performed in Japan from 1931 onward, musicians and audiences did not begin to perceive it as being religiously 'universal' or 'ecumenical' until the 1980s. And Jan Smaczny (Queen's University, Belfast) examined nineteenth-century performances in Prague as part of the performance of pre-1800 music more generally.

The debate about how many people sang on a part in Bach's choruses came up both in conversation and in papers. Some people on both sides of the debate vigorously defended one position or another. As background, some scholars, notably Joshua Rifkin and Andrew Parrott, argue that there was only one singer on a part, while others, including Christoph Wolff and George Stauffer, argue that choruses had at least three or four on a part. Still others think that until more evidence is found, the debate, which was at its height several years ago, will not be definitively resolved. This reviewer finds that Bach's 1730 memo to the Leipzig city council (the famous *Entwurff*), and the scores and performance parts of Bach's cantatas and passions – sources used by representatives of both sides in the debate – are problematic when applied to discussing forces for the Mass, since, as far as we know, the Mass was not performed or even intended for performance in a liturgical setting in Leipzig.

The conference concluded with a performance of the B minor Mass by the Dunedin Consort and Players, led by John Butt (University of Glasgow), in Clonard Monastery. The concert was dedicated to the memory of organist and Bach scholar Anne Leahy, who had tragically succumbed to illness just a few weeks earlier. Leahy had been pivotal in planning the symposium, and her presence was very much missed during the weekend. The performance used the recent edition of the Mass by Christoph Wolff, which, as Butt noted, 'represents a creative compromise between competing conceptions of the work'. Here Butt meant the many layers of the work as composed and revised by J. S. and C. P. E. Bach; he was also alluding to the debate about the size of Bach's vocal forces. The choruses used the five soloists (Susan Hamilton, Anne Crookes, Annie Gill, Nicholas Mulroy and Matthew Brook), reinforced by one ripienist on each part. Mulroy in particular shone in the solo sections, although he was tiring by the end. The instrumentalists put in solid performances. Many in the audience found the performance by Anneke Scott on the natural French horn the best they had heard.

In conclusion, this conference was a fitting tribute to a work which has been the object of an enormous amount of research and performance energy, but whose purpose of composition is, ironically, still a mystery. Various, sometimes competing perspectives were brought up in conversation. One achieved an understanding at least of the variety of approaches to the subject. It is also clear that important new research is still being conducted on the work, its context and its later reception.

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## JOHN RICH AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON STAGE: COMMERCE, MAGIC AND MANAGEMENT

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, 25-27 JANUARY 2008

John Rich (1692–1761) was one of London's most influential theatre managers and entertainers. As producer, manager and performer, he changed English theatre through his experiments on stage and behind the scenes, inventing or popularizing a range of high- and low-style genres including English pantomime, ballad opera, French theatrical dance, Shakespeare revivals and Handel's stage music. Astonishingly, *John Rich and the Eighteenth-Century London Stage: Commerce, Magic and Management* was the very first truly interdisciplinary conference devoted to the early eighteenth-century London stage. It marked several

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anniversaries and legacies connected to Rich's career: his mounting of the century's theatrical sensation, *The Beggar's Opera* (1728); the destruction of the theatre he built on this work's proceeds, Covent Garden (1808); and the opening of the opera house built on the same site (1858).

The conference venue was the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Fittingly, the RCS was built on the original site of the former Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, the playhouse where Rich began his career as an impresario. The event was well attended by over one hundred and fifty delegates working in different disciplines from the UK, Europe, North America and New Zealand, and the weekend was filled with exciting new scholarship in the areas of eighteenth-century English music, dance, literature, art and theatre history.

The conference began on Friday night with a welcome from convenors Berta Joncus (Oxford University) and Jeremy Barlow (The Broadside Band), followed by a rousing keynote speech by eminent theatre historian Robert D. Hume (Pennsylvania State University). Hume made a convincing argument for the importance of the little-studied and frequently misunderstood Rich, deeming him more influential than any other theatrical personality of the eighteenth century, including David Garrick. There was a reception afterward at the traditional George IV pub, where delegates could discuss Hume's interesting new findings.

Saturday began an extended day of original papers, with three panels running concurrently. Moira Goff (British Library) showed how Rich the innovator turned to entr'acte entertainments in order to entice audiences away from his rivals at Drury Lane, and Kimiko Okamoto (Roehampton University) discussed the narrative features of generic dances such as minuets, sarabandes and chaconnes, which were an important part of these entr'actes. Jennifer Thorp (New College, Oxford) directed attention to Rich's stormy relationship with his Paris-trained dancer François Nivelon. In the first Handel session of the conference, Graydon Beeks (Pomona College) illuminated some new details about the changing membership of the Covent Garden Theatre orchestra during a crucial decade (1757–1767) and Corbett Bazler (Columbia University) described the influence of Rich on Handel's output, particularly his Serse (1738). Handel's pasticcios for Covent Garden, Oreste (1734) and Arbace (1734), were examined with reference to the ideas behind the rhetorical notion of translatio in a paper by Robert Anthony Torre (University of Wisconsin, Madison). In the third panel, Don-John Dugas (Kent State University) gave us a fascinating overview of contemporaneous responses to Rich's pantomime in the nearly forgotten weekly Pasquin. Fame and notoriety in eighteenthcentury culture has been a subject of emerging interest of late (see, for example, Cheryl Wanko's Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech, 2003) and Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660–2000 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), co-edited by Jane Moody and Mary Luckhurst); Uriel Heyd's (Royal Holloway, University of London) paper on the representation of the newspaper press in the theatre illuminated a culture focused on courting recognition and perhaps even the roots of modern celebrity/media relations. Neil Pattison (University of Cambridge) gave an intriguing account of Lewis Theobald, the librettist behind many of Rich's most popular pantomime entertainments; Pattison showed that despite Rich's focus on the commercial aspects of the genre, Theobald was convinced that pantomime might develop into a theatrical form which would uphold his high literary ideals.

The second session of the morning consisted of lectures, each highlighting new finds in Rich scholarship. Presentations by David Hunter (University of Texas at Austin) and Kevin McGinley (Fatih University) brought to light exciting new manuscript discoveries. Hunter has found the diary of John Stede, long-time prompter for Rich's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and this volume provides new evidence for the number of rehearsals held by the company, the preparation of *The Beggar's Opera* and a considerable amount of additional information which undoubtedly will be of interest to theatre historians. McGinley's discovery of a lengthy manuscript in Rich's hand, 'Remarks on the Tragedy Call'd Agis' (1754) proves beyond doubt that Rich was neither illiterate nor negligent with plays that were submitted to him for performance; indeed, the manuscript provides a sensible act-by-act analysis of author John Home's play, demonstrating Rich's considerable critical and artistic acumen. This session also included a valuable contribution by Ana Martinez (City University of New York Graduate Center), who thoroughly studied Covent Garden's 1744 inventory in order to arrive at a more complete picture of Rich's scenographies and management.

The afternoon offered three concurrent panels with still broader examinations of Rich scholarship and paraphernalia. A popular session on iconography gave us Marcus Risdell's (Garrick Club) account of what happened to the terracotta 'Davenant's Bust' of Shakespeare, which formerly sat at the entrance to the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, and Robin Simon, FSE (The British Art Journal) discussed gesture and expression in William Hogarth's famous images of The Beggar's Opera; Iain Mackintosh (London) presented over forty images relating to Rich and stimulated discussions about half and full masks in early pantomime. In a panel on the changing 'Tastes of the Town', Rebecca Harris-Warrick (Cornell University) investigated the phenomenon of French dancers and dance numbers in London during Rich's era. Marc Martinez (Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III) explored the merging concepts of high and low art in pantomime, centred on the physical virtuosity of the performer and the plots of Rich's new-style pantomimes. Rich's regard for 'High Art' was also emphasized by Sarah McCleave (Queen's University, Belfast), who described his support for serious opera in London. A third afternoon panel included Matthew J. Kinservik (University of Delaware), who not only examined Rich's complicated relationship with the censors, but also touched on his Shakespeare advocacy. Vanessa L. Rogers (London) described Rich's relationship with rival playwright Henry Fielding (and the impressive and often funny dramatic results of the competition between the two men), and Andrew Pink (UCL) explored the connection between freemasonry and the theatre through the Grand Master's 1732 Lincoln's Inn benefit for Rich.

Three final panels on Saturday ran concurrently as part of a short afternoon session. The first concentrated on music and included papers by Kathryn Lowerre (Michigan State University), who outlined some of the spectacular musical practices of Rich's notorious father, Christopher, and Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson (Brentwood, Essex), who focused on the surprising presence of first-class vocal music as a distinguishing feature of Rich's pantomimes. A second panel featured two papers on the production of *The Beggar's Opera*, by David Nokes (King's College London) and Maria Chiara Barbieri (Università degli Studi di Firenze), while the third panel explored pantomimic traditions: Richard Semmens (University of Western Ontario) was enlightening on misconceptions concerning the landmark *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* afterpieces (1723), and Anne MacNeil (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) looked at the narrative relations between opera and *commedia dell'arte*.

Delegates were treated on Saturday night to a unique eighteenth-century-style 'benefit' concert that included the talents of English National Opera tenor Neil Jenkins, musicians from the Royal Academy of Music, period dancing by Parisian choreographer Edith Lalonger and seventeen tumblers and acrobats from CircusSpace, who re-created scenes from Rich's most enduring stage works.

Sunday morning resumed the series of original papers and presentations, including a few with live musical examples and dances performed by musicians at the Royal College of Music and Keith McEwing (Victoria University of Wellington), a baroque dancer from New Zealand. The performance session also included lecture-presentations by Jeremy Barlow (The Broadside Band), who examined differing eighteenth-century musical settings of *The Beggar's Opera*, and Naomi Matsumoto (Goldsmith's College, University of London), who considered Rich's employment of the 'English mad song' in his most successful pantomimes and ballad operas.

Sunday morning also included a lively session chaired by Elizabeth Eger (King's College London) on gender issues in Rich's theatres: Fiona Ritchie (McGill University) read a paper on the significance of the Shakespeare Ladies Club on Rich's repertory choices, Kathryn R. King (University of Montevallo) discussed the turbulent relationship between Rich and scandalous novelist/actress Eliza Haywood, and Felicity Nussbaum (UCLA) dissected Peg Woffington's cross-dressing parts and her participation in the performance of nation on Rich's stage. A third session on dance included Carol Marsh (University of North Carolina, Greensboro) on changes of choreographic style during the early part of the eighteenth century and Linda J. Tomko's (University of California, Riverside) research on 'harlequin' choreographies during the same era – Rich being the period's most famous harlequin. Jim Fowler (Victoria & Albert Theatre and Performance Collection) focused on female harlequins, which had become fashionable in the eighteenth century, and on



a recently discovered painting of Hester Booth in full harlequin dress while Al Coppola (Fordham University) traced the interesting connections between Rich's harlequin pantomime *Necromancer* and scientific 'conjuring' experiments conducted by Newtonians in the 1720s.

The final Handel session included a contribution by Donald Burrows (The Open University) on the circumstances of composition of *Ariodante* (performed 1735), written during Handel's transfer over to Rich's Covent Garden Theatre while Deborah W. Rooke (King's College London) examined the libretto of his oratorio *Samson* (1743) – the first Handel oratorio to be performed at Covent Garden – and the interrelation between three versions of the biblical story. Michael Burden (New College, Oxford) chaired a concurrent session on Rich's stage business: in his panel, Judith Milhous (City University of New York Graduate Center) described the particulars of Rich's financial difficulties during the 1724–1725 season using manuscript evidence, Berta Joncus (St Anne's College, Oxford) illuminated aspects of the career and public persona of John Beard, the first star tenor on the London stage and manager of Covent Garden after Rich, and Joseph Drury (University of Pennsylvania) notably portrayed Rich as a major technical innovator during a period of increased mechanization in London's theatres.

The final two panels of the conference explored Rich's influence outside London and his family legacy. Gráinne McArdle (Dublin) looked at the repertory performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre and in Dublin during the 1720s and 1730s, and at the dancers shared between the two theatres, while Ian Small (University of York) convincingly established Rich's influence on the managerial expectations and repertory of the provincial theatre. Rich's provincial connections were also explored by Mark Howell-Meri (*Drama in Schools*), who examined the eighteenth-century theatre spaces of Richmond and Bristol to demonstrate how performers might have worked three-sided stages like Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. Neil Jenkins (London) told us about John Beard's management of Covent Garden after Rich; the impresario's familial relationships were also investigated by Martin V. Clarke (Durham University), who highlighted the crucial role played by the theatrical community (and Priscilla Rich) in the development of a distinctive Methodist hymn tune and Terry Jenkins (English National Opera), who focused on unpublished and erroneously transmitted information about Rich's marriages, children and family life.

The conference culminated with a tour of the Garrick Club's collection of theatrical paintings and a reception. This concluded a thought-provoking and enjoyable weekend that created new interdisciplinary ties and hopefully will stimulate future collaborations and further scholarship on Rich's history and legacy. A publication, the first modern volume dedicated to Rich's multi-faceted career, is planned in 2009 and will showcase scholarship from the conference; further details will be posted on the conference website: www.johnrich2008.com.

VANESSA L. ROGERS



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## JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC AND HAYDN SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

SCRIPPS COLLEGE, CLAREMONT, CA, 29 FEBRUARY-2 MARCH 2008

Overlooking the scenic San Gabriel Mountains, the campus of Scripps College on the outskirts of Los Angeles provided a welcoming venue for a joint conference of the Society for Eighteenth-Century Music and the Haydn Society of North America. This was the inaugural conference of the Haydn Society of North America, which was founded in November 2006, supplanting its previous incarnation as the Haydn Society of California. After previous events in 2004 and 2006, this marked the third biennial conference for the Society for Eighteenth-Century Music, founded in November 2001. Nineteen papers were presented in five