elites, Heidegger also turned to his business partner for musical splendour. Thus Handel would provide music for the event and get free publicity for *Acis and Galatea*.

135 Since the Gardens covered about eleven acres, the reference to 'about twenty Acres and a Half' (*Sketch of the Spring-Gardens*, 2) implicitly takes into account their surrounding area, which was also under Tyers's control. I thank David Coke for clarifying this point.

136 *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* 191 (Saturday, 3 June 1732)[, 1].

137 See the admission ticket in 'Historical Collections relative to Spring Garden at Charing Cross, closed by Cromwel in 1654; and to Spring Garden, Lambeth, 1661. since called Vauxhall Gardens', British Library, Cup.401.k.7, page 104. See also Joncus, 'Comus', 30.

138 *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* 191 (Saturday, 3 June 1732)[, 1].

139 *The Daily Courant* 5040 (Monday, 5 June 1732)[, 2].

140 David Coke assures me that the gardens at this time were anything but picturesque (personal communication). This does not exclude, of course, the presence of temporary constructions for the opening *ridotto*.

141 *The London Journal* 135 (Saturday, 24 February 172[2]), 6.

142 *The Daily Courant* 6340 (Thursday, 15 February 1722)[, 1].

143 British Library, Egerton Ms. 2322, f. 37v.

144 *The Daily Post* 2957 (Thursday, 13 March 1729)[, 1], 2969 (Thursday, 27 March 1729)[, 1], and 2981 (Thursday, 10 April 1729)[, 1]. The name of the latter work is mistakenly given as 'Radamantus' in British Library, Egerton Ms. 2322, f. 240v.

145 *The Country Journal: Or, the Craftsman* 148 (Saturday, 3 May 1729)[, 3].



There is good reason why the composer would have maintained links with the Vauxhall Gardens through the 1730s. Their opening during summer presented no threat to Italian opera. On the contrary, they provided an excellent venue for his instrumental repertory (vocal music was introduced there in 1745¹⁴⁶). Perhaps more crucial, their rising popularity kept his profile visible at a time of professional struggle. Facing ruinous competition and blacklisted by former patrons ('Point d'accommodement à jamais avec le S^r Händel'¹⁴⁷), the composer needed to expand his support base. His move to Covent Garden theatre, his letters to new acquaintances like Charles Jennens and independent reports about his 'nouvel amy'¹⁴⁸ all suggest that Handel was reconfiguring his social network.¹⁴⁹ The Gardens were invaluable as a pool for new contacts and potential supporters.

Tyers had much to gain from Handel, too. During the 1730s the Gardens relied substantially on music, their visual attractions being quite elementary. Music helped unify the vast space and make patrons gravitate towards 'the grand Rendezvous of the joyous Multitudes',¹⁵⁰ the Grove. This was a pricey open restaurant generating extra income for Tyers, who thus had the incentive to provide first-class entertainment. Indeed, by 1737 music alone became a sufficient reason to visit the Gardens ('I sail'd, triumphant, on the liquid Way, / To hear the Fiddlers of *Spring-Gardens* play'¹⁵¹). Their repertory must have included Handel, the kingdom's most celebrated and prolific composer. Already by 1729 'All his Overtures made into Concertos for Violins, in 7 Parts'¹⁵² were publicly available. Twenty-four in number by 1732,¹⁵³ they gave much choice to the ensemble, which performed 'about three Tunes (I believe I should have said Pieces) in an Hour'¹⁵⁴ for three to four hours. Indeed, publicity for the Handel statue in 1738 mentions that 'his Harmony has so often charm'd even the greatest Crouds [there] into the profoundest Calm and most decent Behaviour'.¹⁵⁵

The idea of Handel himself performing at the Gardens may seem unlikely. It is entirely possible, though, especially after Tyers added, in 1737, a 'fine Organ, which has been so long preparing for'¹⁵⁶ (two seasons earlier Handel had introduced organ concertos into performances of oratorios). Confirmation of Handel's direct involvement with the Gardens comes from a hitherto unknown travelogue discovered by this writer at the Folger Shakespeare Library.¹⁵⁷ Its anonymous French author visited London in the spring of 1738, just in time to witness both Handel's benefit and the unveiling of Roubiliac's statue. His excursion to Vauxhall on Friday 14 April (OS) yielded the following description:

On range alors sous les arbres, un grande nombre de tables et l'on y sert tous ce quel'on peut desirer. L'oreille y est flatée autant que le gout car des Sept heures du soir on commence une symphonie charmante qui dure jusqu'à dix, les meilleurs morceaux de Musique y sont executés par les joueurs d'instrumens les plus habiles. M Hindel celebre compositeur dirige ce concert et fournit les pieces[.] Il est en grande veneration dans celieu, on luy á élevé une Statue de marbre, c'est un Apollon qui touche de la lyre. Ici les talents recoivent les memes honneurs qu'ailleurs on

146 James Granville Southworth, *Vauxhall Gardens: A Chapter in the Social History of England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 79.

147 Caspar Wilhelm von Brocke to King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, [12] January 1734, in Deutsch, *Handel*, 341.

148 King, 'Handel's Travels', 385.

149 See also Aspden, 'Opera and Nationalism', 63–66.

150 *Sketch of the Spring-Gardens*, 3.

151 Hercules Mac-Sturdy, *A Trip to Vaux-Hall: Or, A General Satyr on the Times* (London: A. Moore, 1737), 3.

152 *The Country Journal: Or, the Craftsman* 151 (Saturday, 24 May 1729)[, 3].

153 'Twenty-four Overtures for Violins, &c. in eight Parts', *The Country Journal: Or, the Craftsman* 309 (Saturday, 3 June 1732)[, 3].

154 [Samuel Richardson,] *Letters written to and for Particular Friends, on the most Important Occasions. Directing not only the Requisite Style and Forms to be observed in writing Familiar Letters; but how to think and act justly and prudently, in the Common Concerns of Human Life* (London: C. Rivington, J. Osborn, and J. Leake at Bath, 1741), 224.

155 *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* 1082 (Tuesday, 18 April 1738[, 2]).

156 *The Daily Advertiser* 1953 (Friday, 29 April 1737)[, 1].

157 See Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Handel at a Crossroads: His 1737–1738 and 1738–1739 Seasons Re-examined', *Music & Letters* 90/4 (2009), 606–610.



rend aux souverains. Les Muziciens se placent sur un lieu élevé, et le monde se rassemble pour entendre le concert autour de deux grandes pavillons ouverts de tous côtés.¹⁵⁸

Under the trees many tables are arranged upon which there are served everything one may desire. The ear here is pleased as well as the palate because from seven o'clock in the evening a delightful music begins, lasting until ten; the best pieces of music are performed by the most skilful instrumentalists. Mr Handel, the famous composer, directs this concert and provides the music. He is greatly respected in this place; they have erected a statue of marble in his honour; it is Apollo playing on the lyre. Here the talented receive the same honours that others offer to sovereigns. The musicians are placed on a raised platform, and the people assemble to hear the concert around two great pavilions with open sides.

Roubiliac's statue was something more than a publicity coup, then; and so was Tyers's generous purchase of fifty tickets for the composer's benefit.¹⁵⁹ Handel had been actively involved in the Spring Gardens years before Tyers commissioned his 'Effigies'.¹⁶⁰ The statue visually grounded, indeed personified, music in the Gardens as much as it honoured Handel in the wake of his 1737 collapse (which must have deprived the venue of his services that summer). This is wonderfully captured in an engraving from George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* (see Figure 8), where the statue attracts the (bodily and visual) attention of an eating party, while the actual musical venue and performers recede into a shadowy background.¹⁶¹ To a degree, Roubiliac's statue was the technological ancestor of our video-projected close-ups of musicians during live performances, a response to the modern imperative for visual stimulation.¹⁶² The concept involves Cartesian division and displacement of constituent elements (a performer's image and sound) to enhance perception. Vauxhall's instrumentalists, spatially restricted to the upper floor of the Music Temple and visually overpowered by the surrounding trees, gave place to an archetype musician (Apollo/Orpheus) that combined the material permanence of stone with the cultural radiance of Handel. If there was any talismanic power in the statue, it served commercial rather than nationalistic aims: Bickham's engraving accompanies 'The Pleasure's of Life', a song about women and wine, both of them being readily available in the Spring Gardens at a price.

INVISIBLE HANDELPRINTS: JOHN HENLEY AND ENGLISH ORATORIO

Unlike the prominence of Heidegger and the Vauxhall Gardens in Handel bibliography, John ('Orator') Henley remains virtually unknown among musicologists. A controversial figure, a disillusioned cleric turned grotesque lecturer, he stood at the cultural antipodes of Handel. His fully spelled name and triple listing attest to his high value as a satirical target. The *Collection* is the first source documenting the appearance of the two men at the same social event, and as such invites a long overdue study of their intersections.

Henley's Oratory, as both term and spectacle, had been well established by the time *Esther* reached the stage. Already by 1727 we find him satirically linked with the production's star, Senesino, in *The Devil to Pay at St. James's*, a lampoon on Italian opera once attributed to John Arbuthnot.¹⁶³ In a story entitled 'How SENESINO . . . is going to leave the Opera, and sing Psalms at Henley's ORATORY' we read that the castrato, disgusted with the Faustina-Cuzzoni battles, 'went the other Day to offer himself to Mr H—y, to officiate as Clerk in his Oratory'.¹⁶⁴ The author equates Italian opera and Henley's chapel as sites of absurd theatricality

158 Folger Shakespeare Library, M.b. 49, 1220–1221.

159 *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* 1082 (Tuesday, 18 April 1738[, 2]).

160 *The London Evening Post* 1625 (Thursday, 13 – Saturday, 15 April 1738[, 1]).

161 (London: C. Corbett[, 1737–1739,]) volume 2, 21.

162 For a similar reading of later edifices in the Gardens see Joncus, 'Comus', 39.

163 The pamphlet appears in *The Miscellaneous Works of the Late Dr. Arbuthnot* (Glasgow: James Carlile, 1751), volume 1, 213–223, and in a later edition (London: W. Richardson and L. Urquhart, and J. Knox, 1770), volume 1, 2[07]–217. The work is cited in Burney, *Commemoration*, 19.

164 *The Devil to pay at St. James's* (London: A. Moore, 1727), [1] 7. The passage is reprinted in Gibson, *Royal Academy*, 430.



Figure 8 'The Pleasures of Life' (detail), in George Bickham, *The Musical Entertainer* (London [c. 1737–1739]), volume 2, 21; reprinted in *Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile*, First Series: Music, volume 6 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965)



and empty vocalism. A similar clustering appears in Henry Fielding's 'The Pleasures of the Town', second part of *The Author's Farce* (1730), where 'Signior Opera' and 'Dr. Orator' compete for the hand of the Goddess Nonsense ('your Oration is like your self; because it has a great deal of Nonsense in it').¹⁶⁵ Henley himself was not innocent here: he publicly defended burlesque teaching as based on the Bible,¹⁶⁶ and closed the *Oratory Transactions. No II* with 'A Dissertation upon Nonsense'.¹⁶⁷ His sermons were certainly known for their 'sensational and theatrical excesses'.¹⁶⁸ The author of *Touch-Stone* found it appropriate to close 'an ESSAY upon MASQUERADES' with comments on Henley.¹⁶⁹ Pope's attack on him in the *Dunciad* was couched in terms applicable to Italian Opera as well: 'How honey'd nonsense trickles from his tongue!'.¹⁷⁰ (Henley retaliated on 17 July 1728 with 'An Anatomical Discovery that Mr. Pope's Spleen is bigger than his Head',¹⁷¹ and continued in later years with the poem *Tom o'Bedlam's Dunciad: or, Pope, Alexander the pig*¹⁷² and an extensive discourse *Why How now, Gossip Pope? ... Exposing the Malice[,] Wickedness and Vanity of his Aspersions on J. H. in that Monument of his own Misery and Spleen, the Dunciad*.¹⁷³) Few could have imagined in 1727 that Senesino would be part of a musical type of oratory (as Handel's 'clerk') and his English would offer as much entertainment as a Henley sermon ('*Senesino ... made rare work with the English Tongue[;]* you would have sworn it had been *Welch*'¹⁷⁴).

In this wide context, *Esther's* generic title, venue and performance setting in May 1732 could readily have evoked Henley. The eyewitness in *See and Seem Blind*, a review of the 1732 theatrical season, describes Handel as being 'plac'd in a Pulpit[;] I suppose they call that (their Oratory)' (compare Figures 9 and 10). He also calls oratorio a 'Religious *Farce*, for the duce take me if I can make any other Construction of the Word, but he [Handel] has made a very good *Farce* of it'¹⁷⁵ (Pope described Henley's orations as 'Buffoonry'¹⁷⁶). Unaware of Continental oratorios, he uses Henley as a point of reference to account for *Esther's* novelties. He was not the only one. Hogarth, too, may have drawn on the preacher's famous gesticulations for the agitated conductor in 'Chorus Singers' (Figure 11), portraying a rehearsal of the non-Handelian oratorio *Judith* (1733).¹⁷⁷ He had already used Henley as the subject of *The Christening* (also known as *Orator Henley Christening a Child*),¹⁷⁸ and would include him, as was generally accepted, in *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (1733), for which the 'Chorus Singers' served as subscription ticket.¹⁷⁹ We know from John Nichols, the

165 Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce; and The Pleasures of the Town* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1730), 46.

166 [John] Henley, *Milk for Babies: ... Being No V. of Oratory Transactions* (London, 1729), 36–42.

167 *Oratory Transactions. No II*, third edition (London: Mrs. Dodd, ?1728).

168 Midgley, *Henley*, 99.

169 *Touch-Stone*, 196.

170 Midgley, *Henley*, 99; [Alexander Pope,] *The Dunciad*, 45.

171 'The Academical, or Week-Day's Subjects of the ORATORY, from July 6, in the first Week, 1726, to August 31, 1728', 18, in *Oratory Transactions. No. II*, third edition.

172 (London: M. Turner, 1729.) The attribution is made by D. F. Foxon for good reasons (*English Verse, 1701–1750* (London: Oak Knoll Press / The British Library, 2003), volume 1, 338); however, the poem does not appear among Henley's writings in Midgley, *Henley*, 290–291.

173 Second edition (London: J. Roberts, 1736; reprinted 1743).

174 [?Hill,] *See and Seem Blind*, 16.

175 [?Hill,] *See and Seem Blind*, 15, 14.

176 *The Dunciad, Variorum*, 66.

177 On this production see Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Early Reception of Handel's Oratorios, 1732–1784: Narrative – Studies – Documents' (Ann Arbor: UMI (PhD dissertation, Stanford University), 2004), 45–48.

178 Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 1: The 'Modern Moral Subject,' 1697–1732* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 215 and 369, note 13.

179 *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, compiled by Ronald Paulson, third, revised edition (London: The Print Room, 1989), 85, 383. Paulson is careful to note that the basis for these identifications is tradition and contemporary perception.



artist's first biographer, that at least one of the figures in the print 'was designed' for a friend.¹⁸⁰ Henley, too, could have been in Hogarth's mind: the print came out in late December 1732, months after the oratory-oratorio conflation in *See and Seem Blind* and on the heels of another public controversy over a letter Henley supposedly published in the *St. James's Evening Post*.¹⁸¹

The considerations above suggest that *Esther's* Hanoverian trappings (coronation anthems) could not prevent embarrassing associations with Henley's Oratory, thus making the work open to abuse. They also raise a new possibility: the ecclesiastical ban on a staged *Esther*¹⁸² could relate, at least partly,¹⁸³ to the hostility between Henley and his former patron Edmund Gibson. The powerful clergyman, who as Bishop of Lincoln had ordained Henley,¹⁸⁴ recanted promises of advancement to the young priest. Henley became increasingly frustrated and disillusioned, criticized his theological positions¹⁸⁵ and charged him with orchestrating attacks on the Oratory (in 1737 he would openly write about 'a perfidious Pr[elate]¹⁸⁶). There is certainly evidence that Gibson was disturbed about its influence. In a letter to Lord Townshend from 1726, he confided that 'if Henley were able to carry his point in the metropolis of the kingdom', then pretty soon there would be 'a Henley in every diocese', and he considered the preacher a subversive element threatening 'the constitution of the Church'.¹⁸⁷ The *Touch-Stone* booklet confirms that 'the Cl[er]gy are in general averse to his Design, and are to a Man join'd to decry the H[er]esy'.¹⁸⁸ One of the latter openly complained that the preacher 'has been as much assaulted in Pamphlets and publick Papers, and with Scandal and Aspersion in private Conversations, as if he was prime Minister, and was to answer for all the Sins, both of Church and State'.¹⁸⁹ Such strong disapproval of the Oratory might have influenced Gibson's attitude towards the Handel production of *Esther*, probably triggering an association of terms comparable to that in *See and Seem Blind*. If theatre-goers could register the common features of Henley's Oratory and an oratorio in English ('AN ENGLISH *Oration*' is listed among Henley's works¹⁹⁰), so would a clergyman in charge of the Chapel Royal and its singers, whose concerns about music in sacred contexts were well known.¹⁹¹

Unexpected support for this hypothesis comes from a fact that, while mentioned by Winton Dean in a footnote, has remained unexplored since 1959.¹⁹² Henley's poetic debut was *Esther Queen of Persia*. An

180 *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, third edition (London: John Nichols, 1785), 202. Jeremy Barlow mistakenly cites page 187 for this information in *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 18, note 29.

181 See Midgley, *Henley*, 56–59.

182 Burney, *Commemoration*, 100–101. Arthur Jacobs has contested the reliability of Burney's witnesses, but Winton Dean rightly affirms the primacy of positive evidence over negative evidence. 'Handel and the Bishop', *The Musical Times* 111 (February 1970), 158, and (April 1970), 387.

183 In 1731 a sermon at Hanover Square based on Esther v. 13 attracted Gibson's scrutiny for possible anti-government subtexts (Sykes, *Gibson*, 145, note 2). Although nothing objectionable was found therein, the story of Esther might have registered as a 'potentially seditious text' in the Bishop's mind (see Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 282).

184 'A Narrative by Mr. Welstede', in *Oratory Transactions*. No. I (London, 1728), 10.

185 Simon Croxeall [pseudonym], *The reed of Egypt piercing the hand that leans upon it. Or, a demonstration that the arguments of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, in his second pastoral letter against the deists, are inconsistent with his principles* (London: Benj. Ginks, 1730).

186 *The London Daily Post*, 5 November 1737, quoted in Midgley, *Henley*, 128.

187 Sykes, *Gibson*, 237. Henley was arrested on 8 February 1728 'for publishing two scandalous and foolish Advertisements in a News Paper, relating to the Convocation, Bishops, &c.'. *The British Journal: Or, The Censor* 4 (Saturday, 10 February 1727/1728)[, 3].

188 *Touch-Stone*, 195.

189 'A Narrative by Mr. Welstede', 14.

190 *Books written, and publish'd, by the Reverend John Henley, M.A.* (London, 1724), 9.

191 See Edmund Gibson, *The Excellent Use of Psalmody, with a Course of Singing-Psalms for Half a Year* [London, after 1724]; Sykes, *Gibson*, 206; and also the insightful discussion in Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 294–296.

192 Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 193, note 1.

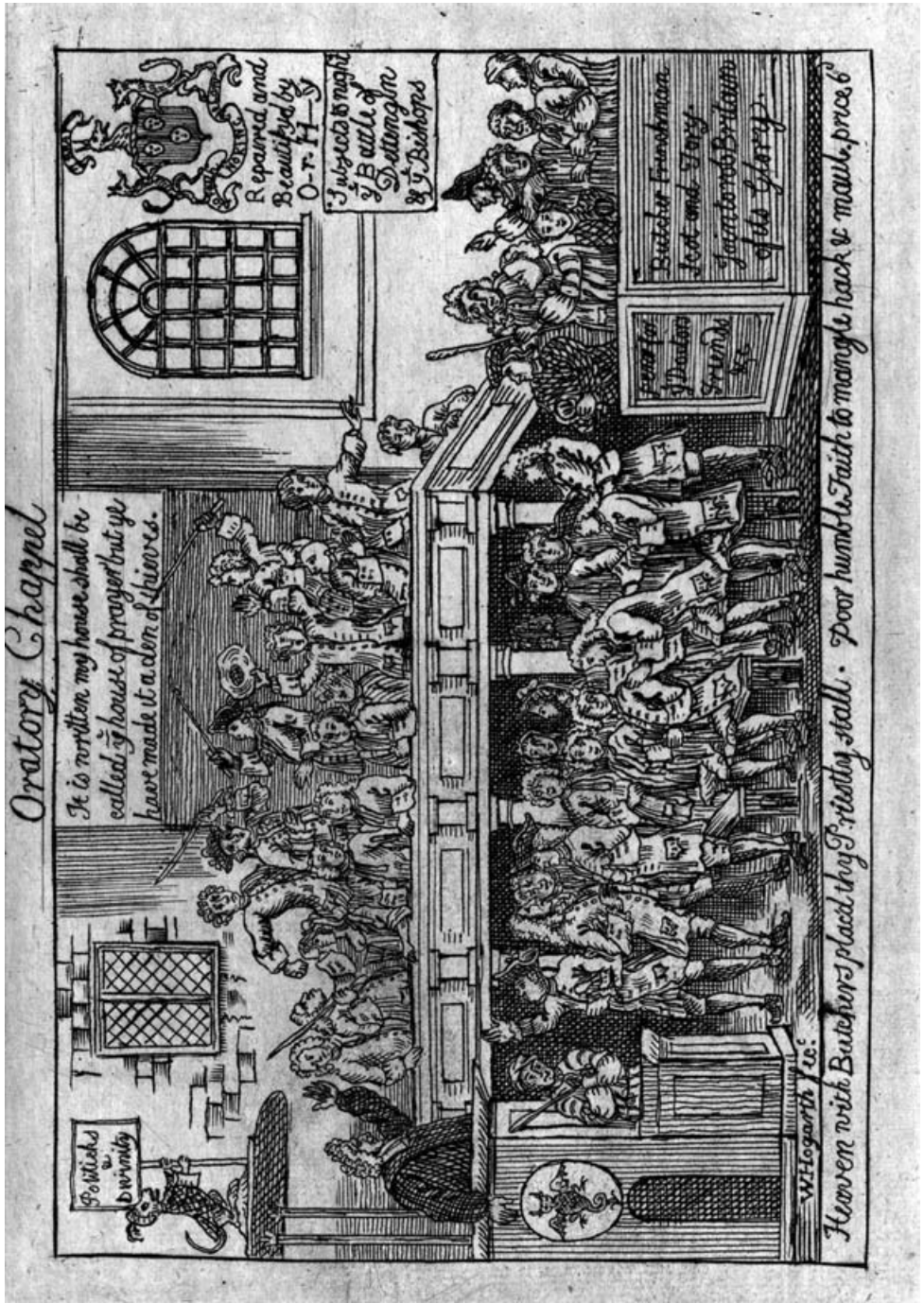


Figure 9 Oratory Chapel, anonymous print (1746), GB Lbma AN358310001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced with permission



Figure 10 *The Orator versus Culloden & E. Contra*, anonymous print (1747), GB Lbma AN00358332_001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced with permission

Historical Poem in Four Books,¹⁹³ which appeared a year before Breton's adaptation of the Racine tragedy.¹⁹⁴ The nearly one-thousand-line poem was sufficiently 'approv'd by the Town, and well receiv'd'¹⁹⁵ to get a second edition in 1715 (its modified title, *The History of Queen Esther. A Poem in Four Books*, suggests an effort to avoid confusion with Breton's piece and also foreshadows Handel's own ambivalence in 1732)¹⁹⁶ and to earn Henley, not yet thirty years old, a place in *An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of our most Considerable English Poets of 1720* ('This Gentleman has Published an Excellent Poem upon the Scripture History of ESTHER').¹⁹⁷ In 1724 the poem appears as the second item – though misleadingly dated

193 (London: E. Curll and J. Pemberton, and A. Bettesworth, 1714.) For a discussion of the poem see Midgley, *Henley*, 17–22.

194 Thomas Breton, *Esther; Or, Faith Triumphant. A Sacred Tragedy* (London: J. Tonson, 1715). For discussions of this work and Handel's oratorio see Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 276–277, and Annette Landgraf, 'Esther: Von der Bibel über Breton zu Händel', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 52 (2006), 129–138.

195 'A Narrative by Mr. Welstede', 7.

196 (London: A. Bettesworth, E. Curll and J. Pemberton, 1715.) On the changes to Handel's advertised title see Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Born in the Press: The Public Molding of Handel's *Esther* into an English Oratorio' (unpublished).

197 (London: E. Curll, 1720), 72–73.



1712 – in Henley's published catalogue of works,¹⁹⁸ and two years later *A Guide to the Oratory* calls it 'The first Appearance [Henley] made in the World as a Writer'.¹⁹⁹ Among the Oratory's subjects for 30 April 1727 we find 'The Court of *Ahasuerus*; the Politicks and Success of *Haman*, with the Characters of *Mordecai* and Queen *Esther*'.²⁰⁰ As if these reminders were not enough, a satirical poem of 16 September 1731 refreshed public memory of Henley's *Esther*: 'And whilst I write these lines', claims the satirist, '[Apollo] guides my quill. / And all the Town will own, I'll lay a tester, / That this Epistle's better than *Queen Esther*', which the notes fully identify as Henley's production.²⁰¹ The satire was reprinted in 1732,²⁰² which makes the Henley–Esther link publicly available around the time of Handel's production.

Is it possible that Gibson saw in a staged *Esther* the same danger of secularizing religion as in Henley's Oratory? Did he even know that the Henleyan *Esther* 'was not used in Handel's libretto'?²⁰³ Questions like these remind us that critical facets of the composer's work were shaped outside musico-textual considerations. Their recovery lies in our willingness to distinguish between a historical Handel (one that participated in multiple discourses, musical or not) and a culturally variable one (Handel the baroque composer) shaped and reshaped by generations of performers, listeners and critics of his works.

A 'MERCURIAL' HANDEL?

Handel's physical condition from the 1730s onward has attracted serious attention, from medical diagnoses to broad arguments about his artistic choices.²⁰⁴ All accounts share a common beginning chronologically – namely his 1737 collapse – and seem to agree on at least one cause, lead poisoning from drinking fortified wines.²⁰⁵ Lead was not, however, the only dangerous substance widely available. Known today for its lethal toxicity, mercury was used at that time as universal remedy ('what great Cure was ever done without it?'²⁰⁶). It was thought to clear blockage in the blood vessels and other tracts by virtue of its heaviness, thus restoring the free circulation of the fluids. Its swift action against various symptoms and ailments generated enthusiastic response ('the most gentle and sovereign of all Remedies', 'a capital Enemy to Diseases'²⁰⁷). Despite grave objections against its use in crude form, various authors assured the public of its great benefits. In 1732 one of them claimed that mercury 'has effected hundreds of Cures within these two Years, more than all the other Drugs put together', and estimated that 'perhaps ten thousand People have of late daily taken it crude'.²⁰⁸

Handel could have been one of them. Within satire's large interpretive margin, his 'taking Poison', as the *Collection* puts it, could have alluded to mercury use (classified by ancient medical authorities as a poison²⁰⁹). Indeed, certain uses of mercury were considered outright poisonous. Dr Allen's *Synopsis medicinae* describes its equivocal results:

198 *Books written, and publish'd, by the Reverend John Henley*, 6.

199 *A Guide to the Oratory*, 3.

200 'The Theological, or Lord's-Day's Subjects of the ORATORY, from July 3. 1726. being the first Sunday, to August 31. 1728'. 5, in *Oratory Transactions*. No. II, third edition.

201 *The Grub-street Journal* 89 (Thursday, 16 September 1731)[, 1, 2].

202 *Faithful Memoirs of the Grubstreet Society* (London: for the benefit of the Grubstreet Society, 1732), 109–112.

203 Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 193, note 1.

204 Milo Keynes, 'Handel and His Illnesses', *The Musical Times* 123 (September 1982), 613–614; David Hunter, 'Miraculous Recovery? Handel's Illnesses, the Narrative Tradition of Heroic Strength and the Oratorio Turn', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/2 (2006), 253–267; David Hunter, 'Handel's Ill Health: Documents and Diagnoses', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 41 (2008), 69–92.

205 William A. Frosch, 'Moods, Madness, and Music. II. Was Handel Insane?', *The Musical Quarterly* 74/1 (1990), 45.

206 Charles Peter, 'Observations, on Mercury, Jesuits Powder, Opium and Steel', in his *New Observations on the Venereal Disease, with the True way of Curing the same*, third edition (London: Philip Monckton, 1704), 4.

207 Augustin Belloste, *The Hospital Surgeon*. Vol. II (London: John Clarke, 1729), 66–67.

208 *An Antidote: Or, Some Remarks upon a Treatise on Mercury* (London: J. Roberts, 1732), 3 and Preface[, 1].

209 Richard Mead, *A Mechanical Account of Poisons in Several Essays*, second, revised, edition (London: Ralph Smith, 1708), 109.



Figure 11 William Hogarth, *Chorus Singers* (1732). GB Lbma AN233118001. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced with permission

Quick-silver [mercury] can scarce be reckoned amongst the Number of Poisons; for it is well known, that in some Cases some Ounces of it may be drank without Damage, but it's external use is of much more pernicious Consequence, as may be seen in those, who in the Venereal Distemper or the like, make use of *Mercurial Ointments*. It has been suddenly fatal to a great many; occasions a trembling, Stupidity, a Palsey, perpetual Lameness, &c. . . . Though *Quick-silver* is not violent, yet



some preparations of it are most Venemous, as *Mercur. praecipit* of various kinds; but *Merc. sublimat. corrosivus* taken inwardly, produces the worst Symptoms of all of them.²¹⁰

If the *Collection* indeed alludes to mercury use, then it may qualify as the earliest reference to Handel's medical condition, and mercury poisoning could be added as a contributing factor to his troubles during the early 1730s. Mental imbalance and irrational behavior, its trademark symptoms, already appear in the wake of *Deborah's* failed premiere: 'This Accident . . . has thrown [Handel] into a *deep Melancholy*, interrupted sometimes by *raving Fits* . . . then he breaks out into frantick, incoherent Speeches'.²¹¹ As late as 1760, John Mainwaring acknowledged 'how greatly his senses were disordered at intervals, for a long time, appeared from an hundred instances, which are better forgotten than recorded'.²¹² If Isaac Newton's mental collapse in 1693 can now be attributed to mercury poisoning,²¹³ we should think seriously how Handel's possible use of mercury influenced his affairs in the 1730s.

A TWIST OF AN EPILOGUE

The above discourse, exhaustive in detail and of unusual origin (a one-page document) rests on a premise of trust. Instead of dismissing the *Collection* as an oddity worth circulating in academic parties only, I resolved to accept it as stretched reality and distorted record of an actual event with real participants. This was not without reason. Establishing facts in the stormy waters of British public life during the 1730s is often impossible: actual events freely mix with rumours and planted intelligence, calumnies and wishful thinking, and often suffer from archaic reporting techniques. Heidegger was announced to be dead in 1735 (untrue) and household accounts list the Prince of Wales as attending *Israel in Egypt's* failed premiere in 1739 (all surviving evidence suggests otherwise).

However pragmatic, my strategy inevitably results in gains and losses. The source did serve me as a ladder to re-examine Handel's career during the 'Second Academy' and explore hitherto obscure encounters with persons, places and institutions. On the downside, it led to a discovery that might shake the reader's confidence in my project: Handel's description in the *Collection* is, among many others, a transplant from a previous satirical list.

The story throws us back into politics. When in 1729 Robert Walpole arranged the allocation of an extra £115,000 from public funds to the Crown's Civil List, many considered it a parliamentary coup. William Pulteney (1684–1764), Walpole's arch-enemy and a friend of Swift, condemned the measure in a *Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country*, where he listed all MPs voting for and against the bill. Intensifying his reaction, he also produced a satirical list of personages crowding Westminster Hall.²¹⁴ The

210 *Dr. Allen's Synopsis Medicinae . . . and a Curious Treatise of all Sorts of Poysons* (London: J. Pemberton and W. Meadows, 1730), volume 2, 250–251.

211 *The Country Journal: Or, the Craftsman* 353 (Saturday, 7 April 1733)[1, 1].

212 [John Mainwaring,] *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760), 121.

213 L. W. Johnson and M. L. Wolbarsht, 'Mercury Poisoning: A Probable Cause of Isaac Newton's Physical and Mental Ills', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 34/1 (1979), 1–9.

214 *A Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Sum of 115,000 l. granted for the Service of the Civil List. To which is added, A Collection of Pictures by the best Hands* (London: J. Walker[1, 1729]). As with many popular ephemera, existing copies of this title present inconsistencies. The list is absent from the copy I examined at the British Library (8138.df.9). The second and third editions bear no date, but they were advertised in *The Daily Journal* 2659 (Wednesday, 16 July 1729)[1, 2], and *The Daily Post* 3059 (Thursday, 10 July 1729)[1, 2]. According to Lord Chesterfield, Pulteney possessed uncommon wit and literary talent, which make him a likely author of the list ('Appendix to Lord Chesterfield's Works', in *Miscellaneous Works of the Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield . . . Volume the Fourth* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1779), 30). The exact relationship of the list to Walpole's legislation is unclear. As the bill aimed to help George II pay Civil List arrears, one assumes that the listed individuals were seeking money owed to them. Given the magnitude of the amount, the reference to the Court of Requests, established to settle small debts of the common people, is ironic. The inspiration for this particular satirical



list first came out separately on 10 July as *A Collection of Several Pictures by the Best Hands, &c.; Which where [sic] lately to be View'd adjoining to the Court of Requests; And when the Town fills, will be exhibited there again to Publick View.*²¹⁵ Extremely popular, it reached a third edition ('With ADDITIONS') by 18 July and was incorporated (as 'the compleat Collection of Pictures') in the *Letter's* fourth edition on 23 July.²¹⁶ Lady Hervey recorded the following day that 'there is a great deal of wit stirring in town. I have seen a collection of pictures, some of which are admirably good, others I do not understand, and some few I do not much like.'²¹⁷ Table 2 consolidates all three satirical lists, showing the transfer or mutation of descriptions between 1729 and 1732.

The revival of the list in summer 1732 offers one last insight about the *ridotto al fresco*. With admission set at one guinea (worth two opera tickets), Tyers was seeking to create as exclusive an environment as a court, perhaps an Arcadian version of St James's. The high concentration of elites and the pretentious setting must have evoked the 1729 *Collection*. That the Vauxhall list is significantly revised (of its ninety-three names, thirty-two appear for the first time, while twenty from the previous lists are absent) suggests a response to an actual event with known participants and validates my trust in the document.

What about Handel? Does the new discovery strengthen or undercut the claims of this article? At first glance, it is unsettling that his description might have originated with someone else. Lowell Lindgren has instantly recognized 'S A-d-re' as Nathanael St André (1679/80–1776), surgeon and anatomist to George I's royal household since 1723, Heidegger's Swiss compatriot, a master of viola da gamba and a notorious self-publicist.²¹⁸ In the mid and late 1720s he was enmeshed in controversies that eventually destroyed his career. His role in publicizing Mary Toft, a Surrey woman claiming to have given birth to fourteen rabbits (and a fifteenth one with St André's help), deserves a place in the annals of medical credulity.²¹⁹ In 1725 he asserted he had been poisoned by strangers, causing the launch of a criminal investigation, and publicly described his overcoming the dreadful experience. Poisoning also features in the last of his scandals, in 1728. His eloping with the wife of his friend and dying patient Samuel Molyneux, MP and secretary to the Prince of Wales, fuelled rumours that he had poisoned the unfortunate husband.²²⁰ When a Reverend Madin openly accused him, St André filed a lawsuit, which was judged nonsuited on 26 June 1729, two weeks before the appearance of the *Collection*.²²¹

'A Lady taking Poyson for Love of Mr. *Heydegger*' evokes these incidents and possibly alludes to a common appearance at St James's court of Heidegger with St André or Molyneux's widow. What made the description also available for Handel is Heidegger, naturally, whose connections and experience as problem-fixer were indispensable both to a novice theatrical manager and to a royal physician on the verge of losing his career. Like St André, Handel had received wide publicity in the weeks preceding the *Collection*: he had

mode could have been the picture auction room, adjacent to the Court of Requests, or even the armorial devices and mottoes in Westminster Hall.

215 (London: A. Moore, no date.) See *The Daily Journal* 2654 (Thursday, 10 July 1729)[, 1].

216 *The Daily Journal* 2661 (Friday, 18 July 1729)[, 2]; *The Daily Post* 3070 (Wednesday, 23 July 1729)[, 2]. The advertisement of 25 July begins 'With the Collection of the Court Pictures, and the Supplement thereto' and specifies 'This is the only Edition printed from the Original, and all others are spurious'. *The Daily Journal* 2667 (Friday, 25 July 1729)[, 2].

217 *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her Second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley; from 1712 to 1767* (London: John Murray, 1824), volume 1, 339–346. I thank David Coke for directing me to this source.

218 Private communication from Lowell Lindgren. See 'Biographical Account of Mr. ST. ANDRE', *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* 51 ([July] 1781), 320–322.

219 N. St André, *A Short Narrative of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbets perform'd by Mr. John Howard Surgeon at Guilford*, second edition (London: John Clarke, 1726).

220 Molyneux is listed in the service of the Prince of Wales as early as September 1716 ('Samuel Molineux Esqr. Secr[etar]y & Keeper of the Privy Seal' at £640 a year, British Library, Add. Ms. 61492, f. 232r). His death, on 13 April 1728, was reported in *The London Evening-Post* 54 (Thursday, 11 – Saturday, 13 April 1728)[, 1]. His wife was Lady Elizabeth Capel, sister of the Earl of Essex, a leading opera patron (*The Daily Post* 2672 (Monday, 15 April 1728)[, 1]).

221 *The London Evening-Post* 243 (Thursday, 26 – Saturday, 28 June 1729)[, 2].



just returned from Italy after securing talent for the new opera season.²²² Whether poisoning is to be understood allegorically (close proximity to Heidegger, a king of vice and corruption for moralists) or factually (medicinal use of mercury) will have to remain an open question. The latter now seems less plausible (the description fits St André better than Handel), yet not impossible: the wonder drug had broad circulation among the upper classes, and the collapse of Handel's health in 1737 is firmly linked to chronic poisoning. On the positive side, knowing that the description dates back to 1729, at the start of his partnership with Heidegger, justifies my broad investigation of the 'Second Academy' years and my claims on the nature of their relationship.

FLIRTING WITH THE CARNIVALESQUE

Where does this all leave us? The cornucopia of data, the ever-shifting possibilities, the allusions, hypotheses and contradictions in this essay may produce bewilderment and frustration to the reader. Is there any certainty? Can anything be taken as fact? Yes: the existence of the document that set in motion this historiographical extravaganza. Everything else is reconstruction to some degree. The reader needs to understand, however, that I am dealing with hidden corners of history, the ones inaccessible to the square brick of theory yet within reach for a flexible brush, whose soft hairs, each an open-ended conjecture, could probe and recover them for musicology.

Furthermore, my treatment reflects the document's own carnivalesque spirit. Reversing scholarly etiquette, I begin with an answer and proceed to reconstruct possible questions applicable to it: why would Handel have been present at the *ridotto al fresco*?; how did his forthcoming production of *Acis and Galatea* relate to the pastoral utopia of the Vauxhall Gardens?; who could have served as his liaison with the venue and Jonathan Tyers?; why is he listed as inferior to Heidegger? I also remove the divide between factual and potential reality to accommodate the broad interpretive margin in satire. Finally, I break with traditional scholarly presentation, replacing the linearity of causally interlocked statements with parallel or sibling discourses. This approach helps recover information hitherto unknown or suppressed, and exposes the complexities informing Handel's life and career in the most dynamic social setting Europe had encountered in two millennia.

My flirting with the carnivalesque is emblematically cast in the opening braying 'hee-haw ... llelujah', a caustic distortion of Handel's signature chorus. The 'Second Academy' years were a cause for celebration because of his social advancement. At the same time they saw his closest proximity to the Hanoverian monarchy, particularly the Queen and the Princess Royal, making him no less subject to satire than other cultural pillars of the Whig supremacy. Amidst the adulation of the recent commemorative year of 2009, the irreverent 'hee-haw ... llelujah' serves as a historiographical mantra invoking the Georgian Handel, an ambitious man and partisan artist who in the early 1730s gave plenty of reason for some to claim 'what an ass!'

222 *The Daily Courant* 8650 (Wednesday, 2 July 1729)[, 2]; *Brice's Weekly Journal* 220 (Friday, 4 July 1729), 3.



Table 2 Individuals listed in the three satirical lists

NAME	COLLECTION (10 July 1729)	LETTER (23 July 1729)	COLLECTION (June 1732)
P(ince) W(ales)	X	X	A Prudent and Wise Ass
ditto	X	X	A learned and virtuous Ass
M(iss) V(ane)	X	X	A modest and barren Ass
L(ord) B(o)ll(ing)broke	A JUDAS	JUDAS	X
Sir R(ober) W(alp)ole	A Miraculous Draught of Fishes	A Miraculous Draught of Fishes	A Miraculous Ass
ditto	The Seven Wonders of the World	X	A Seven headed Ass
C(ardinal). F(eu)ry	X	A Fleet of Men of War waiting in Port for a Convoy	X
L(ord) G(a)ge	A Naked Modesty, full Length	A Naked Modesty, full Length	A chast, a naked and innocent Ass
Sir W(ilfred) La(w)son	A Mountain in Labour	A Mountain in Labour	An Ass bringing forth Mountains
L(ord) T(ownshend)	A Head, unfinished'd	A Head, unfinished'd	An Ass with an Head unfinished
(Thomas) B(oo)tle	A Mist	A Mist	A mystical Ass
(Sir Robert) C(o)rker	A Face, after the Manner of Rubens	A Face, after the manner of Rubens	A Ruby Faced Ass
D(uke) B(olton)	A Siege of Gibraltar	A neat Battle	A Valliant Ass
(William) Sh(i)ppen	A distant Prospect	A distant Prospect	A long headed Ass
Adm(iral) Cav(en)dish	A Sea Fight	A Sea Fight	A Fighting Ass
Wineingtown	The Four Seasons	The Four Seasons	A Winter, a Spring, a Summer and an Autumn Ass
D(o)dd(ing)ton	A Still Life	A Still Life	The still and quiet Ass
D(uke) K(ingston?)	Marriage of Cupid and Psyche	The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche	The Uxorious Ass
L(ord) Castlem(at)ne	A Piece of Embroidery	A Piece of Embroidery	The Embroidered Ass
Sir J(ohn) R(ushou)t	A Night Piece	A Night Piece	The Night Ass
(Samuel) Sand(y)s	It's Companion	It's Companion	One of his Companions
Sir J(ohn) S(helle)y	Jupiter and Ganymede, after the Italian Gusto	Jupiter and Ganymede, after the Italian Gusto	The Ass of Jupiter and Ganymede after the Italian Gusto
L(ord) W(illia)m P(aulet)	The Nine Muses	The Nine Muses	The Ass of the nine Muses
W. Lock	Peter knocking at the Door	Peter knocking at the Door	X
D(uc)h(e)ss M-s-s	X	X	The Magdalen she Ass



Table 2 Continued

NAME	COLLECTION (10 July 1729)	LETTER (23 July 1729)	COLLECTION (June 1732)
L(u)ml(e)y	An Embryo	An Embryo	The Ass in Embryo
L. H--b----b	A Maiden Head	A Maiden-Head	The Maiden-head Ass
Hope	A Gentleman, three Quarters	A Gentleman, three Quarters	The three Quarters Gentleman Ass
D(uc)h(es)s M(on)t(ag(u)	X	X	The Devout she-Ass
Col(onel) (Francis) Chartr(e)s	A Piece of Devotion	A Piece of Devotion	X
Peter W(a)lter	Several Ruins	Several Ruins	The ruined Ass
S(amuel) T(u)ffne(l)l	A Head	A Head	The Fine headed Ass
P(u)lt(e)n(e)y	A Town on Fire	A Town on Fire	The Fiery-Ass
(Thomas?) Lewis	The Conversion	The Conversion	The converted Ass
C. Vern(o)n	A dark Landskip, the manner of <i>Pousin</i>	A dark Landskip, after the manner of <i>Pousin</i>	The Dark Ass of Ponson
(James) Og(le)th(or)pe	A Prison Scene	A Prison Scene	The Imprisoned Ass
Scr-pe	A Market	A Market	X
Sir W(illiam) Y(o)nge	A <i>Dutch</i> Wedding	A <i>Dutch</i> Wedding	A Dutch Wedding Ass
Sir R(obert) S(utto)n	A Prospect of a fine Church	A Prospect of a fine Cathedral	The fine Church Ass
A(rthur) O(nslow)	A Flower Piece	A Flower Piece	The Flower of Asses
H(oratio) W(a)lp(o)le	The Graces	The Graces	The Graces shine in this Ass
L(ord) M(alpa)s	A Sea Piece	A Sea Piece	The Huge Sea Ass
L(ord) C(hief) J(ustice) ###	<i>Henry</i> VIII full Length	<i>Henry</i> VIII. full Length	The Humble and Merciful Ass
Ditto	A Ship curiously done	A Ship, curiously done, a Capital Picture	The chaste curious Ship Ass
*** / *** / L. S----p	Judgment of <i>Hercules</i> , a Copy from L. <i>Shaffsbury</i>	Judgment of <i>Hercules</i> , a Copy from L. <i>Shaffsbury</i>	The <i>Herculean</i> Judgement Ass
Orator H(e)nly	St. <i>Paul</i> Preaching	St. <i>Paul</i> Preaching	X
Orator Henly	X	X	The Modest Eloquent Ass
Ditto	X	X	The Solid Divine Ass
Ditto	X	X	<i>Apuleius</i> 's Golden Ass, very Religious
N(e)lth(ro)pes	The Holy Family	The Holy Family	Many holy and sanctified Asses, all



Table 2 Continued

NAME	COLLECTION (10 July 1729)	LETTER (23 July 1729)	COLLECTION (June 1732)
W(atkins) W(illiams) W(yn)ne	A Prospect of Promis'd Land	A prospect of the Promis'd Land	The Land of Promise Ass
S(ir) G(eorge) W(yn)ne	X	X	The Dutyful Ass
Al(derman) / (3) F(rancis) C(hil)d	A Charity Piece	A Charity Piece	The Charitable and generous Ass
L. F----	A Gaming Table	A Hazard Table	The Gaming Ass
J(ohn) F(inc)h (?)	A fine Lady Naked	A fine Lady, naked	The beautiful naked effeminate Ass
E(arl) S(uffol)k	A Winter Piece	A Winter Piece	The Winter Ass
T(homas) Sc(awe)n	The Temple of <i>Solomon</i>	The Temple of <i>Solomon</i>	The large well built Ass
D(uke) B(uckinghamshir)e	A Drunken <i>Bacchus</i>	A Drunken <i>Bacchus</i>	The <i>Bacchanalian</i> or Drunken Ass
L. S---le	Another of the same size	Another, of the same Size	His Brother Ass
C. H-g-hes	A Skeleton	A Skeleton	One Skeleton Ass
C(ale) b D(a)nv(e)rs	X	Sir R. W---le at full Length	X
the late Mr. H----d / (3) Mr. H-d	A Droll Piece	X	One drolling Ass
L(ord) B(---l) (?Blunder)	A Woman at Confession finely done	A Women at Confession, finely done	One Confessing Ass
D(uchess) L(eed)s	A Bawd at Prayers	A Bawd at Prayers	One She-Ass like a Bawd at Prayers
Sir C. H- / (3) Sir C---h	The Standards and Colours used by the Parliament Officers in the late Civil Wars	X	One Ass covered with Parliament Colours and Standards
Paulo (Sir Paul Methuen)	A Weather Cock	A Weather-Cock	One Weather-Cock Ass
(Hugh) B(o)s(ca)w(e)n	The Prodigal Son	X	One prodigal Ass turn'd Penitent
J(ohn) Gay / (3) J C--y	A joint Conspiracy between <i>Virgil</i> and <i>Venus</i>	The Loves of <i>Virgil</i> and <i>Venus</i>	One <i>Virgilean</i> and <i>Veneereal</i> Ass
(3) Ditto	X	X	One <i>Dursyan</i> or Poetical Ass
L S---th---(Southerland) / (3) L. Sh----	The Battle of <i>Death</i> and <i>Time</i>	X	One Ass bearing the Resemblance of the Battle between <i>Death</i> and <i>Time</i>
E(arl) G(rantha)m	<i>Diana</i> and <i>Acteon</i>	X	Two Asses, <i>Diana</i> and <i>Acteon</i>
(Roger) L'Est(ran)ge	X	X	One florid and rhetorical Ass
Sir H(ans) S(loa)n(e)	X	X	One learned <i>AEsculapean</i> Ass
(Alexander) P(o)pe	X	X	One learned and <i>Homerical</i> Ass



Table 2	Continued	COLLECTION (10 July 1729)	LETTER (23 July 1729)	COLLECTION (June 1732)
NAME				
idem		X	X	One beautiful shaped Ass
B(enjamin) H(oa)d(l)y		X	X	One Ass with a Fox's Head
Chi-s-t—n		X	X	One Conney Warren Ass
Du(chess) M(arlborough)		X	X	One generous, unfortunate, miserable and poor She-Ass
L(ord) T(ankerville)			A Person of Quality paying his Debts	One Noble Ass paying Debts
S A-d-re (St. André?)		X	A Lady taking Poyson for Love of Mr. Heydegger	X
H(a)ndel		A Lady taking Poyson for Love of Mr. Heydegger	X	One She-Ass in love with Mr. Heydegger, and taking Poison
L(ord) / E(arl) E(ssex)		A Man of Quality in Womens Apparel	A Man of Quality in Womens Apparel	One He-Ass dress'd in a She-Ass's Apparel, Quality-like
Al(derman) / Mr. P(ar)s(o)ns		a fine Gentleman	A fine Gentleman	One fine, genteel, accomplished Ass
Dav(e)n(a)nt		a Rabbet Warren	A Rabbet Warren curiously done	One Rabbet Warren Ass
B(la)d(e)n		a Hazard Table	X	X
D(uke) K(en)t		X	X	One sage, prophetic Ass
G(eorge) P(a)rk(e)r		X	X	One Star-gazing Ass
Y. K---		X	X	The able Law-Ass, sound in Judgment
F(rancis) N(or)th		The Sages	X	Many sage Asses
M(arquis) C(aernarvon?)		X	The Sages	X
Sir (Adolphus) O(ughto)n / O—a--n		A Country Christening	X	Eight Asses at a Country Christening
C(hurchi)le / C(hurc)h(i)ll / C—r---ls		a Marriage <i>durante bene placeto</i>	A Marriage <i>durante bene placito</i>	The Ass marrying <i>durante bene placito</i>
(John) Hugg(i)ns		X	Herod's Cruelty	X
G—M-cc---y		X	An Inside of a Church	X
L. L-----d		X	A fine Head of St. Luke	X
J. P-tt		X	A History Piece	X
Sir O(riando) B(ridgeman)		X	<i>Susannah</i> and the two Elders	X
L ² He-p		X	A Winter's Day	X



Table 2 Continued

NAME	COLLECTION (10 July 1729)	LETTER (23 July 1729)	COLLECTION (June 1732)
L. W-----y d- B-----	X	A neat Head of <i>Seneca</i>	X
G-----r M-----ce	X	An Indorsement	X
C. T---by	X	The Storming of a Town	X
(Thomas) Woolst(o)n	X	Hell Torments	X
D(uke) B(ed)f(or)d	X		The Loyal Ass
Ju(s)t asses	X		The Right Worshipful Asses, all the learned <i>Middlesex</i>
Ca---v---t	X		The honest Dray, alias Brewing-Ass
(William) Ray(n)er	X		The honest Printing-Ass
(Robert) Walk(e)r	X		His Brother
Ju---c---h	X		Equity-pleading Ass
K-----by	X		Brawling Ass
L(ord) A(n)g(le)sy	X		The Cuckoldly Ass
D(uke) M(on)tag(u)	X		The Generous Ass
L. T-s a-n	X		The State Ass bullying
D(uke) N(ewca)s(t)le	X		Slouching Ass
(Cardinal) De F(leur)ye (?) / (Charles)	X		<i>French</i> Cross Ass
De(la)f(a)ye			
E(ustace) B(ud)g(e)ll	X		A Scribbling Ass
Ca-leb (see above)	X		His Brother
T--h---t (Townshend?)	X		The Silver-tongued Ass
Mrs. D'F-ye	X		The Screech-Owl
Du(chess) M(anche)st(e)r	X		Leech-Owl
eadem	X		The Lean Owl
Sir R(ichard) Rey(nel)l	X		An Honourable Owl
idem	X		One Owl just and wise