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**A Star is Born: Kitty Clive and Female Representation
in Eighteenth-Century English Musical Theatre**

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ABSTRACT OF ARGUMENT

A STAR IS BORN: KITTY CLIVE AND FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH MUSICAL THEATRE

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Catherine ('Kitty') Clive (1711-1785) was the most famous singer-actress of mid-eighteenth century London, and one of the first women whom Drury Lane managers sought to popularize specifically as a singer. Drawing on theories of star construction in cinema, this thesis explores how the public persona of Mrs Clive 'composed' the music she sang.

A key ingredient in star production is the wide-ranging dissemination of the star's image. The first chapter explains how the mid-eighteenth star was produced, outlining the period equivalents to what film scholars consider the sources of modern stardom: promotion, publicity, criticism and the work. This last means of star production is considered according to period traditions of comic writing, acting and spectatorship. These activities were part of the practice, begun in the Restoration, of creating a 'line' or metacharacter to fit the skills, reputation and unique acting mannerisms of principal players. The second chapter examines the vehicle of Mrs Clive's initial success, ballad opera. Ballad opera brought to the London stage the musical and discursive traditions of the street ballad singer, who typically communicated with audiences directly through indigenous, popular tunes. Direct address and native pedigree were to remain key elements in Mrs Clive's music, regardless of the genre she was singing.

Chapters 3 to 5 trace three distinct phases in Mrs Clive's star production. Chapter 3 studies her promotion by Henry Carey, who taught her distinctive vocal techniques ('natural' singing; mimicry of opera singers) and supplied a sophisticated ballad-style repertory of which she was the chief exponent, 1728-32. Through Mrs Clive, Carey promoted his music and convictions – song in 'sublimated ballad style', the attractiveness of native traditions, female rights – and these became hallmarks of the Clive persona. Chapter 4 considers Henry Fielding's Clive publicity in his musical comedies and writings for her, 1732-6. Initially, he vivified the impudent nymph of her first 1729 mezzotint through stage characters, songs and epilogues. The criticism she drew for her refusal to join 1733-4 Drury Lane actors' rebellion forced him to re-invent Mrs Clive as a 'pious daughter'. In order to galvanize support for her, he broadened his publicity and made her an icon of conservative patriotic values and an enemy of Italian opera. Chapter 5 investigates Mrs Clive's management of her own image in her 1736 battle to retain the lead role in *The Beggar's Opera*. After her triumph, the duties of her new writer James Miller were simply to reflect audience perception of her.

Chapters 6 and 7 analyse how the Clive persona, now rooted in public fantasy, shaped her two most important 'high style' musical roles, first in Thomas Arne's *Comus*, and then in Handel's *Samson*. Chapter 6 shows how the themes and musical procedures typical of the Clive persona were wedded to Milton's *Comus*, which then became the imaginative touchstone for a 'Comus' environment at the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens. Chapter 7 examines her history as mediator of, and collaborator with, Handel, and shows how Handel's conceptualization of Dalilah in *Samson* mirrored that of Arne's Euphrosyne in *Comus*. Chapter 8 describes her ascendancy into 'polite society' through her friendship with Horace Walpole, and summarizes the means by which Mrs Clive's talents and audience perception of her shaped the works she performed.

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Abbreviations and Notes on Source Presentation

<i>Biographical Dictionary</i>	Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward J. Langhans, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800</i> , 16 vols (Carbondale, IL, 1973-93)
CG	Covent Garden
Crean (1933)	Patrick J. Crean, 'The Life and Times of Kitty Clive' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1933)
DL	Drury Lane
<i>EMc</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
Gillespie (1982)	Norman Gillespie, 'The Life and Works of Henry Carey, 1687-1743', 2 vols (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1982)
HM	Haymarket Theatre
Hume (1988)	Robert D. Hume, <i>Henry Fielding and the London Theatre 1728-1737</i> (Oxford, 1988)
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
LIF	Lincoln's Inn Fields
<i>The London Stage</i>	<i>The London Stage, 1660-1800: a Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment</i> , 5 parts, 11 vols; Part 2: 1700-1729, ed. Emmett L. Avery, 2 vols (Carbondale, IL, 1960); Part 3: 1729-1747, ed. Arthur H. Scouten, 2 vols (Carbondale IL, 1961); Part 4: 1747-1776, ed. George Winchester Stone, Jr., 3 vols (Carbondale, IL, 1962)
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>

MQ

Musical Quarterly

PMLA

*Publications of the Modern Language
Association of America*

Dates: During this period, the ‘old style’ Julian calendar applied and the year officially changed on 25 March (Lady Day), although many used 1 January to begin the year. To avoid confusion, I have changed old style dates to new style dates and retained the original date as a square bracket notation.

Presentation of primary sources: I have tried to preserve the original presentation of the text as much as practically possible (capitalization, punctuation and spelling). I have not followed the standard eighteenth-century tradition of italicizing all proper nouns; instead, I have reproduced italics where the effect is to emphasize a specific word or phrase. Variations in spelling and grammar are not indicated with ‘sic’, unless the spelling may appear to have been typographic error. The following standard editorial sigla are used in quotations of primary sources: diagonal slashes / indicate the text was printed on the line below; ellipses ... indicate the deletion of a passage; square brackets [] indicate an authorial insertion.

Information on Performances: All numbers and dates of performances have been taken from *The London Stage* unless otherwise stated. Because of the frequency with which such information is referred to, I do not cite the volumes from which this data has been taken.

Source References: The system of library sigla follows that first used in Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (Series A) and updated in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001). Abbreviations of theatre names and dates follow those used in *The London Stage*.

Translations: All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

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My greatest debt is to my family, and above all, to my husband Andrew. Without their support, this thesis would never have been possible. Andrew's contributions are too wide-ranging to give justice to. His critiques, editorial advice and historical insights were complemented by boundless enthusiasm for the project and willingness to support me in every way possible. I dedicate this work to him.

PREFACE

On its surface, the life story of Catherine Clive (1711-1785) eludes biography. Her exceptional popularity commands attention, yet much of what her public thought they knew about her was in fact a promotional construction, and the rest resists compelling narrative. After her astonishing reception in ballad operas, she established herself as a top comedienne through the witty plays authored by Henry Fielding. While continuing to sing, she became one of Drury Lane's most celebrated players, performing vocal repertory and dramatic roles of increasing sophistication. Her failed marriage passed almost unnoticed, and she thereafter abjured love relationships. She retired early to bask in the company of Horace Walpole and his friends.

Underneath this smooth ascent lie other accounts. Of these, the most important is the story of her voice. By failing to distinguish between her drama and her music, Clive biographers since the late eighteenth century have passed over her unparalleled vocal repertory. Although preceded by illustrious Restoration singer-actresses, she was the first English player (male or female) whose career was devoted largely to singing until she reached middle age. The Appendices of this thesis make evident the extent of her activities as a singer.

Another significant story is the evolution of her representation. The 'public personalities' of Mrs Clive underwent drastic changes during her career, traversing a terrain between the extremes of *louche* singer-actress and irreproachable Drury Lane doyenne. This thesis picks up these two aspects of her public persona – the music she performed and the public image she presented – and enquires whether they bore on each other, and if so, how.

My approach emphasizes ruptures, such as those between contradictory iconography, between private and public reputation, or between a script and the actor's own self-representation on stage, to ask why certain representational modes prevailed, and how Mrs Clive's music contributed to her evolving image. Into this story are woven many others, including changes in musical theatre genres and the complicity between London stage entertainments and fashionable politics. This thesis explores her interaction with these concurrent phenomena; limitations of space, however, require that the history and ramifications of developments in genre or political issues are omitted.

Here I aim to unravel how a performer could co-author a performed work, rather than situate that performer within the evolution (or devolution) of works or ideologies. Historical evidence does not show clearly who the 'producers' of her musical theatre were. Certainly at different times they included authors, composers, managers and publishers. It is a central contention of this thesis that star performers also participated in the process of theatrical production, and at times dominated it. Mrs Clive's career shows that the meanings and genesis of a musical work may in fact be impossible to grasp without a thorough evaluation of the performer's contribution. The star persona is a door into the history of a work; once opened, it can radically alter previous conceptions.

ONE

STAR PRODUCTION AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON STAGE: METHODOLOGY, MATERIALS AND VIEWING PRACTICES

Introduction

Modern historians writing about the eighteenth-century London stage often refer casually to ‘stars’. But what is a ‘star’ in this context? By what means did stars establish their status? Did a star persona have an impact on the work the actor performed? In exploring the last question, scholars of a very different cultural product, film, have concluded that the works they examine are often a by-product of a star’s perceived personality. According to their studies, when the star becomes the chief commodity on sale, vehicles featuring the star are subsumed into an image-making function¹. Within film studies, this conclusion has ramifications for all aspects of a star vehicle, including its music. If this theory were also to prove valid for the eighteenth-century London stage, then the significance of any star vehicle would be most meaningfully interpreted according to its role within the performer’s career.

Such an approach seems particularly apt for the musical repertory of Catherine Clive, London’s leading singer-actress of the mid-eighteenth century². My contention is that for Mrs Clive, music was the most important of the many media deployed in the production of her public persona. Her performances flirted with Clive materials from outside the theatre – such as reviews, engravings and letters to the press – themselves often supplied by Clive and her

¹ This notion has been a central tenet in film star studies since the mid-1980s. As Jeremy Butler observes, ‘movie-goers characteristically identify a film in terms of its star – as if the star were author’. Jeremy G. Butler, ‘The Star System and Hollywood’, *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. John Hill and others (Oxford, 1998), 343. Analyses on how film stars are produced rely heavily on semiotic theories, some of which are described below. In his article, Butler outlines the history of star studies.

² The clearest reflection of an actor’s status in eighteenth-century London was his or her exchange value: ‘Salaries were alleged to be up to seven guineas for leading players, and twice this sum for stars like Kitty Clive’. Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1968), p. cxxix.

supporters, and the whole coalesced in her public image. Once established, this persona was further embellished by composers and writers who sold their works through the medium of the Clive personality. Her public identity determined the content and form of her musical vehicles.

The production, and later enhancement, of Mrs Clive's star image informed various aspects of compositions for her. Composers could draw on genre, lyrics, stock characters and styles (Italian versus English; sacred versus secular) to shore up, broaden, or challenge the established persona. The choice was part of a strategy that worked in tandem with image management in other sectors of star production. To explain the relationship between music and the alternate media feeding the star industry around Mrs Clive, or around any other actor of equal rank, one must first grasp by what means an actor may have achieved star status in eighteenth-century London.

Although scholars identify the Georgian stage as the starting-point for audience obsession with players, no mechanism of star production has yet been posited³. Theatre historian Peter Holland has examined the Restoration actor's pivotal role in shaping the work performed, but Holland focuses on playbooks and their relation to the actor's skills, rather than on examining a player's public identity⁴. This chapter outlines the process of star production in early Georgian London, drawing on approaches in cinema and theatre studies to help explain related eighteenth-century phenomena. My model, and its application to Mrs Clive,

³ In his study of the commercialization of Georgian theatre, John Brewer describes the process by which the London stage became a locus for marketing public personalities, politics, and pastimes. Audience interest in principal players nourished a print industry reporting on actors. In his words: 'Actors lived exceptionally public lives, constantly exposed to observation, praise and ridicule'. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), 340. Angela J. Smallwood assumes the existence of star production by insisting that late eighteenth-century actresses might challenge and subvert plays through a 'new closeness between role, star actress and self-conscious audience [in] female signification'. Elsewhere she refers to the 'powerful phenomenon of the star actress'. Angela J. Smallwood, 'Women and the Theatre', *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge, 2000), 244, 56.

⁴ The impact of principal players' talents on Restoration comedy is the subject of Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge, 1979). The ramifications of his analyses for the eighteenth-century stage are discussed below.

seeks above all to illuminate three aspects of star production: first, the media and organizing principles behind promotion, publicity and criticism; second, techniques engendered by comedy for engaging audience sympathy; and third, the viewing and listening practices of audiences. Despite vast differences in technology, fashion, social mores, and dramatic traditions, there are remarkable parallels between star production in Mrs Clive's day and that in our own.

Stargazing: the Basic Guide

Cinema scholars generally agree that an audience pieces together a star's identity from fragments of information found in a variety of media. The star is a point at which semiotics, sociology and psychology intersect: like a written text, the persona may be 'read', but the existence of that persona depends both upon the star's interaction with a public and the star's personal reactions to situations, either of which may affect his or her reception.

The transience of performance impedes our understanding of the sociological and psychological factors behind star production nearly three centuries distant. Besides the lacunae in biographical data, evidence of audience reaction is insufficient to trace the meanings a player acquired for spectators. Even so, the study is enlightening: contrasting a star's media profile with his or her vehicles shows how a commodified personality could impact on the entertainment, and the persona decodes many obscure references in the stage work.

Francesco Alberoni and Barry King have outlined the material and social conditions necessary to star production, a process they dissociate from specific technological innovations. Both writers view commodity surplus, centralized production, mass communication and division of labour as essential. King also insists that audiences must perceive work and leisure as separate activities; in addition, mass culture must be in the ascendance over local culture,

and opinion-makers cannot belong to one single institution, such as the church⁵. Examining the commercialization of eighteenth-century London theatres, John Brewer describes precisely the preconditions for star production outlined by King and Alberoni: the evolution of print as a mass media; the replacement of institutionalized cultural mediators (clergy or nobility) with the Enlightened 'sociable man' of Robert Addison and Richard Steele; the division between 'polite arts' and commerce; and the absorption of provincial traditions into a projected image of a homogenous 'Britain'⁶.

Despite technological limitations, eighteenth-century star production sought to create and maintain a cohesive, identifiable 'personality' product. By what means might this have been achieved? In cinema studies, scholars divide materials generated by the star industry into four categories: *promotion*, *publicity*, *criticism*, and *performed works*.

Promotion refers to 'texts which were produced as part of the deliberate creation/manufacture of a particular image or image context for a particular star'⁷. In this category, film and eighteenth-century stars shared many media: advertisements, potted biographies, pin-ups (oils, drawings, engravings or mezzotints for the eighteenth-century player), mementos (for the Georgian admirer, these might be tea-caddies, playing-cards, fans,

⁵ Francesco Alberoni, 'The Powerless Elite: Theory and Sociological Research on the Phenomena of Stars', *Sociology of Mass Communications*, ed. Denis McQuail (London, 1972). King's main work, 'The Social Significance of Stardom' (unpubd MS, 1974) has yet to be printed. Some of his findings are published in Barry King, 'Articulating Stardom', *Screen*, 26, no. 5 (1985) and Barry King, 'Stardom as an Occupation', *The Hollywood Film Industry*, ed. Paul Kerr (London, 1986). See also Barry King, 'The Star and the Commodity: Notes towards a Performance Theory of Stardom', *Cultural Studies*, 1, no. 2 (1987). For an overview of his theories about society and stardom, I have relied on Richard Dyer's account of King's manuscript in Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London, 1998), 7-20.

⁶ The pioneering research of John Plumb has stimulated research into eighteenth-century England's unrivalled commerce in leisure. How England's early industrializing of cultural goods helped modernize its social hierarchies is described in John H. Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century London', *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and John H. Plumb (London, 1982). Building on Plumb's writings, Brewer examines English eighteenth-century society exclusively from the perspective of its cultural industries, in which the theatre figured largely. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 325-423. At the conclusion of this section Brewer discusses David Garrick's image management.

⁷ Dyer, *Stars*, 60.

screens, or watchpapers⁸), published and engraved songs ('as sung by ...'), and ephemera broadcasting the star's appearance (in Clive's day, bills, newspaper announcements, playbooks and pamphlets)⁹. The sophistication of the distribution and reception of these materials is evidenced by a 1735 analysis of puffs (press hand-outs). The author divided puffs into five categories: 'material' (advertisements); 'formal' (biased reports); 'direct' (putative news items, such as 'We hear a distinguished dancer'); 'oblique' (news items reserving the puff for their conclusion); and 'circular' (news items hiding a puff). In his summary he equates these announcements with flatulence ('crepitative puffs') and burping ('eructative puffs')¹⁰.

Mezzotints were perhaps the most significant new tool in player promotion to emerge during the mid-eighteenth century. These images belonged to a vogue for portraits that reigned during the period. In her study on this subject, art historian Marcia Pointon maintains that the Georgian portrait was often 'connotative rather than denotative', symbolizing more a set of

⁸ Watchpapers were small circular engravings intended to be used as liners between the inner and outer cases of a pocket watch. The user could simultaneously view the time and their favourite player.

⁹ The increase in theatre advertising is briefly outlined in Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction*, p. cii. The substantial rise in theatrical biography during this period is more closely scrutinized in John Loftis, 'Theatrical Records and the Rise of Theatrical Scholarship', *The Revels History of Drama in English, 1660-1750*, ed. Thomas W. Craik, v (London, 1976). Art historians have long recognized that David Garrick exploited audience hunger for actors' pictures. See the introduction to Geoffrey Ashton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture* (London, 1997). The success of Lavinia Fenton in *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) apparently stimulated the market in mementos. William E. Schultz, *Gay's Beggar's Opera: its Content, History and Influence* (New Haven, CT, 1923), 8. See also ch. 3, n. 10 in this thesis. Dissemination of a player's name via songtitles rose dramatically between 1700 and 1726. In their catalogue of English songs, Cyrus Day and Eleanor Murrie list roughly 330 Restoration songs with singers' names, compared to roughly 4,000 such titles catalogued by David Hunter for the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Compare Cyrus L. Day and Eleanore B. Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702: a Bibliography* (London, 1940) and David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1705-1726: a Descriptive Bibliography* (Oxford, 1997). Notably, singers' names were not featured in early eighteenth-century collaborations between those publishing periodicals and those issuing songs. See Rosamond McGuinness, 'Music and the Press: Songs for Sale', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 12, no. 3 (1988). Theatre manager Colley Cibber noted the efficacy of handbills in drawing audiences for Steele's plays. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 2nd edn (London, 1740), 62. Other writers noted with disgust the significance actors attributed to top billing: a mock-auction catalogue of theatrical goods, titled *A Catalogue of Curiosities, chiefly Theatrical, which are to be sold by Auction* contained the entry, 'Lot 18. A Case of large types/two inches and a half high/designed for the names of the principal Actors and Actresses'. Anon, *US- Ws T.b.1, 'Theatrical Miscellany'*, 15.

¹⁰ Puffemoffius, 'A short Dissertation on Puffs', *Grub-Street Journal*, 12 June 1735 and Puffemoffius, 'A short Dissertation on Puffs [part 2]', *Grub-Street Journal*, 19 June 1735.

'values' than an 'idea about the individual'¹¹. Mrs Clive's iconography played with both types of signification. Until her 'personality' was recognized, engravers marketed her by replacing her own likeness with that of other women considered more representative of the stereotypes she acted. Unsurprisingly, these images were constructed to satisfy the male gaze (while maintaining a minimal decorum). Once she established a following, engravers rushed to provide audiences with a 'true' portrait. Although forced to adopt the pose of her predecessor ('the celebrated Mrs Oldfield'), in these images Mrs Clive was restored to her own body. Her portraits necessarily re-inscribed codified 'feminine' values – aloof, gracious and privileged – yet also recalled her persona, which came to be celebrated for its challenging of the status quo. Simulating familiarity with audiences is essential to star production. Unlike oils, mezzotints, could be inexpensively purchased and pinned up on walls, conjuring up the actor in an array of private and public spaces¹².

As in the Hollywood studio system, theatrical promotion was highly centralized.

Although fringe theatres flourished until 1737, they rarely impinged on the market dominance of London's English patent theatres, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Patent theatre managers increased their expenditures on promotion significantly between 1740 and 1770¹³. They also

¹¹ Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT and London, 1993), 5.

¹² The engraver John Smith perfected the mezzotint process; its innovation lay in reproducing the effects of an oil painting – chiaroscuro, nuanced contouring and precision – in a print medium. Mezzotints varied in size, from quarto to large folio format, were relatively cheap (from one shilling) and sold at booksellers, printers and coffee houses, where they were displayed before being 'affixed to walls or inclosed in glazed frames'. Horace Walpole, ed., *A Catalogue of Engravers ... in England; digested by Mr Horace Walpole from the MSS of Mr George Vertue* (London, 1782), 202. Although available where books were sold (from the West End to St Paul's Cathedral), production became increasingly centralized during the eighteenth century, with not 'above Twelve Print-Shops' located in London and Westminster. Michael Harris, 'Scratching the Surface: Engravers, Printsellers and the London Book Trade in the mid-18th Century', *The Book Trade & its Customers: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote, and Alison Shell (Winchester and New Castle, DE, 1997), 98-9.

¹³ The outlay for promotion during the 1746-7 season publicity was roughly £8 a week; by the 1766-7 season this could amount to £20 a week. Compare Anon, Harvard Theatre Collection, 'Tit for tat &c. The first season for Mr G-ck's Management', 30 and Anon, *US-Ws W.b.273*, 'Drury Lane Theatre Journal, 1766-1777'. Scouten calculates that 'expenditures at Covent Garden rose from an amount not worth recording in 1740-41 to £52 during the 1746-7 season'. These expenditures are listed in Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction*, p. lxxvi.

cultivated alliances with major London papers: in 1747 the Drury Lane treasurer noted that David Garrick's shareholder status in *The General Advertiser* procured him free advertising¹⁴. Advertising of players became increasingly frenetic between 1700 and 1750. Bills began listing the cast in 1663, but from 1700 players' names figured more prominently and playbills became increasingly luxurious (Fig. 1.1)¹⁵. Playbooks and librettos with the *dramatis personae* were sold at the theatre as well as in bookshops, while words to new musical entertainments could be handed out 'gratis'. Orange girls and fruit vendors at the theatre distributed playbills to those waiting outside, and managers hired men to post 'large Bills' around town (Fig. 1.2)¹⁶. Complaining about a manager hiding the shortcomings of a production behind the star's name, one critic wrote:

His Company at present is very weak ... This makes him play the Jockey ... imagining if one favorite Actor's or Actress's NAME is in C A P I T A L L E T T E R S in the Play-bills for the Day 'tis sufficient to bring a House: And I am very sorry to say, by the Madness or Folly of the Town, he has too often succeeded¹⁷.

¹⁴ A paper's schedule of advertising did not necessarily reflect its sympathies, as the *Daily Journal's* 1736 defence of Mrs Clive showed. From 1729 to 1747, the *Daily Post* and *Daily Courant* reported on Drury Lane; the *Daily Journal* and *Daily Courant* on Lincoln's Inn Fields (later Covent Garden) and Goodman's Fields; the *Daily Post* on the Haymarket. After 1731 *The Daily Advertiser* carried opera bills, and a box listing of all performances. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction*, pp. cii-cix. Regarding Garrick's newspaper shares, the Drury Lane treasurer noted, 'Advertisements in the *Generall Advertiser* there has been nothing charg'd for these two years and upwards, which I believe is occasion'd by the Manager having a Share in that Paper, that perhaps may bring in as much as their advertisements come to'. Anon, 'Tit for tat &c. The first season for Mr G-ck's Management', 30.

¹⁵ 'The play-bill that announced the opening of the new theatre in Drury-Lane, April 8, 1663, had been already printed in the Every-Day Book. The actors' names were then, for the first time, affixed to the characters they represented ... The luxurious mode of printing in alternate red and black lines was adopted in Cibber's time; the bills of Covent-Garden theatre were generally printed in that manner. The bills of Drury-lane theatre, within the last ten years, have issued from a private press, set up in a room below the stage of that theatre. The bills for the royal box, are printed on white satin'. Anon, *US-WS Y.d.23* (195), 'Drury Lane Box File'.

¹⁶ Scouten and Winton Dean outline the distribution of playbooks, librettos and 'gratis' ballads in Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction*, p. lxxvii and Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London, New York and Toronto, 1959), 66. In 1747, the treasurer noted: 'Bill stickers are those men that stick the large Bills about the Town being six in number. Anon, 'Tit for tat &c. The first season for Mr G-ck's Management', 33. The orange girls were replaced at some point before 1827 by 'staid married women' who also sold playbooks and songs: 'A century ago, they [playbills] were sold in the theatres by young women, called "orange-girls" ... The "orange-girls" have gone out, and staid married women, who pay a weekly stipend to the box-lobby fruit-woman, now vend play-bills at the theatre, but derive most of their emolument from the sale of the "book of the play" or "the songs" ... and the play-bills are chiefly hawked by little beggarly boys'. Anon, 'Drury Lane Box File'.

¹⁷ Mr. Neitherside, *An Impartial Examen of the Present Contests between the Town and the Manager of the Theatres* (London, 1744), 7.

Fig. 1.1: *For the Benefit of Mr Leviez, Ballet-Master...The Comical Lovers* [1752]. Playbill. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.

For the *BENEFIT* of
Mr. *LEVIEZ*, Ballet-Master.

Theatre Royal in *Drury-Lane*.
This present *Thursday*, being the 16th. of *APRIL*.
Will be presented a *COMEDY*, call'd,
The *COMICAL LOVERS*.
The Part of *CELADON* to be perform'd
By **Mr. WOODWARD**,
Florimel by Mrs. **PRITCHARD**,
Palamede by Mr. **ROSS**,
Rodophil by Mr. **PALMER**,
Melissa by Mrs. **JAMES**,
Doralice by Mrs. **WILLOUGHBY**,
Flavia by Miss **MINORS**,
And the Part of *Melantha* (with *Songs* proper to the
Character, particularly an *Italian Mimic Song*)
By **Mrs. CLIVE**.

Act 2, A *Peasant Dance* by Master **PIETTRO**.
Act 3, A *Comic Dance* by Sig. **PIETTRO** and Mad. **JANETON AURETTI**.
Act 4, A *Hornpipe* by the *Little Swift*.
Act 5, *L'Entree de Flore* by Mad. **AURETTI**, with a *Peasant Dance* by
Sig. **PIETTRO**, Mad. **JANETON AURETTI**, &c.
To which will be added a *FARCE* of two *Acts* call'd
Duke and No Duke.
The Part of *TRAPPOLIN* to be perform'd
By **Mr WOODWARD**.

N. B. There will be no Building on the Stage.
Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. First Gallery 2s. Upper Gallery 1s.
TICKETS and PLACES to be had of Mr. *LEVIEZ* the lowermost
House on the Right Hand in *Beaufort-Buildings* in the *Strand*; and at
the Stage Door of the Theatre.
To-morrow The *STRATAEGEM* For the Benefit of Mr. **PRITCHARD**. *Tragedy*

Fig. 1.2: Anon, *Buy a Bill of the Play*, [n.d.]. Engraving. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.



Other promotional material proper to the period included ballads, epitaphs, play introductions, prologues and epilogues disseminated through a range of print products¹⁸.

Theatre managers coordinated their promotion with major London publishers, or to use the period terminology, booksellers, to the mutual benefit of both. Like the theatre, the London print industry was a monopoly, dominated by ‘congers’ or major producers who coordinated the commission, copyrighting, and distribution of publications throughout Britain. In musical theatre, John Watts was the unchallenged leader¹⁹. He innovatively combined diverse types of printing within editions, reverting to cheap wood-block typesetting to weave the tunes into the playbook, in lieu of adding music engraved on copper-plates after the text. He often hired engravers to reproduce an on-stage scene in a frontispiece that preceded the traditional prolegomena, which included the cast list²⁰. Within this ‘intertextual’ re-assembly of scenography, stage action, cast, music and dialogue the reader could find a range of prompts for recalling the play. The *Urtext* was defined not by the author but by the player, whose

¹⁸ Epitaphs and ballads appeared in journals, pamphlets, collections, and newspapers; ballads were also issued as broadsides. Prologues and epilogues appeared in collections, broadsheets, pamphlets and periodicals. Pierre Danchin briefly summarizes how prologues and epilogues were disseminated in Pierre Danchin, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century* (Nancy, 1990), 15.

¹⁹ Research into eighteenth-century London’s print industry has revolutionized the study of the history of the book, and prompted the creation of the on-line *English Short Title Catalogue*. Two seminal articles about the industry are Terry Belanger, ‘Publishers and Writers in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers (Leicester, 1982) and James Raven, ‘The Book Trades’, *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (London and New York, 2001). Both authors describe the interlocking network of ‘congers’, or groups of booksellers and/or wholesalers who respectively bought and distributed copyright. They organized the retail market to ensure control. Copyright could be bought for a sum, but was more typically auctioned off at trade sales from which minor and provincial booksellers were excluded. Belanger states that: ‘Major booksellers typically combined production, sales and distribution, with fewer than one hundred London booksellers controlling a large part of the wholesale book trade throughout England’. Belanger, ‘Publishers and Writers in Eighteenth-Century England’, 11.

²⁰ L.J. Morrissey details the printing practices of John Watts in his appendix to L.J. Morrissey, ed., *Henry Fielding: The Grub-Street Opera* (Edinburgh, 1973), 117-21. Morrissey observes: ‘Of ninety-seven ballad operas published between 1728 and 1732, thirty-five were published with their music, but only five...had the music on copper plates...twenty-nine ballad operas were all printed from wood-block. After 1729 Watts became the almost exclusive publisher of ballad operas with music’. The picture and print industries’ mutual interests led to increased collaboration between engravers and booksellers. Michael Harris notes that there existed a hierarchy of engravers, headed by Dutch and French craftsmen. Michael van der Gucht, who frequently supplied Watts with frontispieces, belonged to the upper echelon of his trade. Harris, ‘Scratching the Surface: Engravers, Printsellers and the London Book Trade in the mid-18th Century’, 96.

interpretation – usually from the *Uraufführung* – was recalled in editions that could be issued decades after he or she had ceased to perform the role.

Managers must have consulted Watts when preparing productions: he often purchased the copyright before the performance in order to prepare his volumes for sales on the day of the debut or shortly after²¹. After the debut, editions of popular London musical theatre pieces (and their casts) proliferated through frequent reprints, multiple pirate editions, and illegal volumes in Scotland and Ireland. Curiously, even when a work flopped it was published, sometimes more than once and with lavish frontispieces. Henry Fielding, in his writings, commented sardonically on Watts's inconstancy to authors, whom the bookseller readily forsook at his convenience²².

In film studies, *publicity* differentiates itself from promotion by appearing to be 'objective', while in fact being part of the deliberate image-making process. In the present day there is a huge industry of nominally independent magazines, television programmes and websites that survive wholly or in large part from the elaboration and transmission of star imagery. The distinction between what is promotion and what publicity depends upon revealed intent. If the material is released by a source clearly anxious to sell the star, be it theatre manager, player or partisan writer, it is promotional; if it is disguised to make its

²¹ From 1670 to 1710 the time lag between a play's premiere and its publication shrank from six months to two weeks. Curiously, musical dramas typically reached print sooner, often appearing simultaneously with its premiere. Shirley Strum Kenny, 'The Publication of Plays', *London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1980), 313-14. The speed with which John Watts issued each of Henry Fielding's stage works is precisely catalogued in the annotated bibliography to Wilbur L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, iii (New Haven, CT, 1918), 290-321. On Watts' purchase of copyright prior to a work's debut see Arthur S. Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson: being a Study of the Relation between Author, Patron, Publisher and Public, 1726-1780* (London, 1927), 262. Cited in Paula O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1979), 22, 34, 42, 49.

²² In Fielding's *The Historical Register* (1737), the protagonist drily narrates the bookseller's reaction to a stage fiasco: 'And John Watts/Who was this Morning eager for the Copy,/Slunk hasty from the Pit, and shock [sic] his head'. Henry Fielding, *The Historical Register, for the Year 1736 ... to which is added a very merry Tragedy, call'd Eurydice Hiss'd* (Dublin, 1737), 43. Later, Fielding wrote the mock verse 'J—n W—ts at Play': 'While Hisses, Groans, and Cat-calls thro' the Pit,/Deplore the hapless Poet's want of Wit:/J—n W—ts, from Silence bursting in a Rage,/Cry'd, Men are mad who write in such an Age,/Not so, reply'd his Friend, a sneering Blade,/The Poets only dull, the Printer's Mad'. Henry Fielding, *Miscellanies*, i (Dublin, 1743), 35.

source appear disinterested, then it is publicity. Famed actor Charles Macklin's 1744 advertising campaign for *Othello*, in the course of which he planted an insulting letter in the *Daily Advertiser* and the *General Advertiser* sneering at his own interpretation of Iago to fan public interest, is one of many eighteenth-century examples of publicity²³; using a similar tactic, Garrick promoted his innovations in acting technique by attacking his new methods in a treatise he wrote and published anonymously²⁴.

An essential component of publicity, along with putative objectivity, is 'authenticity': the author typically claims to have an insight that is not available to the general public. In Mrs Clive's career, playwright Henry Fielding's testimony to her off-stage character through poetry, play introductions and epilogues proved formative to her public image. Mrs Clive began managing her own publicity in 1736, when Drury Lane managers tried to deprive her of the leading role in *The Beggar's Opera*. During this heated wrangle, she issued her first 'personal story' and was bolstered by a stream of 'objective' reports on the truth of her grievances. During later disputes (1744 and 1761), she again tried to influence her own reception by reporting on managers' or rivals' alleged misconduct.

Criticism refers to 'what was said or written about the star in terms of appreciation or interpretation by critics and writers'²⁵. By mid-century, theatre criticism – a brand of journalism begun only in 1695 – was flourishing in publications ranging from newspapers to treatises, biographies, pamphlets and poems²⁶. How some leading dramatic theorists reconstructed the player for the reader is described in detail below. Eighteenth-century

²³ On Macklin's campaign see Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction*, p. ciii.

²⁴ Anon, *An Essay on Acting in which will be consider'd the Mimical Behaviour of a certain fashionable faulty Actor* (London: 1744). Cited in Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London, 1999), 84-5.

²⁵ Dyer, *Stars*, 62.

²⁶ Richard Steele's writings on the theatre in *The Tatler* (1709-10) are generally considered the first dramatic reviews. Marvin Carlson, 'The Restoration and Eighteenth Century in England', *Theories of the Theatre: a Historical Survey, from the Greeks to the Present* (Ithaca and London, 1984), 127. Between 1730 and 1750 'a trickle of theatrical reviewing journals became a flood'. Charles H. Gray, *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795* (New York, 1931), 37.

criticism was more various in its forms than its modern counterpart, and the curiosity it excited could be extreme: mere anticipation of the *Rosciad*, a lengthy poem detailing the strengths and foibles of principal players, caused a furore²⁷. Players could also interrogate a rival's talent through mimicry, a niche performance practice invented by Samuel Foote in 1740 and taken up by later comedians, most notably Tate Wilkinson. Mrs Clive was also a leading mimic, but her targets were Italian sopranos rather than her colleagues, and her performances musical, rather than dramatic. The practice consisted of duplicating the voice, gestures, gait and mannerisms of another performer, whose interpretations were thereby both caricatured and revealed as stage trickery²⁸.

Unlike modern criticism, in which commentators seem to 'express rather than construct the response to the star'²⁹, the eighteenth-century critic was self-conscious in the role of opinion-maker. Theatre critics generally preoccupied themselves with establishing forms of connoisseurship³⁰. To judge actors, critics divided their attributes into categories; this method lent a gloss of empiricism to their evaluation. For instance, in the broadsheet *A Critical Balance of the Performers of Drury Lane Theatre for 1765*, the author assigned a numbered rating to physical appearance, characterization of stock roles, voice quality, comportment and

²⁷ On the *Rosciad*, period theatre historian Thomas Davies reported: 'The author soon found that he had no occasion to advertise his poem in the public prints; the players spread its fame all over the town; they ran about like so many stricken deer...The public, so far from being aggrieved, enjoyed the distress of the players'. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, i (London, 1780), 306. The poem was published in 1761; by February 1762 it was in its sixth edition and had sold 10,000 copies in 11 months. It provoked several counterattacks, some of which are cited in Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal & Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (London, 1991), 9-10.

²⁸ Samuel Foote is perhaps better known for introducing in 1747 matinee performances to London. Under the pretext of selling a 'Dish of Chocolate' to visitors, he successfully ran his illegal Company at the Little Haymarket theatre. Because his entertainments were devoted to 'taking off', officials may have overlooked his illicit productions. 'Samuel Foote, most Maleficent of Mimics', in Dane Farnsworth Smith and M.L. Lawhon, *Plays about the Theatre in England, 1737-1800, or The Self-conscious Stage from Foote to Sheridan* (Lewisburg, 1979), 21-37.

²⁹ Dyer, *Stars*, 63.

³⁰ The *Universal Spectator* 5 April 1735 (no.334) published a 'recipe for the critic': according to this article, the critic should focus on the didactic value and generic categorization of the play. Reprinted in Gray, *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795*, 74. Gray confirms that this 'recipe' reflects the traditional approach of period theatre critics.

dress³¹. Such methods supported the current of Enlightenment criticism which insisted that beauty could be defined in absolute terms, but that not everyone was capable of distinguishing excellence³². Hence criticism was often clothed as a treatise wherein the critic, having outlined his aesthetic premises, used the alleged strengths and defects of a particular player to support his arguments. Because the eighteenth-century critic used the actor to justify pre-existing principles, audiences or actors who failed to recognize these ‘rules’ were duly chastised.

The last type of star-producing material is the *performed work*. Here one finds the largest divergence between modern and eighteenth-century means of star production. Conceptualization of character in Georgian entertainments on both the stage and the page differed starkly from later counterparts. Much ink has been spilt by cinema scholars detailing the evolution of ‘the character’ in novels and its relationship to character portrayal in film. Few of these writings would shed light on Mrs Clive’s repertory, whose narrative traditions bear little relation to novels or cinema³³.

To shed light on how audiences might have absorbed a Clive performance, the remainder of this chapter describes several traditions proper to mid-eighteenth-century comic representation. The first section explores the way in which transparently formulaic figures in farce allowed players to represent their own public identity. Second, representation in farce is

³¹ Anon, *A Critical Balance of the Performers at Drury Lane Last Season* (London, 1765). This list is also reprinted in *The London Stage: Part 4* (1962), p. ccxxiv. A similar list, rating actors according to four categories (Genius, Judgment, Vis Comica, Variety) was issued in Anon, *The Theatrical Review for the Year of 1757 and 1758* (London, 1758), 46.

³² For instance, in Francis Hutcheson’s *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1738): ‘It is plain from experience that many men have in common the senses of seeing and hearing perfect enough ... And yet perhaps they shall find no pleasure ... or but a very weak one in comparison to what others enjoy from the same objects. This greater capacity of receiving such pleasant ideas we commonly call a fine genius or taste’. Reprinted in Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1981), 26.

³³ Note also that these four means of star production listed above – promotion, publicity, criticism and the work – frequently overlapped. Managers of theatres staged entertainments (a work) exposing a player’s personality (promotion) and current scandals (publicity), or caricaturing the celebrity’s manner (criticism). The *in propria persona* role, in which principal players enacted themselves, could both mock and promote their self-image. Such vehicles normally assumed the form of a rehearsal play, thereby suggesting a revelation about the actor as they prepared a performance.

contrasted with that in sentimental comedy, which elicited sympathy for the fictional character. Third, traditions of farce and sentimental characterization are weighed against the dramatist's practice, inherited from Restoration theatre, of cultivating a serialized role, or 'line', to showcase a principal player. Fourth, the change in relationship between actor and fictional character through the advent of 'naturalist' acting techniques from the 1740s is described. In light of the evidence reviewed, this chapter concludes by hypothesizing how the eighteenth-century spectator might have apperceived principal players.

The Eighteenth-Century Stock Comic Figure and the Player

Mid-eighteenth-century comedies differed fundamentally from those of subsequent eras in both the playwright's and the performer's depiction of character. Before the hegemony of the novel over audience fantasy – and the attendant desire to see lived experience dramatized – the Georgian public accepted that both the writing and acting style of a farce made a distinction between reality and its representation. Being the bridge between the two worlds helped the principal player maintain an autonomous identity, playing herself either within a role or without (as in epilogues or improvisations).

Before Mrs Clive achieved popularity, the generic traditions of her roles dictated which traits managers and authors selected for her to represent on stage. Her talents and physique led her to be cast as a stock character with predetermined attributes. Specific characteristics of her roles remained discrete through an exaggerated manner of acting, and the audience had the critical apparatus to recognize the defining features of the fictional stereotype. When different Clive roles shared traits, the Clive persona, as the link between these roles, became inscribed with that trait (such as honesty, intemperance, outspokenness or courage). In other words, attributes resurfaced in a series of related farcical stereotypes which

Mrs Clive performed; the viewer, while distinguishing between actress and her fictional roles, could transfer their dominant features onto her persona. The word ‘persona’ is used here advisedly: it was generally made clear in the epilogue of a Clive vehicle that the attributes of her character were not necessarily those of her real self. As Mrs Clive became established, the Clive persona acquired a presence in other print media, and required a match between off- and on-stage representations. Anecdotes, reviews, pictures, and music coalesced in her person to form a projection of her more multi-faceted than any of her individual roles.

A comparison with nineteenth- and twentieth-century star construction may illuminate the situation. Modern authors interweave human characteristics to generate a psychologically credible whole. Distinguishing features are bound within a smooth structure and are therefore more difficult to single out than in the eighteenth-century farcical figure. The modern actor’s ‘real’ identity must compete with an author’s worked-out conception – the actor’s persona either fits the role, or some aspects of it, or stands in opposition. In any case, audiences compare one ‘personality’ against another³⁴. In the comedies of Mrs Clive, this process did not occur. The characters she played were ‘sketches’, types whose conventions required certain mannerisms, but whose artificiality reminded the public of their constructed nature. Individual traits emerged clearly and were grouped together, but it was the personality industry around the principal player that organized them into a public identity.

Samuel Foote created a useful metaphor for this conception in the alternate version of his second act to *The Diversions of the Morning*. The work, first performed in 1747, consisted of Foote’s satirical imitations of London’s leading performers, cited above as a form of criticism. In the later version, performed in 1758 and renamed *Tragedy-a-la-Mode*, ‘Mr

³⁴ Scholars of film stars categorize the relationship between star and fictional film character as a ‘perfect fit’, ‘selective use [of star persona]’ and ‘problematic fit’. Leo Braudy, ‘Acting: Stage vs Screen’, *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York and Oxford, 1999).

Fustian, a playwright' wishes to replace all non-principal actors with puppets to save money, because he believes audiences attend plays only to see a theatre's most famous performers³⁵. Foote's suggestion is telling: as the only 'live' figure on the stage, the principal player assumed a humanity denied to the other characters.

The notion that audiences perceived a comic figure's attributes as discontinuous and transferable 'units' was a central tenet of eighteenth-century theories about farce. But in 1720, Richard Steele proposed a new viewer-player relationship, proclaiming that audiences should identify with comic figures. The sentimental heroines portrayed by Mrs Clive between 1728 and 1745, when her repertory was dominated by farce, belong to Steele's brand of characterization/spectatorship. I will now take up these two competing modes of comic dramaturgy – farce versus sentimental comedy – and the audience response called for by each.

English Comedy Writing: Farce versus Sentiment

By the 1720s, two alternate strains of comic characterization co-existed: typological representation tied to Jonsonian humours and Steele's sentimental figures. To justify the former, late seventeenth-century critics misinterpreted Congreve's theories of comedy to praise two-dimensional figures of humour as a means to 'expose Persons' whom audiences should shun. While the comedy of humours had largely died out during the Restoration, eighteenth-century critics used its didactic intent to justify new stock figures, perceived as heirs of Jonson's practice. Seventeenth-century prototypes such as the 'cheater cheated' fused with Continental burlesque characters (primarily from the *commedia dell'arte* and Moliere's *petits comédies*) in one-act farces, skits, sub-plots and fairground drolls, whose 'external

³⁵ This work was never published, but a report of its performance survives in Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his own Life by Tate Wilkinson, patentee of the Theatres Royal, York and Hull*, i (Dublin, 1791), 285. It is described in Smith and Lawhon, *Plays about the Theatre in England, 1737-1800, or The Self-conscious Stage from Foote to Sheridan*, 24.

signals...became a shorthand for a certain range and type of behaviour'³⁶. Authors of farces turned characters inside-out: a 'trait set' was bonded with a stereotype – e.g. the fop with vanity, the country girl with gullibility or honesty – and the emblematic name, voice type, physiognomy, costume and 'grimaces' of this character signified the set of attributes it represented³⁷.

In 1720 Steele developed another method of characterization in protest against Restoration comedies, whose licentiousness had long prompted condemnation³⁸. Convinced that Restoration writers had sought to engage the viewer's sympathy for their dissolute characters, Steele created, in *The Conscious Lovers* (1720), a comic figure for audiences to emulate. To encourage the spectator's admiration of a stage character, Steele aimed to 'touch the viewer's heart', generating what theatre historian John Loftis has termed a 'more inward view of dramatic characters'³⁹. Such characterization insisted on a new relationship between

³⁶ West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal & Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble*, 128.

³⁷ Only Thomas Shadwell and Thomas D'Urfey continued to create comedies of humours during the Restoration. The *commedia dell'arte* was introduced to London audiences through visiting troupes (such as that of Tiberio Fiorelli), and through noblemen such as Sir Aston Cokain who, repatriating after their Grand Tour, recommended or invited *commedia* performers. Scouten traces the transmission of Jonsonian comic humours and its fusion with Continental burlesque in the section 'The Emergence and Development of Restoration Comedy', in A.H. Scouten, 'Plays and Playwrights', *The Revels History of Drama in English, 1660-1750*, ed. Thomas. W. Craik, v (London, 1976), 161-209. Theatre historian Shearer West postulates that Aristotle's failure to stipulate principles for comedy drove period playwrights to latch onto Congreve's *Concerning Humour in Comedy* (1695) for their critical apparatus. Congreve's theory of humours only awkwardly fits the universalism of theorists who urged 'figures in a play [to] represent not realities but "general nature"'. Congreve, by contrast, insisted on the individuality of the person being represented. He defined humour 'as a singular and unavoidable manner of doing or saying anything, Peculiar or Natural to one man only, by which his speech and actions are distinguish'd from those of other men'. Indeed, Congreve described what came to be a performance, rather than writing, practice of the period. West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal & Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble*, 128-9 and Earl R. Wasserman, 'The Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Acting', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 46 (1947).

³⁸ Restoration comedies had been under fire at least since Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698). The most important exchanges are reprinted in ch. 8 of Jonas Barish, *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1981), 221-53. Steele's reforms are outlined in John Loftis, 'Dramatic Theory', *The Revels History of Drama in English, 1660-1750*, v (London, 1976), 301-3.

³⁹ Preface to Richard Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*; reprinted in Carlson, 'The Restoration and Eighteenth Century in England', 129-32. Carlson also reviews theories on comedy which predated *The Conscious Lovers*, such as those formulated by Robert Addison in *The Spectator* (1711-12), Steele in the *Lying Lover* (1704), and *The Theatre*, no.19 (1720): 'How warmly would they [young male viewers] pursue true Gallantries, when accompanied by the Beauties with which a Poet represents them, when he has a Mind to make them amiable'.

audience and representation. The impersonal figure of 'Vice' was replaced by the sentimental hero, whose credibility relied on audiences accepting the values he embodied. Instead of delighting in farcical antics, the sentimental hero appealed by creating a world devoid of artifice, where conflicts in emotions and ethics were displayed and resolved⁴⁰.

In 1723 John Dennis (in *Remarks on a Play call'd the Conscious Lovers*) protested against Steele's methods: he was convinced that the business of the 'Comick Stage' was 'to shew...what ought never to be done upon the Stage of the World', in keeping with stage precedents and with Cartesian theories of representation⁴¹. The terms of the Steele-Dennis debate split comic characterization between figures who invited viewers' sympathy through exemplary behaviour and objectionable characters who educated the viewer on conduct to eschew. In their introductions, mid-eighteenth-century musical farces legitimized their production by repeating formulae from Dennis and his followers. In Mrs Clive's farces, the prolegomena insisted that the actress was educating her public, even as her misconduct titillated, happily distanced from her 'real' personality by critical theory.

Mrs Clive also portrayed sympathetic heroines, the most influential of which her mentor Henry Carey created or contributed to. Their conception cleaved to Steele's model (albeit somewhat clumsily), inviting the observer to feel with her. Although 'low characters' of farce constituted her core repertory until the mid-1730s, the presence of the sentimental heroine from the start of her career was significant in two ways. First, such roles helped Carey ingratiate his protégée with audiences, who (according to Steele) would sympathize with the

Scouten emphasises that it was 'Sir Richard Steele's lifelong task to repudiate the tradition of Restoration comedy'. Scouten, 'Plays and Playwrights', 234.

⁴⁰ Alice Rayner, 'Cumberland and Steele's Aphorism', *Comic Persuasion: Moral Structure in British Comedy from Shakespeare to Stoppard* (Berkeley, CA, 1987), 85-6.

⁴¹ Dennis ridiculed Steele's goal of creating in comedy a 'Joy too exquisite for Laughter'. Carlson, 'The Restoration and Eighteenth Century in England', 132. According to Dennis (who was an exponent of Descartes), comedy should purge and educate: safe in the knowledge that the action was feigned, comedians could ape Vice and use it to amuse audiences.

heroines she played. Second, because Steele's characterization erased the boundary imposed by farce between the actress and the figure represented, audiences could identify Mrs Clive with the entire character Carey constructed.

Apart from a defence of farce, Mrs Clive inherited from the Restoration a second dramatic tradition: the 'line', or the serialized fictional character generated by and for a specific actor. This little-understood yet deeply engrained practice allowed Mrs Clive's script writers from Henry Fielding onward to organize the independent traits from her farces into a more highly defined 'metacharacter'.

The Restoration 'Line', or Writing the Player

Eighteenth-century farces and Restoration comedies shared more than just a critical apparatus. As Peter Holland has shown, seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century playwrights frequently tailored roles to principal players, and recreated virtually the same role for the same actor through different plays. Writers of the period labelled this series of roles a 'line', and actors retained the right to interpret this fictional character for as long as they wished. Developing a 'line' allowed playwrights to foreground an actor's celebrated skills or private reputation. Holland claims that the 'line', or 'cast' (called a 'walk' after 1700) was an essential element in the formation of comic stereotypes on the London stage; he cites testimony from several Restoration dramatists about their strategy when writing in this vein⁴².

Expanding on Holland's findings, Tiffany Stern describes how an actor's private reputation informed a role's conceptualization. She argues that the line reflected the perceived personality of the principal player to whom it was assigned, and that this 'metacharacter'

⁴² Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 73-9. Holland contends that 'any analysis of the effect of an actor on the historical development of a genre will probably be an inadequate simplification'.

eventually overwrote his or her fictional representation. In Stern's words, the metacharacter generated 'the kind of personal interest in specific actors that brings about a "star" system'⁴³. Besides piquing public curiosity, the integration of reputation with fictional character encouraged a continual re-writing of the same role, transforming typology from a literary or iconographic exercise to a performing tradition: type became identified with living individuals. Nell Gwynn, whose 'public private life' as the King's mistress resurfaced in Restoration comedies, is the premier example from this period⁴⁴. 'The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield' was one important successor:

The Part that render'd *Mrs Oldfield's* Excellence chiefly known to the Town was that of *Lady Betty Modish* in the *Careless Husband*, a Comedy, written by Mr Cibber in the Year 1704. In this Character it was that those two Qualities, before observed by Mr Cibber, of the Genteel and the Elegant, shone out in Mrs Oldfield to their greatest Degree of Perfection; and the Character was so admirably suited to the natural and agreeable Manner of Conversation peculiar to Mrs Oldfield, that almost every Sentence in the Part, may with Justice be said to have been heard from her own Mouth before she pronounced it on the Stage. In short, it was not the part of *Lady Betty Modish*, represented by *Mrs Oldfield*; but it was the real *Mrs Oldfield* who appeared in the Character of *Lady Betty Modish*⁴⁵.

Despite such testimony to the centrality of the star 'personality' for the dramatist, Holland's assertion that 'the actor precedes the role' would seem to overstate the case⁴⁶. From the perspective of semiotics, for a role to communicate something to audiences, a spectator

⁴³ See ch. 5 and 6 (especially pp. 149-52, 212-13) in Tiffany Stern, *The Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford, 2000). Stern stresses that 'the reality of the actor, the actor as actor, was partly what the audience was coming to see'.

⁴⁴ Holland maintains that Gwynn's racy off-stage antics provided the model for the female in the Restoration 'gay couple'. Yet scholars have typically examined the genesis of such stereotypes without reference to the player who spawned them, as in Robert Hume's article, 'Diversity and Development in Restoration Comedy, 1660-1679', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 5 (1972). Cited in Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 74.

⁴⁵ [Edmund Curll], *The History of the English Stage from the Restauration to the Present Time ... by Thomas Betterton* (London, 1741), 3. Cibber reports that Mrs Oldfield, 'having such promise of genius' inspired him to complete this role, which he had thrown aside 'in despair': 'There were many sentiments that I may almost say were originally her own or only dressed with a little more care than when they negligently fell from her lively humour'. Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 308.

⁴⁶ 'The rule must be to start with the actor and consider the development of the line as an historical process in relation to that actor. The actor precedes the role'. Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 79.

must be able to decode it according to a preexisting and familiar system⁴⁷. A player's talents and off-stage antics provided raw material; authors organized this information within a familiar pattern of representation. Literary, stage, and even iconographic traditions prescribed frameworks into which authors fitted information about the player. Players, particularly at the start of their careers, commonly had to conform to a physiognomy – for example, tragediennes should be tall and slender – and voice type⁴⁸. The latter was linked by treatises to certain passions commonly enacted in specific genres: tragedy required power, musicality and plaintiveness; comedy called for harmony, intelligibility and a higher pitch.⁴⁹ Only once a player had established a following could he or she assert authority over the script, and all characterizations built on existing models. While traits unique to the player – either skills or 'personality' – differentiated actors from each other, scholars of stars warn that in star production such hallmarks must not only be clearly recognizable, but also fall within

⁴⁷ This theory is outlined in 'Performance Codes and Theatrical Conventions', in Marco De Marinis, *The Semiotics of Performance*, trans. Aine O'Healy, 2nd edn (Bloomington, IN, 1992), 97-102. According to the semiotics of theatre, genre constitutes an essential 'system of discourse' or connector between the 'codes of the sender' and the 'codes of the addressee'. Genre sets up expectations which may be either fulfilled or thwarted. Regardless whether a performance abides by generic conventions, its categorization channels its conception and reception into specific and historically contingent forms.

⁴⁸ Stereotypical physiognomies for dramatic types were listed in 'Of that peculiar figure which is suited to particular characters', John Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (London, 1755), 24-7. Colley Cibber argued against the need for a player's physique to match generic norms: 'I cannot but think, at a Play, a sensible Auditor would contribute all he could to his being well deceived'. Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 205. Phillip H. Highfill stresses that 'the attribute most criticized was voice, both its volume and quality'. Phillip H. Highfill, 'Performers and Performing', *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale, IL, 1980), 168-9.

⁴⁹ Samuel Derrick, writing under the pseudonym of the actor Robert Wilkes, articulated the commonly-held view that an actor's voice was an organ of music rather than declamation: 'Tragedy and Comedy seem to require quite different tones for their proper execution; sorrow, grief, pain &c require a voice slow, solemn and affecting, like the melancholy plaintive notes of an Adagio; Joy and Pleasure, which are proper appendages and marks of Comedy, will naturally form the voice into the Spirituoso, or chearful vivacity of Music; Love in general requires a soft, alluring, and melodious voice; the mellow warblings of a German flute have a finer effect in moving the tender passions, than the rougher tones of bassoon; and certainly an Actor, with an articulate, melodious voice, is more proper for love-scenes than he whose voice has all the roughness of a bass-viol. Hatred, rage and contempt, may be compared to the sharps in Music, as joy, triumph and exultation are best expressed by the martial sounds of a trumpet. Hence it is evident, that a Player requires as fine an ear as a Musician'. [Samuel Derrick], *A General View of the Stage. By Mr Wilkes* (London and Dublin, 1759), 111-12. John Hill made similar observations in 'Concerning the peculiar kinds of voice, suited to peculiar characters'. Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing*, 204-9.

prescribed social norms⁵⁰. In short, performer and performance tradition created a dialectic in which the player's talents and reputation interacted with traditional forms of dramatic exegesis.

Fresh roles (as opposed to revived ones) were an essential means by which players might ingratiate themselves with audiences⁵¹. New works, frequently performed as afterpieces, allowed players to both redefine generic expectations according to their talents, and shape public perception of their image. Audiences welcomed the novelty because it contrasted with the often retrograde mainpiece, and because it afforded the exhibition of unanticipated talent. Mrs Clive enjoyed the advantage of being initially featured in the emerging theatrical form of the afterpiece. Yet despite the opportunities they offered players to re-invent themselves, new works modified a line only gradually⁵². When diversifying, writers had to consider various factors such as currents in literary taste and acting techniques, as well as established patterns of representation. The potential longevity of celebrity status during the eighteenth century obviated the need for radical changes to the line: even when Mrs Clive was stout and aging, audiences still flocked to see her in roles written for her when she was young.

From the Restoration onwards, principal players retained the right to roles in their line, usually until retirement. The initial interpretation of a role generally became the benchmark for all subsequent interpretations, and revivals were necessarily held to be inferior. Holland

⁵⁰ Joseph Garnarcz singles out product differentiation as essential to star construction: 'Zum Star kann eine einzelne Person werden, die sich derart markant von anderen unterscheidet, dass sie in ihrer Einzigartigkeit auffällt'. ('That person may become a star whose difference from others renders their uniqueness noticeable'.) Joseph Garnarcz, 'Die Schauspielerin wird Star: Ingrid Bergman - eine öffentliche Kunstfigur', *Die Schauspielerin: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst*, ed. Renate Möhrmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 321. In the same article, Garnarcz emphasizes that 'difference' must not transgress boundaries of social acceptability. Charlotte Charke provides an example of the mid-eighteenth-century 'fallen star' whose exploration of lesbian sexuality audiences initially tolerated (in the guise of cross-dressing), then later rejected. Jones DeRitter, "'Not the Person she Conceived me": the Public Identities of Charlotte Charke', *The Embodiment of Characters: the Representation of Physical Experience on Stage and in Print, 1728-1749* (Philadelphia, 1994).

⁵¹ This point is discussed in detail in ch. 5 and was assessed in the *Daily Journal*: 'A respected actor ... has peculiar Right ... to any other Species of similar character'. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 27 Dec 1736.

⁵² Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 69.

points out that the player's unique ownership of the manuscript on which a part was written reinforced the notion that the role itself was owned by the actor. Once abandoned, the role together with its vehicle might be dropped from the repertory, at least for some time, or the principal actor might school a protégé to duplicate his or her interpretation. If any player took over a role from the line within living memory of its definitive interpretation, he or she was expected to reproduce that interpretation⁵³. This tradition continued through the eighteenth century:

Our way of judging of the performer in this case is, usually, by comparing him with the player whom we remember to have last perform'd the same character with success; no matter whether he were right or wrong, we judge that best for ever after which is most like what he did. The judicious player, who takes up a character of this kind, is therefore to make it his first care not to differ too much from the last person who excelled in it. Perhaps the only way to please the greater part of audience as well as he did, is to copy his faults: if even this is necessary, it must be in some degree at least submitted to; since, in general, the more like the new actor's play is to what the people have been used to, the better they will be pleas'd with it⁵⁴.

Players and audience considered ownership of a role 'a moral right in the theatre', and this maxim became the basis for Mrs Clive's 1736 defence for having defied managers who were trying to oust her from the leading female role in *The Beggar's Opera*⁵⁵.

Period acting techniques facilitated the replication of the original interpretation by a subsequent performer. Acting mannerisms inscribed the original player's distinctive presence onto the role. Stern describes this 'manner' as a 'particular and consistent method of playing any role', through which each performance referenced past and future appearances to generate 'a single across-play character'⁵⁶. Mrs Clive's inimitable acting style, which she introduced into her stage characters from 1731 onwards, was one of her most celebrated attributes:

I believe that of all Actresses who have appeared in the comic vein, Mrs Clive's superior talents have always been pre-eminent ... Her talents are wholly of a humorous turn ... She is excellent in the foolish simplicity of Mrs Cadwallader, in the pertness of Phillis, and parts of that cast [line]: she is happy in the

⁵³ 'On an actor's death or retirement, the parts were redistributed, [and] the process involved a physical handing over of the manuscript parts'. See *ibid.*, 65, 149-5, 213-14.

⁵⁴ See John Hill, *The Actor: a Treatise ... with Theatrical Anecdotes* (London, 1750), 178.

⁵⁵ I discuss this point in greater detail in ch. 5.

⁵⁶ Stern, *The Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, 212.

Fine Lady in *Lethe*. Her figure and her years are indeed against her in Miss Prue and Hoyden; yet her performance is just and pleasing even in these, as in every thing she undertakes to perform ... Mrs Clive is not only the most useful, but the most entertaining actress on the Stage: nay, if we consider her variety of powers, and her exertion of them, I fancy we may safely allow her to be the Garrick of the ladies⁵⁷.

Besides boasting a trademark acting style, and inspiring productions, eighteenth-century principal players shared one other aspect of star production with their distant Hollywood progeny: audience desire for direct knowledge of the star⁵⁸. 'Naturalist' acting techniques which took root from the mid-1730s fed this curiosity by positing a new relationship between the player's private persona and the passion he or she enacted.

'Put on the Character with the Habit': the Impact of Naturalist Acting

From the seventeenth-century, drama critics looked to classical theories of oratory for guidelines to the mechanics of representation⁵⁹. Critics' interpretations of classical oratory were in part mediated by René Descartes' doctrine of the passions, for which Charles Le Brun later provided the seminal visual guide. Briefly stated, Descartes proposed that the movement of 'esprits animaux' conveyed a passion throughout the body, and caused a specific physical reaction ('That which is [in the soul] a Passion is also [in the body] an Action'). Charles Le Brun created, in his *Conférence ... sur l'expression générale et particuliere*, an illustrated catalogue of passions that claimed to embody Descartes' popular philosophy. Theatre historians generally describe Descartes' *Passions de l'âme* and Le Brun's *Conférence* as the

⁵⁷ [Derrick], *A General View of the Stage. By Mr Wilkes*, 288. Davies mourned that later actresses were unable to reproduce her interpretations: 'Happy was that author who could write a part equal to her abilities! She not only, in general, exceeded the writer's expectation, but all that the most enlightened spectator could conceive. By her encouragement and instructions, and her own industry, Miss Pope is become a valuable actress; but genius cannot be communicated ... I shall as soon expect see another Butler, Rabelais or Swift, as Clive'. Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, iii (London, 1784), 324.

⁵⁸ Stern and Holland consistently draw analogies between the expectations of film-goers and Restoration audiences. Holland points out that an audience considered plays and epilogues to be a source of personal information about either the speaker or the fellow actors mentioned in the monologue; moreover, audiences also demanded love relationships between players be re-enacted in works they performed. Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 65-80.

⁵⁹ In his section on 'Acting and Oratory', Dean Barnett catalogues the most important classical writings on oratory for the eighteenth-century stage. Dean Barnett and Jeanette Massy-Westropp, *The Art of Gesture: the Practice and Principles of Eighteenth-Century Acting* (Heidelberg, 1987), 11-17.

philosophical and visual touchstones of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century acting techniques⁶⁰. Eighteenth-century theatre critics before Aaron Hill typically maintained that actors should reproduce attitudes prescribed by Le Brun and his followers and follow classical rules of oratory to move the passions of the audience. Players did not inhabit the passion themselves; rather, they reproduced an appearance judged by Cartesian doctrine to be a true model of Nature:

Art must be consulted in the Study of the larger Share of the Professors of Oratory; for, as Mr Betterton most judiciously remarks, so great a man as Demosthenes perfected himself by consulting the Gracefulness of the Figure in his Glass: For to express Nature justly, one must be Master of Nature in all its Appearances ...⁶¹.

The acceptability of a performance depended not only upon whether it matched oratory rules laid down by the ancients, or attitudes depicted by respected painters; stage action had also to adhere to social codes. Passions may have constituted the character, but it was the player's acting skill that organized them decorously; in the words of Edmund Curll, the actor was not free to enact 'every rude and undesigning Action ... but what is agreeable to Personation, or the Subject he represents'. Proper judgment sprang from a 'moral philosophy' and the study of painters who 'have observed a Decorum in their Pieces, which wants to [be] introduced on our Stage'⁶². The actor, as a 'Master of Nature in its Appearances', was an agent of sanctioned methods of representation. The recommendation to practise before a

⁶⁰ 'Qui est en [l'âme] une Passion, est communément en [le corps] une Action'. René Descartes, *Passions de l'âme* (1649); cited in West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal & Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble*, 92. Le Brun's illustrations were published originally in Amsterdam and Paris in 1698, the same year that the painter delivered his lecture to the Académie Royale. Le Brun's most influential advocate for the English stage was the painter and writer William Pastor. Carlson believes Thomas Rymer was the author instrumental in popularizing French neo-classical dramatic theory amongst English critics through his *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1698). Carlson, 'The Restoration and Eighteenth Century in England', 129.

⁶¹ [Curll], *The History of the English Stage from the Restauration to the Present Time ... by Thomas Betterton*, 62-3. In this treatise, the author wrote under the name of actor Thomas Betterton, perhaps due to the success of Charles Gildon's *Life of Mr Thomas Betterton* (London, 1710). Precise descriptions of pre-Garrick acting are reprinted in Alan S. Downer, 'Nature to Advantage Dressed: Eighteenth-Century Acting', *PMLA*, 58 (1943) and Lily B. Campbell, 'The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century', *PMLA*, 32 (1917).

⁶² [Curll], *The History of the English Stage from the Restauration to the Present Time ... by Thomas Betterton*, 50-51.

mirror suggests the implied link between actor and fictional figure: the actor reflected a character, but could never be mistaken for that character. The function of the player in organizing traditions of oratory, iconography and decorum insisted that he or she maintain a distance to the person represented on stage⁶³.

With the advent of ‘naturalist’ acting after 1735, the relationship between player and passion shifted. Theatre historians have described at some length the rise to popularity of this technique during the 1740s, dividing the contrasting acting styles which existed contemporaneously into two categories, the ‘classical’ and the ‘natural’. The first, in line with the Bettertonian tradition described above, advocated ‘the artificial management of the body and voice’, arising from rules which the player, having mastered, then put into motion⁶⁴. The second, launched by Aaron Hill in a 1736 production that included Mrs Clive as epilogue speaker, fostered the impression that the actor empathized with the character he or she played:

It requir’d, methought, but the Assistance of a lively Imagination, join’d to an easy, and natural, Power; with a resolute Habitude, to BE for an Hour or two, the very Persons, they wou’d seem. – Such a Foundation for accomplish’d Acting, lies so open, and so clearly in Nature, that they, who find it at all, must discover it at first: because, when Men are once got out of the Road, they, who travel the farthest, have but most Length of Way to ride back again⁶⁵.

Although Hill’s conception might sound modern, it remained grounded in Cartesian paradigms. Hill believed that the seat of the passions was to be found in a ‘plastic imagination’, a concept borrowed from Descartes’ idea of the soul. For Descartes, the soul

⁶³ Earl Wasserman interprets these instructions slightly differently. ‘He [Curll] intended ... that the actor ... give to each emotion, abstracted from human nature and divested of individual differences, the appropriate gestures and voice’. Wasserman, ‘The Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Acting’, 265.

⁶⁴ Wasserman notes the contradiction between classical acting theory and the celebrated dictum of the ancients, ‘the orator who moves most is he who is most moved’, pointing out that early eighteenth-century English drama theorists ‘constantly repeated’ these observations ‘without perceiving the implications’. See *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Introduction to Aaron Hill, *The Tragedy of Zara* (London, 1736). Aaron Hill’s theories on acting first appeared in *The Prompter*, nos. 64, 66 and 118 (1735) and were reprinted in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill...with an Essay on the Art of Acting* (1753) and in his *Dramatic Works* (1760), as a dedication to the 1710 play *The Fatal Vision*. Passages from these works are quoted in Arnold Hare and David Thomas, eds, *Theatre in Europe: a Documentary History. Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1778* (Cambridge, 1989), 170-73. *The Prompter* articles are reprinted in William W. Appleton and Kalman A. Burnim, eds, *The Prompter: a Theatrical Paper (1734-1736) by Aaron Hill and William Popple* (New York, 1966).

was material, a gland in the middle of the brain surrounded by animal spirits, which were dispersed throughout the body. For Hill, the plastic imagination functioned in a similar manner; it conceived an 'ideal impression' that produced an emotion, and this passion in turn threw out an 'efflux' affecting the entire body⁶⁶.

Despite their Cartesian roots, Hill's theories interrogated the link between actor and passion. Hill relocated the seat of the passions from the material (a gland) to the abstract (the imagination); in so doing, he asserted that what had been held to be a physical phenomenon was in fact a mental and emotional experience. By insisting that the source of the passions was non-physical, Hill allowed the player to step into the mirror. Perceived as a human organ, Descartes' 'passion gland' was universal – everyone shared the same organs, and therefore the same passions. By naming the imagination the source of passions, Hill situated them within the immaterial realm of subjective experience, knowable only to the individual⁶⁷. On this basis, he derided the idea one could learn acting by studying manuals: an actor's success lay in having 'ductile imagination' to admit an 'ideal impression'

Hill's theories therefore changed critical perception of the player's function: the player now channelled emotions, instead of reproducing them. Hill's theories also undermined the mediating function of critics. The term 'Nature' became a semantic battleground. Earlier, when critics referred to 'Nature', they had invoked a set of normative representations which illustrated ideals held up to be universally true. Hill denied that the outlines of Nature could be

⁶⁶ Joseph Roach explores the influence of Descartes on Aaron Hill's acting theories. Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark, NJ and London, 1985), 78-82.

⁶⁷ A later dramatic theorist, John Hill, also scoffed at Curll's suggestion that actors practise in front of mirrors: 'To observe every minute article of this [physical representation] were as contemptible as to practice attitudes in a glass'. Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing*, 97.

defined, because its form was fluid and best measured by spontaneous response⁶⁸. This transferred the mantle of authority from the critic to the viewer.

Hill and his followers also re-interpreted practices of spectatorship, encouraging the viewer to sympathize with the protagonist, as Steele had envisioned. In this area, Hill challenged Cartesian theories directly: according to Descartes, pleasure at the theatre depended upon the audience's awareness that on-stage action was simulated and distinct from 'real' events⁶⁹; Hill and his advocates, in contrast, wooed audiences by urging actors to erase the boundary between fiction and reality:

To do justice to his character, he [the player] must not only strongly impress it on his own mind, but make a temporary renunciation of himself and all his connections in common life, and for a few hours consign all his private joys and griefs to oblivion; forget, if possible, his own identity. How difficult, and yet how requisite the task! He must put on the character with the habit, and assume the air, look, language, and action of the person he represents, till his imagination, quite absorpt in the extensive idea, influences his whole frame; is visible in every glance of the eye, every air of his countenance ... This is not so much acting as being an original; and the Actor who has attained this has reached the summit of his art.⁷⁰

Operating on a visceral level, the actor drew the viewer into the drama: boundaries between character and viewer disappeared with those between actor and character. Steele's earlier views may have anticipated those of Hill, but were relegated to a particular genre. Hill advocated a global transformation of acting technique.

'Beatrice will bridle': the Actor in the Public's Eye

Theorists of acting described ideals, not events, as is evidenced by the discrepancies between dramatic theory and the testimony of theatregoers. Joseph Roach rightfully stresses

⁶⁸ 'Ductile genius turns, and passions wind,/And bends, to fancy's curve, the pliant mind'. Aaron Hill, *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq ... with an Essay on the Art of Acting* (London, 1753), 392-3.

⁶⁹ 'Descartes considered all emotions ... pleasurable so long as they were held somewhat in check by the brain ... "when these passions are only caused by the stage adventures which we see represented in a theatre, or other similar means which, not being able to harm us in any way, seem pleasurable to excite our soul in affecting"'. Carlson, 'The Restoration and Eighteenth Century in England', 129.

⁷⁰ [Derrick], *A General View of the Stage. By Mr Wilkes*, 92.

that the appeal of naturalist acting was not an early exploration of twentieth-century ‘method acting’, but the promise of a superior mechanical reproduction. At its core lay the paradigm of ‘Nature as machine’: naturalist techniques created a spectacle that entranced audiences simply because its workings remained, like those of Garrick’s automatus Macbeth wig, mysterious. Both the aims and means of this acting school were in line with established eighteenth-century principles⁷¹.

Even if Hill’s theories did not transform performance into verisimilitude, however, they greatly enhanced the status of the performer. With ‘plastic imagination’, the concept of genius changed: no longer to be acquired through study, it was now equated with the player’s imagination (also referred to as ‘sensibility’)⁷². Players either possessed this quality or they did not – everyone had a Cartesian gland, but none could claim to have the fantasy of David Garrick. Because imagination inhered to the individual, critics came to perceive acting talent as a gift inherited, and not acquired. According to advocates of naturalist acting, unique sensibility gave actors a birthright to fame, because ‘speaking from the heart’ would automatically be recognized and celebrated⁷³.

⁷¹ When acting Macbeth, Garrick sported a wig whose hairs stood on end when he pulled a concealed string. The wig aroused excitement amongst his public, and became a fixture of his interpretation. Roach considers the prop paradigmatic for the concept of ‘naturalism’: its fascination lay in the close simulation of natural events through a complex mechanism. This seemingly antithetical interpretation of ‘Nature’ in the ‘naturalist’ acting school of the mid-eighteenth century is the starting point for his analysis of its impact on audiences. See ch. 2 of Roach, *The Player’s Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*.

⁷² ‘An easy ductility in the wax is not more requisite to fit it for the purpose of the modeller, than is this sensibility in the heart of the actor, by means of which it is to receive whatever modifications the writer pleases’. Hill, *The Actor: a Treatise ... with Theatrical Anecdotes*, 15-16.

⁷³ In his 1736 production of *Zara*, Aaron Hill launched both his new acting techniques and Mrs Cibber’s career as a tragedienne. She had been previously cast as an ingénue, but interpreting *Zara* according to Hill’s ‘naturalist’ style, she could ‘reveal’ her unparalleled tragic sensibility. Hill primed audience response thus: ‘At the same Time, it happen’d, that Mrs CIBBER, was, fortunately, inclinable to exert her inimitable Talent, in additional Aid of my Purpose, with View to continue the Practice of a Profession, for which, Her Person, Her Voice, the unaffected Sensibility of her Heart, (and her Face, so finely dispos’d for assuming, and expressing, the Passions) have so naturally, qualify’d her’. Introduction to Hill, *The Tragedy of Zara*. The shift from viewing the actor’s gifts from something acquired to something inborn is most noticeable in biographical sketches of individual actors. Discussions of Garrick, the prototypical ‘naturalist’ actor, usually referred to the instinctiveness of his interpretations, and to the audience’s instant response: ‘The Beholder feels himself affected he knows not how, and it may be truly said of him [Garrick] ... what the Poet said of Shakespeare ... *His powerful Strokes prevailing*

Leading actors Macklin and Garrick speedily aligned themselves with Hill's school of acting. Publicizing their naturalist acting style, they differentiated themselves from their colleagues and advertised the power of their 'sensibility'⁷⁴. But the dissolution of the actor into the fictional character also created a moral dilemma: if a player could transform into a villain, how could one be sure he or she wasn't one? One *cri de coeur* on this issue ran:

How strange a character does it make for one to live, in a manner, perpetually in a mask, to be much oftener in a personated than in a real character? And yet this is the case with all players, if, to the time spent in representation, you add that which is necessary to prepare for their public appearances. And what foul polluted minds must these be, which are such a receptacle of foreign vanities, besides their natural corruption, and where one system or plan of folly is obliterated only to make way for another⁷⁵.

Or, as Dr Johnson once joked, 'if Garrick really believed himself to be that monster, Richard the Third, he deserved to be hanged every time he performed it'⁷⁶. How could naturalist players distance themselves from fictional immorality?

The observations of the later dramatic theorist John Hill, give some insight into the viewer's response to this dilemma⁷⁷. He outlined contrasting rules in comedy and tragedy for assessing the player's link to a fictional representation. The comic player's 'natural temper' should match the 'kinds of temper' found in the stage character – in his words, 'no man [comedian] ever acted a part well, who was not in some the degree of the same turn of mind'.

Truth impress'd, / And unresisted Passion storm'd the Breast. David E. Baker, 'Garrick, David', *The Companion to the Playhouse*, ii (London, 1764).

⁷⁴ Both actors reported on their efforts to study real-life examples of villains and tragic heroes: to prepare for King Lear, Garrick frequently visited a neighbour driven mad by his daughter's death by a fatal accident. Macklin sought out 'frequent intercourse and conversation with "the unforeskinned race" to internalize the role of Shylock. McIntyre, *Garrick*, 47-9 and France Asprey Congreve, *Authentic Memoirs of the late Mr. Charles Macklin* (London, 1798), 19.

⁷⁵ John Witherspoon, *A Serious Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* (Glasgow, 1757), 53-4.

⁷⁶ R.W. Chapman, ed., *Life of Johnson by James Boswell*, rev. 1980 edn (London, 1791), 1,252.

⁷⁷ John Hill translated St Albine's acting treatise *Le Comedien* (Paris, 1747) into English in 1750, passing it off as his own. In 1755 he revised and expanded the treatise, and named its source. The 1750 translation contains only minor variations from the original, but the 1755 version contains much of his own material. Wasserman compares the two editions in Wasserman, 'The Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Acting', 266-7. Hill was admittedly considered 'repellent' by the London stage community: himself a frustrated actor and dramatist, he turned to criticism only after he had failed at both. (His shortcomings provoked Henry Woodward's satirical *Letter...to John Hill*, 1752.) Nonetheless, his writings provoked reaction from other specialists: his criticism of Peg Woffington's voice was repeated elsewhere, while his preference for Mrs Green over Mrs Clive was lambasted in Anon, *The Theatrical Review for the Year of 1757 and 1758*. The influence of John Hill on the reception of Mrs Woffington, who enticed and then rejected him, is described in *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Woffington, Margaret', xvi (1993), 205-12.

Although possessing this ‘turn of mind’ did not ensure success, it was ‘the most happy addition that can be made to real talents’. The tragedian, in contrast, only required ‘naturally exalted sentiments’ to credibly enact his characters. Both types of actor should ‘divest [themselves] of all passions in private life’ when appearing on stage. In other words, the *tabula rasa* of the sensibility was an imperative in both comedy and tragedy, but to be effective, comedy demanded a player have private ‘temper’ akin to the fictional one, whereas tragedy did not⁷⁸. Ironically, John Hill, who persistently denigrated Mrs Clive, admitted that her precocious comic talents evidenced her possession of a ‘temper’ optimal for her repertory: gay, irreverent, and indomitable. Other Clive biographers and critics echoed his description of her ‘temper’ when describing her private character⁷⁹.

Convergences between the ‘temper’ of the player and that of the fictional character might therefore endanger the reputation of those enacting negative comic stereotypes. There were, however, safeguards against this confusion hard-wired into period dramatic traditions. Apart from the exaggerated characterizations of farce, the conception of the passion as an isolated unit of emotion helped the viewer to distinguish between a role and its component parts. The player might excel in playing a passion – which John Hill promptly ascribed to the player – without assuming the entire character construction⁸⁰. Regardless of changes in acting

⁷⁸ Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing*, 174-7.

⁷⁹ ‘Concerning that gaiety of disposition, which is essential to the comic actor’, *ibid.*, 175. Praising her performance in Fielding’s *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, Hill reported that ‘there is hardly a scene in which the truth of the action is more difficult: and this Mrs Clive does perfectly. In many characters of this kind, all that we admire is in this actress’. *Ibid.*, 230. Chetwood first mentioned Mrs Clive’s wit and high spirits in 1749, and biographers until the late nineteenth century repeated and embellished his comments. ‘Miss Raftor had a facetious Turn of Humour, and infinite Spirits ...’. William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), 127. Other examples included: ‘But there she’s CLIVE, without the form of art,/A jolly person, with the jolliest heart’. Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad ... the Eighth Edition with large Additions to which is added the Smithfield Rosciad* (Dublin, 1764), 68. ‘As strong Humour is the great characteristic Mark of an English Comedy, so was this laughter-loving, Joy-exciting actress!’. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London, 1771), 143. Her unpublished letters attest to an extremely cantankerous nature.

⁸⁰ See, for instance, Hill’s comparison of Garrick with Spranger Barry: ‘Mr Garrick, who is as naturally violent as Mrs Cibber is melancholy, finds it very difficult to make a transition from anger to sorrow ... Mr Barry, whose

techniques, moreover, decorum continued to furnish guidelines for stage movement: in the 1765 broadside for judging actors (*Critical Balance*) cited above, critics still valued an artful courtesy over emotional credibility, devoting eight categories to the former ('Figure; Grace; Spirit & Ease; Dignity & Manners; Expression & Pantomime; Genteel Humor; Elocution and Voice; Dress') against one to the latter ('Sensibility & Truth')⁸¹.

The most potent defence against a conflation with unsavoury on-stage characterizations lay with players themselves. Colley Cibber commented at length on how audiences rejected the interpretation of a virtuous character by a player of ill-repute (such as his son, the wife-pimping Theophilus Cibber, and his daughter, the male impersonator Charlotte Charke)⁸². Drury Lane prompter Charles Chetwood reiterated Cibber's warning that only respected players should tackle roles of high moral calibre. According to his testimony, the public valued the actor's (perceived) moral integrity *more highly* than his or her acting skills:

Moral Virtue, and a decent Behaviour, will gain Esteem from People of every Rank, will add Weight to the Characters they represent, and even may atone for want of Excellency ... the Performers [should] be as blameless as human Nature will allow. I remember a virtuous Actress (or one reputed to be so) repeating two lines in King Lear, at her Exit in the Third Act, *Arm'd in my Virgin Innocence I'll fly, / My Royal Father to relieve, or die*, Received a Plaudit from the Audience, more as a Reward for her reputable Character, than, perhaps, her Acting claim'd; when a different Actress in the same Part, more fam'd for her Stage-Performance than the other at the Words *Virgin Innocence*, has created a Horse-laugh ... and the Scene of Pity and Compassion at the Close turn'd to ridicule⁸³.

natural tendency is to elegant distress, finds it hard to pass from that to anger ... in parts where violence and fury are the great characteristics, Mr Garrick succeeds best, and Mr Barry in those [parts] distinguished by tenderness'. Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing*, 65-6.

⁸¹ Anon, *A Critical Balance of the Performers at Drury Lane Last Season*. Holland opines that rules of decorum were so thoroughly internalized by audiences and players that they appeared 'natural'. Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, 57-8.

⁸² 'The private Character of an Actor will always, more or less, affect his Publick Performance ... what should not an Actor expect, that is hardy enough, to think his whole private Character of no consequence? ... Tis a Misfortune, at least, not limited to the English Stage. I have seen the better-bred Audience in Paris, made merry even with a modest Expression when it has come from the Mouth of an Actress whose private Character it seem'd not to belong to'. Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 204-5.

⁸³ Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage*, 28.

He recommended that players groom their off-stage reputation to counteract potential denigration of their chosen profession⁸⁴. Chetwood's advice came during a period when the social status of actors was hotly debated⁸⁵; seen in this context, his comments also suggest how the actor, through his reputation, might exorcise deep-rooted suspicions towards the stage. Mrs Clive followed precisely this strategy, consciously fostering her reputation for propriety to counterbalance the salacious characters she played⁸⁶.

One thread running through all eighteenth-century traditions of watching and evaluating players was the audience's fragmented observation. Like opera attendees, theatregoers relegated close attention to key moments, and ignored much of the playbook⁸⁷. A 1751 manual for theatregoers recommended that the devotee apprise himself of climaxes before attending a performance:

But the players have begun: let us see if what they are about deserves our attention. To know this we must have a previous acquaintance with the plays themselves; for the best of them are allow'd to have but a few passages worth our notice ... Such, upon perusing the play, will readily discover the places, where an actor is to exert his abilities⁸⁸.

⁸⁴ 'A modest Behaviour is commendable in every Station, but much more observed in Persons of public Profession, where the Eyes of Thousands are upon them ... Humility, Affability and Good-nature, will claim Regard from all Ranks; and if any Stains are thrown upon the Profession, such Qualifications will wipe them off'. See *ibid.*, 36. In 1743, one author protested against the eagerness with which audiences scrutinized players' private lives for on-stage parallels: 'The Town are perhaps a little too ready to enquire into Peoples private Characters...If a Man performs well upon the Stage, the Audience ought to enquire after him no farther'. Anon, *The Case of our Present Theatrical Disputes* (London, 1743), 51.

⁸⁵ 'From the beginning of the Georgian period, 1714 through 1801, there were about fifty attacks [on acting] in pamphlets of length – not counting newspaper squibs – provoking about twenty-five defensive pamphlets'. Highfill, 'Performers and Performing', 144. Marion Jones maintains that because they lived in the 'glare of publicity ... [actors] lost all claim to reputation in their private lives, which led to family opposition when young men and women of standing tried to enter the acting profession'. Marion Jones, 'Actors and Repertory', *The Revels History of Drama in English, 1660-1750*, ed. Thomas. W. Craik, v (London, 1976), 133. The struggle to establish the social respectability of actresses is the subject of Kimberly Crouch's dissertation, cited below.

⁸⁶ 'Catherine Clive and Dorothy Jordan were both extremely careful of their alliances and associations, both within the theatre and beyond, so as not to damage their social and professional positions. Clive, circumspect in sexual matters, used chastity as an indicator of the social acceptability'. Kimberly Crouch, 'Attitudes towards Actresses in Eighteenth-Century Britain' (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1995), 277.

⁸⁷ The process of 'selective listening' in eighteenth-century opera is described in William Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?' *EMc*, 25 (1997). Like Weber, I attempt to reconstruct a type of connoisseurship exercised by audiences of the period, with the focus on theatre, rather than opera, aficionados.

⁸⁸ Anon, *A Guide to the Stage, or Select Instructions and Precedents ... towards forming a Polite Audience* (London, 1751), 13.

Besides being familiar with what was considered a highlight or ‘point’ within the play, the 1751 manual continued with the suggestion that the audience should respect principal players’ signals for applause during the play⁸⁹:

A previous knowledge of plays will also serve to direct us when to time our applause; which I am not willing to encourage but on very singular occasions, and when the player appears in some extraordinary attitude ... [it is] best to confine our approbation to the leading players, who will themselves give the signal when they are to be applauded ... On these occasions *Cato* looks more than usually big, *Hamlet* stares with great emphasis, *Othello* has a most languishing aspect, *Beatrice* will bridle, and pretty *Peggy Wildair* leers you into a clap⁹⁰.

According to Geoffrey Ashton, the habit of observing the play as a string of highlights aided the market for the ‘action shot’ style of theatrical portraits – in costume, mid-scene – conceived by David Garrick. Garrick’s iconography diverged sharply from that of Mrs Clive’s: while her portraits, as we shall see, re-formulated existing traditions of an actress’s representation, Garrick’s branded him as London’s leading naturalist actor, whose dramatic intensity overwhelmed the earlier norms of portraiture⁹¹.

Imagining the Star in Georgian London

To grasp how a stage star was produced in eighteenth-century London requires an understanding of the means – promotion, publicity, criticism, and the work – together with the manner of representation. Diverse, even contradictory, modes of character construction were jumbled together on the London stage. Farce continued to camouflage transgressive

⁸⁹ West defines the ‘point’ as ‘the eighteenth-century actor’s depiction of specific character at a specific moment [that] obscured other concerns’. West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal & Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble*, 19.

⁹⁰ Anon, *A Guide to the Stage, or Select Instructions and Precedents ... towards forming a Polite Audience*, 14.

⁹¹ ‘Performances, especially of tragedies, were planned around a number of set pieces which, if well performed, would provoke enthusiastic applause. Long speeches and significant moments were punctuated with grand dramatic poses which would be held whilst the applause lasted. Those moments and those pauses were what an audience would remember most clearly from a performance, and they were therefore reproduced in theatrical portraits’. Ashton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture*, p. xxiv. Enthusiasm for freezing in ‘attitudes’ spilled over into brothels; naked or scantily-clad girls holding an actor’s celebrated posture became a popular feature of mid-eighteenth-century London whorehouses. Lucy Moore, *The Thieves’ Opera: the Remarkable Lives and Deaths of Jonathan Wild, Thief-taker and Jack Sheppard, House-breaker* (London, 1998), 45.

behaviour in emblematic figures designed putatively to educate audiences. Steele's sentimental heroes and Aaron Hill's 'sympathetic imagination' fostered viewer empathy, even as 'classical' acting technique and the strictures of decorum distanced audiences from emotion. Fictional characterization was shattered into different units – of emotion or 'temper' – which, once extracted from the narrative, might be safely transferred back into the player's 'sensibility'. Alternately, the players themselves interrupted the spectator's perception by signaling the arrival of a dramatic highlight that deserved applause.

Techniques of representation could change, or privilege one set of interests over another, as could dramaturgy: all operated within the continuum of an entertainment that spoke to audiences in competing ways. Whether 'sketching' a stereotype, enlisting the viewer's sympathy, or creating models for social conduct, the principal player remained the focus of attention. By having access to different techniques and aims, players could acquire a range of functions for the viewer. The most significant were those of the social commentator whose expertise in farce reflected an insight into common follies, the sympathetic hero who simulated intimacy by inspiring viewer identification, and the model of decorum whose graces set standards to emulate.

Mrs Clive's history shows that once a principal player established a reputation, she could help shape, or indeed invent, the text's meaning for an audience. Passions in which the player excelled were cut and pasted into a personality that had been fleshed out in other media. The actor's manner of playing enhanced this identity (for instance, Garrick's 'sincerity', or Mrs Clive's 'impudence') and shaped the sense of the words, sometimes even in opposition to the author's meaning. Players could foreground an aspect of decorum (for instance, Mrs Oldfield's 'graceful carriage') to highlight an aspect of their public profile. The tradition of creating a line, or metacharacter, may be grasped as testimony to the primacy of the player,

whose mastery over a network of codes – for dramaturgy, evaluation or performance – could elicit fervent support. The genesis of *in propria persona* roles during the period further bolsters this interpretation: reserved for principal players, *in propria persona* presentation dispensed with fiction and peddled the actor's persona directly to the public. Eighteenth-century stars were not just a medium for the playbook; they burst it apart, leaving audiences to reconstruct its meaning within the story of the player.

TWO

‘CHANNELS OF MORALITY TO THE MIND’: THE PRACTICES AND CLAIMS OF BALLAD OPERA

Introduction

Mrs Clive’s first success was in ballad opera. In the words of the Drury Lane prompter William Chetwood, ‘never any Person of her Age flew to Perfection with such Rapidity’¹. Her domination of this repertory at Drury Lane was absolute, and the patent theatre came to be recognized as this new genre’s home between 1729 and 1734². The serendipity of her career launch during the brief flourishing of ballad opera cannot be overemphasized: she and her producers could exploit her singing expertise, she avoided being compared to other actresses, and by appearing mostly in half-price afterpieces, she could reach the widest possible audience³. The advent of ballad opera established two new stage fashions which helped propel Clive’s career forward: a direct communication between audience and singer during the drama, and the celebration of popular native musical and dramatic traditions.

The term ‘ballad opera’ is an anachronism. In its modern sense, it refers to eighteenth-century comedies featuring ballads (or songs composed in this style). In fact, eighteenth-century composers, writers, publishers and advertisers rarely used this genre designation before 1732. This is important because, as discussed in the previous chapter, genre constitutes a network of meanings within which spectators situate the player. During her early career Mrs. Clive was not

¹ William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), 127.

² ‘Scarcely a ballad opera could appear at Drury Lane ... without the inevitable presence of Kitty’. Edmond M. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York, 1937), 163. Current theatrical records indicate that Mrs Clive appeared in all but two ballad operas mounted at Drury Lane. Gagey lists 74 published ballad operas performed in London; of these Drury Lane produced 31 and Covent Garden only 10. The remaining ballad operas were divided amongst other London theatres (Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Goodman’s Fields, the Haymarket and Bartholomew Fair). *Ibid.*, 237-42.

³ The afterpiece was introduced by John Rich in the early 1720s, partly to allow his pantomime performances. The mainpiece started in late afternoon, while the afterpiece (for which audiences only paid half the price) began early evening, allowing those who worked to attend the theatre. Leo Hughes, ‘Afterpieces: Or, That’s Entertainment’, *The Stage and the Page: London’s ‘Whole Show’ in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre*, ed. George Winchester Stone (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981).

perceived as ‘a singer of ballad operas’ (she sang only three works thus titled), but a singer-actress who dominated Drury Lane’s English ‘Operas’, and who appeared concurrently in a variety of other entertainments⁴.

‘Operas’ were inarguably her core repertory until 1732. Reviewing the aesthetic potential of such works, Thomas Cooke wrote:

The Agreeableness of an Air is the Reason why many Persons retain the Words of a Song, who would otherwise not think that Song so much worth their Remembrance: Music therefore may be properly sayed, if the Song has any moral Sentiments in it, to be one of the Channels of Morality to the Mind ... The Reader will easily perceive that I am not speaking of such Rubbish as has followed the *Beggar’s Opera*, but of a grander sort of Operas, tho I do not deny that a Ballad-Opera may be wrote worthy of Commendation⁵.

Ballad opera clearly fell short of Cooke’s aesthetic criteria – the English operas of John F. Lampe and Thomas Arne (1732-4) offered a far superior match – but Cooke considered even such ‘Rubbish’, if English, to have the potential for ‘good Effects on the Audience’. Echoing Cooke, opera authors legitimized their works by stressing that these were both didactic and indigenous. Audience education was arrived at through the speech act of the ballad singer in Gay’s prototypical *Beggar’s Opera*. The first section of this chapter shows how ballad-singing in opera allowed the song to migrate between voices – of the playwright, the fictional figure, and the actor – as the stage work fluctuated between educating and entertaining audiences. The second part of this chapter reviews how opera authors highlighted the native roots of their productions in their claims to instruct the viewer. The chapter will conclude with a brief overview of the benefits Mrs Clive reaped from both the ballad singer’s discursive tradition and the ballad opera’s native pedigree.

⁴ The three works which she sang and which publishers issued as ‘ballad operas’ were: *Damon and Phillida* (1729), also called a ‘pastoral farce’, *The Chamber-Maid* (1730), and *Patie and Peggy* (1730). Bills for three other works, *The Ephesian Matron* (17 April 1732), *A Comical Revenge* (2 May 1732) and *The Mock Countess* (30 April 1733) announced ‘A Ballad Opera of One Act’, but no publication survives to verify whether booksellers agreed with this classification. Her complete repertory, which during this period included pantomimes, masques, and entr’actes, is listed in Appendix 2.

⁵ Thomas Cooke, *The Triumphs of Love and Honour. A Play ... to which are added Considerations on the Stage* (London, 1731), 65.

The Function of Ballads in Ballad Opera

The Beggar's Opera was considered 'a first' by contemporaries, but a first of what? In 1715 Drury Lane had produced Gay's *The What D'ye Call It*, a successful comedy whose satire rested partly in its oxymoronic juxtaposition of genre types ('a Tragi-Comi-Pastoral Farce'). Such combinations were common amongst satirists, and Gay aimed in *The Beggar's Opera*, as he had in *The What D'ye Call It*, to rattle the normative cage of several genres – in this case, the pastoral, the *dramma per musica*, and the sentimental comedy⁶. But the *Beggar's Opera* was novel because Gay drew music into the arena of the eighteenth-century dramatist's play with form. While earlier playwrights had added popular tunes to comedies, Gay's insertion of ballads had a new, ideological twist. By writing an opera consisting of indigenous ballads he aimed to deflate the cultural pretensions of English audiences attending a *dramma per musica*⁷.

This satire of form (rather than content) also re-formulated Restoration traditions concerning relationship between music and dramatic action. In Restoration plays, music was assigned to specific types of scenes – magic events, plays within plays, laments (often sung by a third party), drinking scenes – which gave the composition its own narrative framework, outside that of the main text. According to this practice, the musical number and the main plot momentarily bifurcated into two independent narrative zones, such as a masque and the main

⁶ Gay reported gleefully the confusion his 'cross-genre-ing' in *The What D'ye Call* had unleashed: 'The common people...received it at first with great gravity and sedateness, some few with tears; but after the third day they also took the hint, and have ever since been loud in their clapps'. Letter of 3 March 1715; cited in C.F. Burgess, ed., *The Letters of John Gay* (Oxford, 1966), 19. A similar confusion around both this farce and *The Beggar's Opera* was still being reported decades later: 'One is at a loss whether to take it as jest or earnest – whether to laugh or cry...this effect is also produced in his dramatic burleques, *The Beggar's Opera* and *What d'ye Call it*'. *The Whitehall Evening Post* 11 November 1777; cited in William E. Schultz, *Gay's Beggar's Opera: its Content, History and Influence* (New Haven, CT, 1923), 76-7. Ian Donaldson concludes: 'In *The Beggar's Opera* heroic tragedy, Italian opera, pastoral, popular ballads and sentimental comedy merge bizarrely together, continually awakening ironical memories of other kinds of literary experience, yet nevertheless forming a whole which is in some way curiously life-like'. Ian Donaldson, 'A "Double Capacity": *The Beggar's Opera*', *Twentieth-Century Interpretations of The Beggar's Opera: a Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Yvonne Noble (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1975), 68.

⁷ From the late eighteenth century, there was debate amongst scholars as to whether Gay had intended to satirize Italian opera. The confusion arose because of the lack of explicit references to *dramma per musica*. If one views Gay's satire as primarily one of form, however, the absence of references to operas in the work's content is scarcely surprising. Early literature in this debate is listed in A.V. Berger, 'The Beggar's Opera, the Burlesque, and Italian Opera', *ML*, 17 (1936).

play, and rejoined each other after the scene concluded. Within a parenthetical 'Critical Instant' of its own, music created a parallel dramatic action that shadowed and commented on that of the main narrative⁸.

Taking up this 'musical parenthesis', Gay introduced a new discursive practice: the speech act of the street ballad singer. The ballad singer's linguistic traditions have been studied by Natascha Würzbach, who observes that the ballad monger acted as a 'presenter' whose main task was to transmit observations about society. The ballad singer sought to establish authority by credibly converting topical events into illustrative warnings. Such appeals 'constituted a substantial proportion of the activities of the presenter/showman ... he [was] not urging his listeners to act immediately; the aim [was] to achieve a long-term didactic effect ... The special nature of the presenter's speech act consists in the fact that the speaker is here in a position of superiority vis-à-vis his listeners ... His power to convince is also increased because he is referring to typical everyday behaviour'⁹.

By riddling his play with popular ballads, Gay could also adopt the ballad singer's manner of presentation. He recycled not only the tunes, but also the lyrical style associated with ballad singers, thereby assuming a voice that was at once authoritative, didactic and familiar. One finds within the *Beggar's Opera* two distinct layers of 'dramatic text': that of the fictional figure and that of the ballad singer. Although the sheer density of songs justified Gay titling his comedy

⁸ Dianne Dugaw refutes Edward Dent's notion that Restoration theatre music anticipated 'the system of Mozart' and argues instead that 'songs became increasingly discrete and self-contained "Instants" directed towards contemplative ends'. By interlacing independent musical scenes ('intertexts') with the dramatic text, Restoration authors sought to interrupt, rather than further, the action, and encourage audiences to ponder upon the story. In some later dramas, songs became an increasingly complex referent that might invoke parodies published concurrently, or rival songs on the same theme for which the singer was known. Diane Dugaw, "'Critical Instants": Theatre Songs in the Age of Dryden and Purcell', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23 (1989). Although Curtis Price follows Dent in seeking to prove music in Restoration drama 'drove the action forward', he concedes that dramatists framed music with specific types of scenes, according to which he catalogues this repertory ('Melancholy Music', 'Music for Discoveries', 'Music for Love Scenes', etc.). Curtis Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (London, 1979), 1-67. There was also the repertory Price labels 'para-dramatic music' which was introduced largely because the music itself was in vogue. Theorists reviled dramatists for yielding to this temptation. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 95-110.

⁹ Würzbach incorporates the work of several linguistics scholars into her theoretical model, including those of John L. Austin and John R. Searle. She summarizes her theories on the speech act of the street ballad singer in Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad (1550-1650)*, trans. Gayna Walls (Cambridge, 1990), 32-8.

'opera', his adoption of the ballad singer's voice was effectively anti-operatic: the songs interrupted, rather than carried forward, the narrative flow, alternating supercilious commentary upon a social stereotype with the action of a fictional figure. This created a tug-of-war between mimesis and didacticism within which the aphoristic summaries of the 'singer' often assumed the quality of a superego.

Gay's ballads can be divided into three types: social commentary, burlesque of operatic forms, and sentimental expression. The majority of the airs, which were sung in the second or third person, interpreted for the spectator the social issue being addressed. In such cases, the fictional figure became a mouthpiece through which the playwright could compare current modes of behavior with those being represented on stage. In other words, the ballad, and its singer, sought to 'channel the Mind' of the spectator. Burlesques of 'simile' arias, or of operatic *scene* (prison scenes, jealousy arias, *deus ex machina* deliverances) lay between the poles of mimesis and didacticism: sung in the first person, this music drove forward the plot and seemingly expressed the fictional characters' state of mind; simultaneously, however, these burlesques also caricatured, and thereby critiqued, their models. Sentimental songs – such as Polly or Lucy pleading with their fathers on Macheath's behalf – sought to evoke audience empathy; this music directly expressed the fictional character's state and followed Steele's ideals of touching the spectator.

In most Drury Lane ballad operas, the majority of ballads communicated the playwright's voice, rather than that of the fictional character¹⁰. The author commonly pitted his new lyrics against traditional ones with the earlier word settings providing yet another textual lens through which meanings might be refracted. Exploiting the potential resonance between new and old words belonged to the tradition of popular ballads; again, Gay and opera authors after him made a

¹⁰ Of Mrs Clive's works, *Patie and Peggie* (1730) is the exception. This 'Scotch ballad opera' is dominated by lovers' duets, which comprise two-thirds of the musical numbers. [Theophilus Cibber], *Patie and Peggy, or The Fair Foundling* (London, 1730). *The Wedding: a Tragi-Comical-Pastoral-Opera...with an Hudibrastick Skimmington* (1729) deviated somewhat from this pattern.

street ballad singer's tradition available to the theatregoer. Ballad melodies were not 'blank pages' for an author to fill in, but dense signifiers often associated with settings which could deepen the irony¹¹.

Besides having familiar texts, ballads had well-known tunes. This was useful in several ways. First, simple melodies could act as a mnemonic device which, like a modern advertising jingle, carried 'messages home to the viewer', particularly since the observer was likely to have physically internalized the tune through singing, dancing or playing¹². Gay's airs offered a musical comfort zone to audience members, particularly those putatively offended by *dramma per musica*: recognizable tunes instead of impenetrable music; English instead of Italian; a celebration of popular, rather than elitist, forms of music appreciation and music-making¹³. To repeat Cooke's observation, the 'Agreeableness of an Air is the Reason why many Persons retain the Words of a Song', and Gay and his followers exploited this dynamic, even if the 'agreeableness' of their music sprang from its 'low style'.

Gay plucked songs out of their traditional dramatic frames and made them into a multi-purpose medium that might express alternatively his sardonic observations, the weakness of

¹¹ This tradition, according to Würzbach, was rooted in the seventeenth-century 'answer' ballad; that is, ballads written in response to an earlier, popular ballad, and set to the same tune. Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad (1550-1650)*, 95-6. Later writers of broadside ballads also referred playfully to previous settings in new versions of tunes such as 'I am the Duke of Norfolk', 'Tell me Jenny', and 'Twas when the Seas were roaring'. Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), 333-5, 697-8, 719-20. Comparing diverse settings of Henry Carey's ballad 'Salley in our Alley' (in *Southwark Fair*, 1729, *The Devil to Pay*, 1731 and *The Fashionable Lady*, 1730), Harold Moss observes that 'in each case, the history of the tune bears on the function of the music...a very similar pattern of shifting association is apparent in many tunes used in ballad operas'. Harold G. Moss, 'Popular Music and the Ballad Opera', *JAMS*, 26 (1973), 381. Roger Fiske also observes that Gay 'sometimes chose tunes whose original words were relevant to this purpose, the presumption being that the audience would be aware of this relevance', and singles out airs 43 and 68 from *The Beggar's Opera* as examples. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 100.

¹² In his magisterial study, Claude M. Simpson charts the absorption of popular tunes into the music-making of urban London. Simpson records the complex history of individual airs (as broadsides, dance music, songs from miscellanies) and their resurfacing in different ballad farces. In his introduction, he notes that broadside ballads (i.e. parodies of already familiar tunes) were 'a medium of mass communication whose importance can scarcely be overestimated'. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. x.

¹³ Walter H. Rubsamen maintains that 'the mixed audiences who frequented ballad operas and burlesques preferred familiar music to the new and untried and because authors found it most expedient to utilize "hit" tunes whose favor ... had already been tested'. Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Ballad Burlesques and Extravaganzas', *MQ*, 36 (1950), 552. The explicit appeal to 'English' taste is discussed below.

opera's musical or dramatic formulae, or the tender sentiments of fictional characters. Previous ballad lyrics could highlight all three functions, while the familiarity of the melodies impressed his new setting upon his audiences. Post-Gay 'ballad operas' utilized many of these techniques: except in 'sentimental' scenes, lyrics clarifying the social stereotype to the spectator dominated the ballad operas performed at Drury Lane. Several ballad operas also followed Gay's pattern of making the final scene completely sung, or nearly so¹⁴. And like Gay, later authors selected ballads whose traditional lyrics could deepen the satire of their pronouncements. In effect, ballad opera married the discursive tradition of the street ballad singer to the performing practice of farce: the 'unreal' characters of farce excused the interpolation of 'undramatic' songs.

There, is however, a critical difference between Gay's treatment of ballads and that of later ballad opera playwrights such as Theophilus Cibber or Edward Phillips. The ballad, as a form, ceased to be a joke. Its associations – simplicity, familiarity, and popularity – became virtues instead of foils. Rather than the foolish inverse of the Italian aria, the ballad graduated to become an independent and dignified means of 'British' vocal writing.

'Old England will with English Throats dispense': Envoicing Patriotism in Ballad Operas

Interpretation of the popular ballad as an indigenous cultural product preceded the flourishing of ballad opera. Albert Friedman unhesitatingly dates ballad criticism from Addison's "Chevy Chase" papers of 1711¹⁵. In these articles Addison suggested that 'the antiquated song' constituted the literary equivalent of the heroic poems of Homer or Virgil, and that its literary merit was justified by it being 'universally tasted and approved by the multitude'; he cited 'The

¹⁴ Ballad operas with musical finales included: *Love in a Riddle* (1729), and its one-act version *Damon and Phillida* (1729), *The Chamber-Maid* (1730); *The Cobler's Opera* (1729), and *The Jovial Crew* (1731). The last two contained musical finales for both Acts II and III. The third act of *The Highland Fair* (1730) concluded with a 'dumb show' accompanied by music.

¹⁵ Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago, 1969), 89.

Two Children in the Wood' as 'one of the darling songs of the common people'. Prior to this commentary in *The Spectator*, Addison had shown his interest in ballad tales by basing his opera libretto *Rosamond* (1707) on the traditional ballad of the same name. This libretto, together with Addison's commentary, began a process by which ballads gradually ceased to belong to a living tradition, rejuvenated through social practices, and became artifacts of a romanticized 'folklore'. This process was effected through the reification of the traditional ballad in print (miscellanies, garlands, drolleries, collections), in particular the watershed three-volume *Collection of Old Ballads* (1723-5). The editor of this set (who may have been Ambrose Philips) provided the first critical apparatus emphasizing the historical value of preserving ballads¹⁶.

Friedman and Suzanne Aspden offer divergent readings of the eighteenth-century vogue for balladry. Friedman sees the ballad primarily as a battleground for eighteenth-century literary debates on 'the unity of taste' and 'the appeal of the natural', while Aspden views eighteenth-century writings on, and dramatizations of, the ballad as an attempt to 'improvise continuities between past and present [and] ... legitimize ideals of nationhood'¹⁷. Aspden's view is supported by evidence from early Drury Lane ballad operas, insofar as their introductions justified their entertainment as a nation-building exercise through which English airs might compete with Continental vocal theatre music. Colley Cibber, in the first such work for Drury Lane, outlined the new function of the ballad thus:

Could he [Cibber] have call'd in Skilful Voices too.
To that be answer'd – Let your Sounds have Sense,
Old *England* will with *English* Throats dispense,

¹⁶ Addison's comments appeared in *The Spectator* no.70 and no.85; cited in *ibid.*, 9, 87. Scholars are divided on whether Ambrose Philips prepared the *Collection*; the debate, together with its literature, is outlined in Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, 147, n. 72. Here Friedman also discusses the significance of the introduction to the ballad collection.

¹⁷ As evidence of early interest in native musical traditions, Aspden quotes Addison's *Spectator* article no.70. She points out that fourteen of the first twenty ballads in volume one of *Old Ballads* were dramatized on the London stage, usually as musical theatre (for example, the opera *Rosamond*, the burlesque *The Dragon of Wantley*, or the masque *Alfred*). According to Aspden, such productions mythologized the past, drawing spectators into an 'imagined community' of members with shared traditions. Nation-building called for such an 'imagined community' because it required that citizens identify with principles rather than local social practices. Suzanne Aspden, 'Opera and Nationalism in mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain' (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1999), 210-28.

And take what's well design'd, for Excellence,
 An English Song, ill sung, will please Good-nature:
 You've some Delight, to know you sing it better.
 If Songs are harmless Revels of the Heart,
 Why should our Native Tongue not bear its Part?
 Why after learned Warblers must we pant,
 And doat on Airs, which only They can chant?
 Methinks 'twere hard, if, in the cheerful Spring,
 Were none but Nightingales allow'd to sing!
 The Lark, the Sparrow, and the plain Cuckooe,
 Have all an Equal Right, to Chirp, and Woo:
 Ev'n France in That her Liberty maintains;
 Her Songs, at least, are free from Foreign Chains,
 And Peers and Peasants sing their Native Strains.
 Time was, even Here, when D'Urfey vamp'd a Song,
 The same the Courtier and the Cobler sung¹⁸.

In contrast to Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, here the ballad was called upon not to mock the Italian aria but to exalt the English spirit. It was not used for formal comparison, but as a formal basis. According to Cibber, ballads offered English audiences an antidote to the ills commonly ascribed to the *dramma per musica* – its incomprehensibility, its melodic excess, its reinforcement of social hierarchy. Ballads constituted a rational discourse and cut through differences of social station, allowing audiences to rejoice in a communal heritage and taste. In triumphalist rhetoric, Cibber turned the ballad's aesthetic deficiencies into strengths.

Cibber's championing of a rustic performance style was, from the perspective of Mrs Clive's career, equally significant. When introducing the *Beggar's Opera*, The Beggar had claimed that 'the piece was writ for celebrating the marriage of *James Chanter* and *Moll Lay*, two most excellent Ballad-Singers' thereby deriding the tradition of commissioning stage works for royal weddings¹⁹. Just as ballads represented the musical antithesis of opera arias, so ballad singers represented the bottom of the social spectrum. Cibber removed ballad singing and ballad singers from this satirical role. He claimed that ballad singers had the right to share the stage with Continental singers, because they facilitated 'Sounds' that made 'sense'. Their appeal lay in an unpretentious delivery that accorded with native taste; ballad singing also invited audience

¹⁸ Prologue to Colley Cibber, *Love in a Riddle. A Pastoral* (London, 1729).

¹⁹ Introduction to John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, 2nd edn (London, 1728).

participation, since the songs were familiar. The participatory nature of the ballad was strengthened in his '[ballad] Pastoral' by a sung Epilogue that invited audiences to sing along²⁰.

Despite the failure of *Love in a Riddle*, Cibber's interpretation of what ballad operas might mean for audiences prevailed at Drury Lane at least until 1732. His call for an 'English' entertainment – comprehensible, instructive and novel – was answered by subsequent productions. Whereas Gay's label of opera had been tongue-in-cheek, other Drury Lane opera authors ascribed to their works the dignity of the Continental parallel:

That I am indebted to Mr. Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* a Scotch Pastoral Comedy, wrote Originally in Five Acts ... I thought, the Simplicity of Character, Manners, Sentiments, and Passions, which has gain'd THAT POEM its Reputation, could not prove unentertaining to an ENGLISH AUDIENCE; which induced me to turn it into a BALLAD OPERA ... I shall therefore only add, tho' the CHARACTERS in this OPERA are low, I flatter myself, they'll not appear distasteful to the politest circle of our ENGLISH BEAUTIES²¹.

John Watts, the main bookseller for ballad operas, also promoted the notion of an aesthetic equivalence between ballad opera and serious opera. He advertised his editions almost exclusively as 'Operas with Musick', and the term 'Ballad Opera' appeared only rarely in subtitles to certain afterpieces²². According to Watts, the term opera meant simply a one- to three-act comedy filled with popular airs. As in *The Beggar's Opera*, these works contained songs with instrumental introductions and codas based on the opening and closing bars of a tune. A musical

²⁰ The sung epilogue was composed by Henry Carey. Epilogue to Cibber, *Love in a Riddle. A Pastoral*.

²¹ Preface to [Cibber], *Patie and Peggy, or The Fair Foundling*. In the introductory dialogue to *The Highland Fair*, Joseph Mitchell also asserted that British opera was equal to that produced on the Continent: 'Critick: A Scotch opera. Ha, ha, ha /Poet: Why not sir, as well as an *English, French* or *Italian* one?! Critick: But it is such a Novelty./Poet: A reason both for writing and performing it! Is not Novelty agreeable to the Taste of the Town?/Critick: But, granting you shou'd please by the Novelty of the Musick &c how do you hope to profit Mankind by the Drama?/Poet: As other writers of Operas do by theirs'. 'The Introduction/the Critick and the Poet', in Joseph Mitchell, *The Highland Fair, or The Union of the Clans* (London, 1731).

²² Works published and billed as an 'Opera' included: *The Cobler's Opera, The Lover's Opera, The Village Opera, The Stage-Coach Opera, The Devil to Pay, or The Wives Metamorphos'd: an Opera, The Merry Cobler ... a Farcical Opera, The Boarding School, or the Sham Captain: an Opera, The Highland Fair, or the Union of the Clans: an Opera, Livery Rake and Country Lass: an Opera, The Jovial Crew: a Comic Opera, The Beggar's Wedding: an Opera, Bays' Opera; The Devil of a Duke, or Trapolin's Vagaries: a (Farcical Ballad) Opera*. All are cited in the course of this chapter. One of the few works which Watts titled 'Ballad Opera', in editions or advertisements, was *Damon and Phillida* (1729), the one-act version of Colley Cibber's pastoral, *Love in a Riddle* (1729). Rival editions called *Damon and Phillida* either a 'Pastoral Farce' or 'Ballad Opera'. Another 'Ballad Opera', according to Watts, was *The Chamber-Maid* (1730), the one-act version of Charles Johnson's *The Village Opera* (1729). Watts often printed catalogues of his operas in playbooks, and did so almost invariably in his opera editions 'with Musick'. My survey of these listings draws on roughly 60 works (musical and dramatic) relating to Mrs Clive which Watts published.

finale might be a 'vaudeville' number (a concluding song with principal characters singing in turn) or a dance²³. While ballads made up the bulk of the music, some tunes stemmed from contemporary stage productions or entr'acte numbers. New songs composed for the opera were rare²⁴.

Drury Lane operas, while turning ballads into a symbol of patriotism, did the same to the literary sources for their dialogue. This again departed from Gay, whose play with genre had challenged dramatic antecedents. The plots of Drury Lane operas were essentially retrograde: they generally either recycled a Restoration or early eighteenth-century farce, or adopted an English rustic pastoral setting. Whatever the model, the sentimental plot invariably involved lovers overcoming obstacles in order to be united. Monotony was relieved (and 'modernization' achieved) by adding songs or by tinkering with the dramatic model.

The advertisement in *The Jovial Crew* described the relationship between its Restoration source and the new 'operatiz'd' version thus:

The Groundwork of this Piece is an old Comedy of Richard Brome's; the Prose Part of it consisting chiefly of Fragments, collected from the MERRY BEGGARS, and so disposed as to introduce the Songs with Propriety²⁵.

²³ Introduction to Jeremy Barlow, ed., *The Music of John Gay's The Beggar's Opera* (Oxford, 1990) and Richard Platt, 'Theatre Music I', *The Eighteenth Century: Music in Britain*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), 135. These authors concur with Fiske's earlier conclusions about the role of the orchestra in ballad operas. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 114-20. All three authors base their findings on instrumental parts preserved in GB-Lbl MS RM 21.c.43-5 and Lcm MS 2232. One should note that the introductions to *The Cobbler's Opera* (1728) and *The Highland Fair* (1731) end by asking the 'Overture to begin' (as does *The Beggar's Opera*). The tradition of the vaudeville finale may have been imported from France: Daniel Hertz contends that in *The Beggar's Opera* Gay adopted not only the finale but also the practice of parodying popular tunes from the *vaudevilles* he may have witnessed at Parisian fairs. Daniel Hertz, 'The Beggar's Opera and opéra-comique en vaudevilles', *EMc*, 27 (1999).

²⁴ The exceptions to this rule are discussed below. Managers most frequently commissioned the mysterious German composer Seedo (Sydow) to compose songs. Seedo, who moved to London as a young man c1720, was noted for his compositions 'in the Scottish manner'. He composed and arranged music for at least three Operas (single songs for *The Devil to Pay*, 1731 and *The Devil of a Duke*, 1732; three songs for the *Boarding School*, 1733), for two of Fielding's musical farces, for Carey's burlesque *Hurlothrumbo* and for John Weaver's pantomime *The Judgment of Paris*. To escape creditors, Seedo fled to the Prussian court in the mid-1730s. Walter H. Rubsamen, 'Mr Seedo, Ballad Opera and the Singspiel', *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, ii (Barcelona, 1958-61).

²⁵ Advertisement in Anon, *The Jovial Crew. A Comic Opera* (London, 1731).

Here the author maintained not only that the music was more important than the dialogue (as befitted an opera), but also that he had reconstituted ‘fragments’ from an English Restoration play. In fact, he had tampered little with his source²⁶. Writers of other Restoration-based operas, such as *The Boarding School* and *The Devil to Pay*, although not claiming to have restored the drama, at least stressed the legacy of their source²⁷. These authors also preserved ballads found in the original Restoration play, reproducing the lyrics, the scenes, and presumably the tunes of their sources²⁸.

Besides Restoration farce, opera authors turned to English pastoral poetry for their dramatic inspiration. Apart from the occasional pastoral masque or private entertainment, by 1710 English pastoral sung drama had practically disappeared²⁹. Off-stage, however, rustic pastorals continued to attract poets, who created a large eighteenth-century corpus of ‘ballads of simplicity’, beginning with poems of Matthew Prior, Thomas Parnell, and Alexander Pope

²⁶ Compare the edition cited above with Richard Brome, *A Joviall Crew, or The Merry Beggars* (London, 1652).

²⁷ See, for instance, the prologues to the *Bays's Opera* (1730), the fourth edition of *The Beggar's Wedding* (1731), and *The Devil to Pay* (1731). Operas based on Restoration farces included: *Bays's Opera* (1730), after the Duke of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (1671); *The Devil to Pay* (1731), after Thomas Jevon, *A Comical Transformation, or The Devil of a Wife* (1686); *The Devil of a Duke* (1732), after Nahum Tate's *A Duke and No Duke* (1685); *The Boarding School* (1733), after Thomas D'Urfey, *Love for Money, or the Boarding School* (1691); and *The Stage-Coach Opera* (1730), after George Farquhar, *The Stage-Coach* (1704). Details about the plays on which these ballad operas were based are found in Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, 108, 13, 18. He maintains that the opera *The Mock Countess* (1734) was an amalgam of Susannah Centlivre's *Love's Contrivance* (1703) and John Durant Breval's *Play is the Plot* (1718). Other operas imitated the Restoration farce plot: *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729), *The Cobbler's Opera* (1731), *The Livery Rake and a Country Lass* (1733), and *The Merry Cobbler* (1735, sequel to *The Devil to Pay*).

²⁸ Air 8 (‘Make your Honours Miss’) in *The Boarding School* (1733) first appeared in the same scene in D'Urfey's *Love for Money*. Compare Anon, *The Boarding School, or The Sham Captain* (London, 1733), 17 and Thomas D'Urfey, *Love for Money, or The Boarding School* (London, 1724), 46. The Squire in Farquhar's original play repeated his ballad (air 10, ‘Let's sing of Stage-Coaches’) in *The Stage-Coach Opera* (1730). Compare Anon, *The Stage-Coach Opera. Written originally by Mr George Farquhar* (Dublin, 1761), 14-15 and George Farquhar, *The Stage-Coach. A Comedy ... to which is prefix'd the Life and Character of Mr George Farquhar* (Dublin, 1728), 10. Hearty sang ‘There was an old Fellow at Waltham-Cross’ at the beginning of Act II, and Oldrents delivered ‘Old Sack and old songs’ at the end of Act III in both the original and the ‘operatiz'd’ productions of Brome's *The Jovial Crew* (1731). Compare Anon, *The Jovial Crew. A Comic Opera*, 24, 61 and Brome, *A Joviall Crew, or The Merry Beggars*. In both Jevon's version and Coffey's adaptation of *The Devil to Pay*, Jobson sang ‘The Twitcher’ and ‘In Bath a Wanton Wife’. Compare Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera*, 1st edn (London, 1731), 3 and Thomas Jevon, *Devil of a Wife, or a Comical Transformation* (London, 1686), 2.

²⁹ To speak of an ‘English pastoral tradition’ in drama is in any case problematic. When finally transmitted from Renaissance Italy to the Elizabethan court, pastoral poetry was immediately imbued with an earthiness at odds with the refined sensibility of Arcadian poets. The Continental ambition to re-animate the pastoral as conceived by the ancients (Theocritus, Virgil) never synthesized smoothly with English taste for local settings. At best, there were sporadic stage experiments and private performances either following Italian models or constructing rustic scenes reflecting familiar topography. Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (Oxford, 1980), 188-22.

from 1710 and followed by those of Allan Ramsay, Thomas Tickell and William Shenstone³⁰.

Two stage productions by Allan Ramsay (*The Gentle Shepherd*, 1725), and Colley Cibber (*Love in a Riddle*, 1729) enhanced this literary tradition by infusing a rustic tale with popular tunes³¹.

These works were followed by other Drury Lane operas featuring English or Scottish country folk in a sentimental plot³².

Like operas after Restoration farces, rustic operas celebrated native traditions. From Cibber's pastoral onwards, musical theatre representing 'country life' could also be interpreted in introductions or songs to reflect ideals shared by Britons. Tropes attached to the 'ballad of simplicity' corresponded happily to characteristics being touted in contemporary nation-building discourse: honesty, comprehensibility, and the repudiation of luxury, artifice and entrenched hierarchies. Works such as *Patie and Peggy*, which dramatized what had formerly been a literary conceit (Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*), could fake a folk culture manifesting shared values leading to glory:

With such like Scenes the Poet of To-night,
Hopes from their Innocence, to raise Delight:
For where should Virtue for Reward repair?
But to the Bosoms of the British Fair?
England the Nurse and Wroth of true Desert,
Receives, and naturalizes, every Art;
With piercing Judgment, every Merit spies,
Tho' in the Earths remotest Part it lies:
While distant Nations court her glorious Sight,

³⁰ Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, 178-84.

³¹ Ramsay first wrote *The Gentle Shepherd* as a pastoral poem that included four ballads ('Peggy, now the King's come', 'By the delicious warmness of thy mouth', 'Jocky said to Jenny' and 'My Patie is a lover Gay') taken from the *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1724-7), which he had also prepared. In 1728 the Haddington Grammar school, having seen an English company perform *The Beggar's Opera*, asked Ramsay to create a musical version of his poem. He added another 18 Scottish tunes, and mounted the pastoral at the Taylor's Hall, Edinburgh, on 22 January 1729. It was adapted for the English stage (as *Patie and Peggy*) by Theophilus Cibber, who preserved the four original airs. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 111.

³² *Phebe, or the Beggar's Wedding* (1729) repeated the device from Brome's *The Jovial Crew* of upper-class characters joining bucolic beggars to facilitate a love match. *The Highland Fair* (1730), like *Patie and Peggy*, was set in Scotland and involved a thwarted love match. *Rural Love, or The Merry Shepherd* (1732) and *Damon and Daphne* (1733) were never published, but their pastoral basis is evident from their titles. *The Country Wedding and Skimmington ... a Tragi-Comical-Pastoral Opera* (1729), George Lillo's *Silvia or the Country Burial* (1730), Henry Carey's *Betty and the Country Bumkins* (1732), and Edward Phillips's *Livery Rake and Country Lass* (1733) all featured simple villagers in a sentimental romance.

The World, by her Example, grows Polite³³.

Promises of ‘simplicity’ and ‘rationality’ in opera introductions were not necessarily fulfilled, however, and such pieties often provided cover for smutty lyrics or buffoonery.

These eighteenth-century operas consciously imitated *The Beggar’s Opera* even as they diverged from their prototype’s satiric intent. Opera authors after Gay perpetuated the discursive practices of his songs though with less wit: platitudes and sneers about social stereotypes replaced Gay’s biting epigrams³⁴. Not until Henry Fielding would ballad lyrics pierce their intended victims. Gay’s aping of the structural formulae of Italian opera was, however, dropped; for this reason, ballads written as mock-simile arias, so central to Gay’s conception of *The Beggar’s Opera*, disappeared from post-Gay operas at Drury Lane³⁵.

Enter the Singer

Because Mrs Clive was the *prima donna* of Drury Lane operas, the appeals to patriotism in these works, together with the genre’s indigenous music and drama, charged her image from the outset with ‘Englishness’. Her domination of opera established the type of music audiences expected her to sing. Her first promoter, Henry Carey, making a virtue of necessity, upgraded her musical profile by fusing ballad-writing with Italianate practices, creating a line for her in English musical theatre that influenced the rest of her career. Mrs Clive’s subsequent composers were sensitive to her background as a ballad singer, not because her technique limited her to this repertory but because her ballad singing fascinated audiences.

³³ Prologue to [Cibber], *Patie and Peggy, or The Fair Foundling*. In other operas, rustic characters sang of their patriotic ideals, such as air 22 in Anon, *The Cobbler’s Opera* (Dublin, 1729), 22-3. See also air 14 in [Edward Phillips], *The Livery Rake and the Country Lass* (London, 1733), 26-7. Other examples include air 27 in William Chetwood, *The Lover’s Opera*, 3rd edn (London, 1730), 33 and Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay; or the Wives Metamorphos’d. An Opera* (London, 1732), 5.

³⁴ In his preface, William Chetwood humbly apologizes for creating such a poor copy of *The Beggar’s Opera*. Preface to Chetwood, *The Lover’s Opera*. Gabriel Odingsells, in his preface, also aligned himself consciously with Gay’s tradition: ‘For the Judicious this Piece was...not intended to entertain with Ballad-Singing; which was only accidental to the Design; or rather a means to enliven the Burlesque Scheme’. Preface to Gabriel Odingsells, *Bays’s Opera* (London, 1730).

³⁵ To date, I have found only one in [Phillips], *The Livery Rake and the Country Lass*, 26.

More importantly, the ballad's discursive tradition provided Mrs Clive with a powerful medium for transmitting her public persona. The direct address typical of ballads allowed Clive and her producers to articulate her public persona in words while simple tunes impressed her message upon audiences. She thereby appeared to communicate directly through a performing persona removed from that of her fictional character.

As Mrs Clive's public profile crystallized both on- and off-stage, the observations of her songwriters became her own. Henry Fielding, her first publicity manager, aided this transition by weaving off-stage Clive commentary into the ballad lyrics he wrote for her. Once she was an established star, her audiences cared little what she sang; they leaned forward to catch what her performance would reveal or replay (in words, in mannerisms) about her personality. Composers from Henry Carey to Handel anticipated audience hunger for Clive material by incorporating musical idioms and dramatic themes characteristic of her star personality. Through his pioneering use of the ballad, Gay had transformed his voice into a *vox populi*; Mrs Clive, through her star appeal, stole that voice for her own.

THREE

‘THE LOVELY VIRGIN TUN’D HER VOICE’: INVENTING KITTY CLIVE

Introduction

Mrs Clive’s on-stage representation, both musical and dramatic, displayed remarkable continuity throughout her career. Not only did she continue to perform celebrated roles of her youth well into a corpulent middle age, but her early roles embodied many of the characteristics which through time coalesced into the line, or metacharacter, of her later years. The first two sections of this chapter examine how her mentor Henry Carey ‘produced’ the singer-actress, guiding both what and how she performed. In so doing, he turned the shepherdess of her earliest publicity into a spirited, sympathetic on-stage heroine. His efforts, and hers, were rewarded in *The Devil to Pay*, a ballad opera that achieved canonic status through Mrs Clive’s popularity as Nell. The last two sections of this chapter analyse how her music in *The Devil to Pay*, and the revisions to this work, posited and refined her personalized characterization of Nell, while iconographic representations helped popularize her unique interpretation of this role.

Harry Carey and Miss Raftor

Henry Carey briefly occupied a unique position in the mid-eighteenth-century London theatre. He was a polymath, who, besides teaching singing, involved himself in every aspect of stage production. He wrote farces and music for Drury Lane between 1729 and 1734, during which time he also performed at the theatre and published poems, music, and commentaries. After clashing with the Drury Lane manager Charles Fleetwood in 1734, Carey turned to

alternative venues to produce his stage works, which ranged from the English opera *Teraminta* to the ballad farce *The Honest Yorkshireman*; he also began editing and issuing collected editions of his music. Thereafter his popularity waned. Reduced to penury by 1743, he hanged himself on the day his infant son died¹.

Characteristic of Carey's approach was an interrogation of received models, and this generated works original and sometimes bizarre: for instance, the farce *Hanging and Marriage, or The Dead Man's Wedding* (1722) brought together necrophilia, sentimental romance and the suicidal yearnings to which he eventually fell prey². After his death Carey dropped into obscurity, yet his unrecognized legacy lived on in the public persona of Mrs Clive, his star singing pupil and friend. The biographies of both teacher and pupil attest to their mutual high regard: in 1735 Carey christened his daughter 'Catherine-Clive Carey', and after Carey's suicide Mrs Clive organized and performed a benefit for his bereft family despite her enmity with both patent theatres at the time³. She continued to perform his songs until the end of her career, and the unique line Carey articulated for her in music and drama informed the vehicles of her later writers such as Henry Fielding, James Miller and Moses Mendez.

Carey 'produced' Mrs Clive in a manner akin to a film director. He was her singing teacher, song-writer and *auteur* who fostered simultaneously the manner and the vehicles of representation which came to be recognized as typical of her. The first declaration of Carey's

¹ This was on 5 Oct 1743. Carey's career is meticulously charted in Norman Gillespie, 'The Life and Works of Henry Carey, 1687-1743' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1982).

² Henry Carey, *Hanging and Marriage, or The Dead-Man's Wedding* (London, [1722]). The plot runs thus: to recapture his once sweetheart Betty, the protagonist Richard pretends to hang himself (the manner of death Carey chose) and in a 'suicide' note threatens to carry her off to the underworld unless she agrees to marry his corpse in church ('if so be I can't have you living, I'll have you dead'). Carey had the audacity to turn the farce into *Betty, or the Country Bumkins*, creating what is surely a unique musical work on such a union; critics were aghast at the result: 'The consequence was a continued universal disapproval ... His every song [lyric] is like a painted well-dressed whore, who, divested of her attire is but the wrinkled, meager, ghastly, and forbidding image of a woman'. (One wonders how Mrs Clive felt in the lead role.) Anon, *Grub-Street Journal*, 22 Feb 1732.

³ The Clive-Carey relationship, including his adoption of her name for his daughter, is described in Gillespie (1982), i, 84-7, 131, 48. At the time of her benefit performance for Carey's widow, Mrs Clive was leading a revolt against the Drury Lane manager and was negotiating to perform at Covent Garden, where she began her regular season a month after the Carey benefit. This episode is discussed in ch. 7.

artistic and political goals dates from 1710, well before his first 1729 collaboration with Mrs Clive, but her skills proved optimal for mediating his music and convictions. With Carey's help, Clive shook off the shepherdess topos to step forth as an engaging, free-thinking, individualized female whose natural charms broke with Arcadian clichés.

What were Henry Carey's preoccupations as composer and author before he embarked on promoting Mrs Clive? Norman Gillespie outlines the issues Carey confronted in his works, the core of which crystallized in his Clive vehicles: 1) conceiving the popular ballad as a legitimate art form; 2) cultivating an English 'high style' of composition that blended sophisticated Italianate techniques with a native musical vocabulary; 3) condemning Italian opera; and 4) defending a woman's right to emotional independence⁴. The first three goals reflected Carey's overarching concern to safeguard indigenous stage traditions against foreign influence. This desire was ridden with conflict, because despite fomenting anti-*dramma per musica* sentiments, he sought to modernize and elevate English musical theatre using the very compositional techniques he condemned; in the preface to his *Six Cantatas* (1732) he also apologized for incorporating ballads into his compositional *oeuvre*, even as he demanded elsewhere that traditional ballads deserved respect⁵.

⁴ Some key works by Carey relating to the four points mentioned above include: 1) on legitimizing the ballad, the prefaces to his *Six Songs for Conversation* (1728) as well as many ballad lyrics and music (of which the most famous is 'Sally in our Alley', 1717); 2) on the need for English 'high style' music, hints appear in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1729), but his best-known efforts were his later librettos for the English operas *Amelia* (1732) and *Teraminta* (1733) by John F. Lampe; 3) on the deleterious effects of Italian opera, 'Mocking is catching or A Sorrowful Lamentation for the Loss of a Man and no Man' (broadside, 1726 and frequently reprinted with music) and verses in *Poems on Several Occasions* (notably 'A Satyr on the Luxury and Effeminacy of the Age', and 'The Poet's Resentment', 1729); and 4) on women's rights, Carey's earliest extant publication was also seemingly the first woman's periodical, *The Records of Love, or Weekly Amusement for the Fair Sex* (1710). He also wrote the poems 'Prologue Address'd to the Ladies' and 'The True Woman's Man' in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1729). In a 1734 epilogue Carey called himself a champion of women's rights: 'Ladies I now must plead the Poet's Cause,/ He's your old Champion – shall he have Applause?/If value for our Sex can recommend,/ He's known by all to be a Women's Friend'. Epilogue to Henry Carey, *The Honest Yorkshireman* (London, 1736).

⁵ 'I began with Ballads ... I have now proceeded to Cantatas, and, if these find Favour ... it may probably embolden me to produce an Opera ... I am but too sensible of my own Imperfections ... I live but to improve'. Preface to Henry Carey, *Six Cantatas ... the Words and Music by H. Carey* (London, 1732). Carey's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1729) reflect his conflict between defending indigenous musical traditions and embracing

Characteristic of his efforts on Mrs Clive's behalf was a shifting of the aesthetic ground: whereas he initially provided her with a ballad repertory, and (probably) fostered her ballad-singing technique, he quickly furnished her with more polished vocal repertory and encouraged her involvement in Drury Lane's Purcell revival (1729-35). His 'high style' compositions showcasing her voice demanded a *bel canto* technique, and from 1742 she twisted this practice into burlesques of reigning London *prime donne*, a trick Carey may also have instructed her in. An illuminating model for his projection of Mrs Clive is found in *Belinda*, the heroine of his 1729 satirical poem, 'Blundrella the Impertinent'. *Belinda*, a gifted singer, is prohibited from performing English songs at a social gathering by her hostess Blundrella. Forced to sing in Italian, *Belinda* acquits herself magnificently only to be insulted by her hostess who compares her unfavourably to Italian sopranos performing in London. *Belinda*'s talent is vindicated by another guest, a keyboard player, who exposes Blundrella's ignorance by passing off a popular English ballad ('Children Three') as a celebrated Senesino aria, over which Blundrella swoons. Carey depicts his singing heroine *Belinda* thus:

At length unwilling to appear,
Affected, peevish, or severe,
The lovely Virgin tun'd her Voice,
More out of Complaisance than Choice:
While all were with her Musick pleas'd,
But she [Blundrella] who had the Charmer teaz'd;
Who, rude, unmanner'd, and abrupt,
Did thus *Belinda* interrupt ...⁶

Carey may well have conceived the poem, published the year of Mrs Clive's first major success, as an encomium to the real-life singer-actress. All the diverse musical ambitions she eventually realized for him are present: the desire to envoice native song and

fashionable Continental techniques: in one poem, he heaps praise on Handel's *Admeto*, and then reviles opera supporters and singers in other verses. For instance, compare 'The Laurel Grove' with 'Blundrella' in this volume. Gillespie notes that the encomium to Handel first appeared under the title 'To Mr Handel, on his *Admetus*' in the *British Journal* on 25 March 1727. Henry Carey, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 3rd edn (London, 1729), 14-16, 110-14.

⁶ Carey, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 14.

have its aesthetic value recognized; the ability of English singers and English music to compete with Italian vocalists and Italian repertory; and the need to satirize, and thereby expunge, the malformed taste of *dramma per musica* supporters. Belinda also upholds the model of the sentimental heroine whose sincerity, modesty, and purity contrast with the hypocrisy, self-importance, and corrupted taste of Blundrella. What is curious about this poem is the clarity with which it foreshadowed Mrs Clive's stage career: fiction, as it were, transformed into a historical phenomenon stage-managed by Carey.

In 1728, the year Carey launched his pupil, English theatregoers were obsessed with John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*⁷, which, as shown in the previous chapter, introduced the method of street ballad singing to the London stage. Originally Gay had expected the players in the *Beggar's Opera* to sing the popular ballad tunes in the play without orchestral accompaniment⁸. This manner of performance, together with the repertory he selected, suggests that he planned for performers to duplicate the vocal production of street ballad singers. Comparing theatre singers with street ballad singers, critic Roger North described the difference in vocal sound thus:

Witness the crys and ballad singers – some women singing in the streets with a loudness that downs all other noise, and yet firm and stedly ... But come into the theatre or musick-meeting, and you shall have a woman sing like a mouse in a cheese, scarce to be heard, and for the most part her teeth shut⁹.

The Beggar's Opera catapulted the previously unknown Lavinia Fenton into fame in the role of Polly. Fenton promotion – unprecedented in kind or scope¹⁰ – attested to this

⁷ According to Chetwood, Mrs Clive's stage debut was in 1728 as a singing page in Nathaniel Lee's tragedy *Mithradates, King of Pontus*. Gillespie offers convincing evidence that her song was composed by Carey. William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), 127. Gillespie (1982), i, 84-5.

⁸ Gay never planned for the band to accompany the singers, and added an accompaniment only at others' behest. During the penultimate rehearsal, Covent Garden manager John Rich suggested instruments be used, and Gay's patron, the Duchess of Queensbury, insisted this be carried out. John Fuller, 'Introduction', *John Gay: Dramatic Works*, ed. John Fuller, i (Oxford, 1983), 45.

⁹ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: being a Selection from his Essays during the Years c.1697-1728* (London, 1959), 215-16. I am grateful to Jeremy Barlow for bringing this quotation to my attention.

¹⁰ 'The fame of [*The Beggar's Opera*] was not confin'd to the author only; the ladies carry'd about with 'em the favourite songs of it in fans; and houses were furnish'd with it in screens. The person who acted Polly, till then

singer-actress's adherence to a 'natural' vocal delivery redolent of the ballad's traditional social context. Although Gay had seized upon the ballad to deflate the dramatic pretensions he satirized, Fenton's promoters suggested that because the ballads reflected native taste, they were not the entertainment's means but its end. That is, rather than being a platform for Gay's wit, they constituted a main attraction, and this seduction was tied to the supposedly unaffected nature of the woman envoicing these songs, Miss Fenton (Fig. 3.1). The inscription on her portrait read:

'Miss Fenton'
 While crowds attentive sit to Polly's voice,
 And in their native Harmony rejoyce;
 Th'adversary Throng no vain subscription draws,
 Nor Affectation prompts [sic] a false Applause.
 Nature untaught and Pleasing Strains supply's,
 Artless as her unbidden Blushes rise,
 And Charming as the Mischief in her Eyes¹¹.

The popularity of this mezzotint provoked comments by Gay and Carey; additional observations about Fenton, although not mentioning vocal technique, stressed the appeal of her singing over the reigning Italian sopranos Faustina and Cuzzoni¹². The Fenton-versus-*prime donne* argument seeped into advertising campaigns for Gay's smash hit: in a collage-

obscure, became all at once the favourite of the town; her pictures were engraved and sold in great numbers, her life written; books of letters and verses to her publish'd; and pamphlets made even of her sayings and jests ...'. Annotation in the *Dunciad* [Book iii, l.330]. Cited in William E. Schultz, *Gay's Beggar's Opera: its Content, History and Influence* (New Haven, CT, 1923), 8.

¹¹ The mezzotint is housed in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

¹² Gay wrote to Swift on 20 March 1728: 'There is a mezzotint print published today of Polly, the heroine of the *Beggar's Opera*, who was before unknown, and is now in so high vogue, that I am in doubt, whether her fame does not surpass that of the opera itself.' Schultz, *Gay's Beggar's Opera: its Content, History and Influence*, 7. Carey, in his ballad 'To Polly Peachum' (a parody of his own ballad 'Sally in our Alley'), joked about the ubiquitous Fenton image: 'The Sons of Bays, in Lyrick Lays/ Sound forth her Fame in Print -o/ And as we pass in Frame and Glass/ We see her Mezzo-tinto ...'. This ballad first appeared as an appendix to Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728, 'third edition') and circulated with and without music. Carey included it in his *Six Songs for Conversation* (1728) and the first volume of his collected songs, Henry Carey, *The Musical Century*, i (London, 1737), 31. Its complex publication history is recorded in Gillespie (1982), ii, 88. Writing pseudonymously, Nicholas Amhurst, the editor of *The Craftsman*, rebutted Carey's praise, depicting Miss Fenton instead as a 'ballad-singing Virago', in Caleb D'Anvers, *The Twickenham Hotch-Potch ... being a Sequel to the Beggar's Opera* (London, 1728), 38-9. He reprinted this allegation in *The Craftsman* on 13 April 1728. The *Twickenham Hotch-Potch* included three other commentaries on Fenton, and provoked a defence of the singer actress in Anon, *A Satyrical Poem or, The Beggar's-Opera Dissected* (London, 1729), 6.

Fig. 3.1: John Faber after John Ellys, *Miss Fenton*, 1728. Mezzotint. By permission of the British Museum.



Epigram:

While Crowds attentive sit to Polly's Voice,
 And in their Native Harmony rejoice;
 Th'admiring Throng no vain subscription
 draws,
 Nor Affectation prompts a false Applause.

Nature untaught, each Pleasing strain
 supply's,
 Artless as her unbidden Blushes rise,
 And charming as the Mischief in her Eyes.

style engraving celebrating Gay's musical, the serene portrait of Miss Fenton floated above rival *prime donne* vying for male attention (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3).

The significance of the Fenton epigram lay in its merging of singing technique with aesthetics and personality. The 'native Harmony' of ballads and the 'untaught' manner of delivery combine to reveal the 'artless' and 'charming' Miss Fenton. The epigram's assertion anticipated that of modern popular music scholars, who argue that an untrained vocal technique, by exposing the 'grain of the voice', allows the singer's personality to emerge and interact with a composition. In making popular ballads the focal point of a stage work, Gay had given rise to the notion of the popular singer whose 'personality' accrued an exchange value in the entertainment industry of the day¹³.

With the overwhelming success of the *Beggar's Opera*, and with his star pupil in the wings, Carey could now garner support for the school of English ballad-style composition he had promoted since 1717¹⁴. He was enlisted by Colley Cibber to assist with the first ballad opera produced at Drury Lane, *Love in a Riddle* (1729), which featured Mrs Clive in a supporting role; he may have written all the song lyrics, as well as contributing compositions and an unorthodox 'sung epilogue'¹⁵. Cibber, perhaps taking his cue from the Miss Fenton

¹³ Summing up the contrast between the classical and the popular singer's relationship to the performed work, Simon Frith writes: 'As listeners we assume that we can hear someone's life in their voice – a life that's there despite and not because of the singers' craft'. The notion of the singer's voice in the music has been a subject of musicological enquiry since the ground-breaking investigations of Edward T. Cone and Carolyn Abbate, among others. In popular music studies, Roland Barthes' conceptualization of a sound unmediated by vocal technique – the so-called 'grain of the voice' – has been seminal in conceiving how the singer's voice mediates the complex 'languages' (of music, rhetorical/poetic traditions, gesture, costume) she or he combines in performance. Binding together these different aspects of the pop star is his or her 'personality', aspects of which the voice putatively reveals. Simon Frith, 'The Voice', *Performing Rites: on the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).

¹⁴ Gillespie notes that even before his songs were published, 'characteristics of the folk ballad [were] also apparent in many of Carey's early [pre-1728] lyrics'. One innovative marketing scheme for his early ballad compositions was a pack of cards printed with tunes, issued by Cluer and Creak, sometime before 1728. One of his first ballads, 'Sally in our Alley', enjoyed great popularity. Originally issued in 1717 as a broadside, it spawned no fewer than 14 parodies, several by Carey himself. Gillespie (1982), i, 153, 257-9, 483-502 and Gillespie (1982), ii, 98.

¹⁵ A 1765 edition of the one-act version of this work advertised 'The Songs adapted and arranged by Mr Carey'; the first edition named him as the author of the epilogue (set to 'Sally in our Alley') and two of the airs are his compositions. He also wrote an alternate epilogue, published in his *Poems* (1729). Gillespie (1982), i, 87.

Fig. 3.2: George Bickham, *A Stage Medley representing the Polite Taste of the Town*, 1728. Engraving. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.



Fig. 3.3: George Bickham, 'Two Nymphs the most Renown'd' [in *A Stage Medley*], 1728. Engraving. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.



mezzotint, used his *Love in a Riddle* prologue quoted in the preceding chapter to proselytize on the merits of ballads and ballad-singers. As discussed, this opinion was echoed in the later operas in which Mrs Clive sang.

By embedding ballads in a pastoral, Cibber strove to provide a more decorous narrative for the singing than had John Gay¹⁶. Cibber cobbled together a standard Arcadian plot with a rustic comic sub-plot, inserting simple airs which he, singing a main role, was hopelessly unqualified to perform. Despite the presence of Prince Frederick, audiences howled Cibber off the stage; only the appearance of Mrs Clive (then Miss Raftor) salvaged the evening¹⁷. Her singing captured audience imagination through its freshness and power, and contemporary biographers marked this performance as the first breakthrough of her career¹⁸.

What appealed to audiences was Mrs Clive's prodigious gift for singing ballads. Carey's obsession with this song form, and Miss Fenton's overwhelming success in this style of singing, surely led him to nurture this aspect of Clive's vocal talent. From this performance onwards, her manner of interpreting such airs evoked respect even from Charles Burney,

¹⁶ 'After the vast success of that new Species of Dramatick Poetry, the *Beggars Opera* the Year following, I was so stupid, as to attempt something of the same Kind, upon a quite different Foundation, that of recommending Virtue and Innocence'. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 2nd edn (London, 1740), 199.

¹⁷ According to Cibber, audience rejection was due to a cabal organized against him because he was suspected of having encouraged the suppression of Gay's *Polly*. This account has become standard in modern sources; the period authority on theatre Benjamin Victor, however, called this 'a ridiculous Report'. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London, 1771), 106. A much more credible contemporary account of Cibber's *Love in a Riddle* ran: 'The People in the Beginning of the Play seemed inclinable to attend, and give it a fair Hearing; but when you [Colley Cibber] appeared, and began to sing in the character of Philautos ... not in a mimick, not in a false, but in your own real natural Voice, and they found that you intended to impose upon 'em for Harmony, which they perceiv'd hurt their Eyes extremely, they did grow somewhat outrageous, and in the second Act they call'd aloud several Times to have the Curtain dropt, but Philautos came forward and humbly petition'd, that they would hear him sing one more Song. They granted his Request, and then damn'd his *new-fangled innocent Performance*'. Anon, *The Laureat or the Right Side of Colley Cibber, Esq* (London, 1740), 110. Cibber gave his version of events in Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 243-4, 48-9.

¹⁸ 'I remember the first Night of *Love in a Riddle* (which was murdered in the same Year) a Pastoral Opera wrote by the Laureate, which the Hydra-headed Multitude resolv'd to worry without hearing, a Custom with Authors of Merit, when Miss Raftor came on in the Part of Phillida, the monstrous Roar subsided. A Person in the Stage Box, next to my Post, called out to his Companion in the following elegant Stile – *Zounds, Tom! Take Care; or this charming little Devil will save all*'. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage*, 127-8.

otherwise highly prejudiced against her¹⁹. Her interpretation, like Fenton's, was earmarked as 'natural'; other commentary described her delivery as 'impudent', 'squalling' and having 'a humour peculiar to herself'²⁰. Speaking in an epilogue later in her career, she equated her musical delivery explicitly with the manner of a street-ballad singer: 'A cousin too she has, with squinting eyes,/With wadling gait, and voice like *London Cries*'²¹.

Although he had been hired to write the lyrics and the orchestral adaptation, Carey's real contribution to *Love in a Riddle* was that he provided a pupil whose unvarnished ballad-singing matched the aesthetic outlined in the prologue. Mrs Clive's success prompted Cibber to discreetly repackage the comic scenes as an anonymous one-act afterpiece *Damon and Phillida*. In this form, Cibber's work went on to become one of the most popular of the century, with over 300 performances by 1777. Historians from her own day through to the twentieth century have attributed the extraordinary popularity of *Damon and Phillida* to Mrs Clive, whose 'proper representation' is said to have established her interpretation of Phillida as definitive²².

¹⁹ Burney's biases against Mrs Clive are discussed in ch. 7. Burney wrote that 'her singing, which was intolerable when she meant it to be fine, in ballad farces and songs of humour was, like her comic acting, everything it should be'. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ii (New York, 1957), 999.

²⁰ In the earliest extant critique of her singing, the writer observed: 'Miss Raftor is without Superior, if we except the foremost voices in the Italian Operas. Tho' I am forward to acknowledge the Merits of the last Person, yet I think Scenes of Wit, or Humour ... ought not be interrupted by an impertinent Song'. Anon, 'Some Observations on the Present State of the Theatres in London, and on Elocution', *The Comedian, or Philosophical Enquirer*, ed. Thomas Cooke, vii (London, 1732), 37. Listed as 'Lot 5' in the 1748 *A Catalogue of Curiosities, chiefly Theatrical, which are to be sold by Auction*, she was described as 'A celebrated comic Actress with a strong voice remarkably skilled in the use of the Passions with all their requisites and impertinences'. Anon, *US- Ws T.b.1, 'Theatrical Miscellany'*, 15. Samuel Derrick, posing as the actor Robert Wilkes, reported: 'She has a natural melody in her voice; and her manner of singing ballads is accompanied with a humour peculiar to herself'. [Samuel Derrick], *A General View of the Stage. By Mr Wilkes* (London and Dublin, 1759), 288. A later commentator recalled, 'Mrs CLIVE, though she squalled the songs, did the part more justice than any body else'. Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor, or Critical Companion* (London and York, 1770), 129.

²¹ In this epilogue, Mrs Clive catalogued for audiences her most famous roles. 'Epilogue written by a Friend, spoken by Mrs CLIVE' [pencil MS note '1756'], anonymous newspaper cutting in Anon, Harvard Theatre Collection, Box File of Newspaper Clippings, 'Kitty Clive'.

²² The popularity of her Phillida is repeated in all modern biographies of Mrs Clive. Period sources asserting the importance of this role to her career include Thomas Whincop, *Scanderberg, or Love and Liberty ... to which are added a List of all the Dramatic Authors* (London, 1747), 197-8 and David E. Baker, 'Clive, Catherine', *The Companion to the Playhouse*, ii (London, 1764).

In fact, apart from her initial success in Colley's ill-starred three-act version, Mrs Clive's performance history as Phillida was an invention of the historical imagination. The *London Stage Calendar* records that *Damon and Phillida* was a staple of Haymarket, not Drury Lane, productions: between 1729 and 1739 Mrs Clive sang Phillida a mere eleven times. In fact, Mrs Clive did not appear in Phillida until nearly two years after Drury Lane mounted the afterpiece: Mrs Mountfort sang Phillida at the premiere (16 Aug 1729) and Mrs Clive was restored to the role only in 7 June 1731. After 1739 performances of *Damon and Phillida* at Drury Lane almost entirely ceased until 1756, when Miss Young took over the lead female role. The memory of Mrs Clive as Phillida was fabricated through the iconography and playbook editions spawned by the Drury Lane production. Publishers and engravers embraced Mrs Clive (then Miss Raftor) as the 'new' Miss Fenton, probably because the latter had been whisked off the stage in 1728 by her lover, the Duke of Bolton. Mrs Clive's attractions were marketed in a mezzotint whose epigram duplicated almost exactly that of the Fenton mezzotint (Fig. 3.4):

See native Beauty clad without disguise,
No art t'allure a paltry Lovers Eyes,
No stiff, sett Airs, which but betray the mind,
But unaffected Innocence we find:

Happy the Nymph with charms by Nature blest,
But happier Swain, who of the Nymph possest,
Can taste the Joys, which she alone can bring,
And live in Pleasures which alternate spring.

Imagining Mrs Clive as Phillida was from its inception chimeric, for this image was not that of the actress (as maintained by modern sources) but a detail from a generic pastoral scene painted around 1695 by Gottfried Schalcken²³. Mezzotints after Schalcken's oils had enjoyed decent sales, and the unnamed publisher (presumably John Smith) simply appropriated a plate and squeezed Miss Raftor's name and the epigram into its bottom margin²⁴. The visual motifs

²³ The original was an oil-on-wood painting. Thierry Beherman, *Gottfried Schalcken* (Paris, 1988), 344-5.

²⁴ Smith is the only engraver known to have reproduced Schalcken, who was 'much appreciated' in England. See *ibid.*, 50.

Fig. 3.4: After Gottfried Schalcken [*Couple d'amoureux dans un forêt*, c1695], *Miss Rafter in the Character of Phillida*, 1729. Mezzotint. By permission of the British Museum.



G. Schalcken Pinxit. MISS RAFTER in the Character of PHILLIDA
*See native Beauty clad without disguise,
 No art t'allure a paltry Lovers Eyes,
 No stiff, sett Airs, which but betray the mind,
 But unaffected Innocence we find.*

*Happy the Nymph with charms by Nature blest,
 But happier Swain, who of the Nymph possest,
 Can taste the Joys, which she alone can bring,
 And live in Pleasures which alternate spring.*

Epigram:

See native Beauty clad without disguise,
 No art t'allure a paltry Lovers Eyes,
 No stiff, sett Airs, which but betray the
 mind,
 But unaffected Innocence we find:

Happy the Nymph with charms by Nature
 blest,
 But happier Swain, who of the Nymph
 possest,
 Can taste the Joys, which she alone can
 bring,
 And live in Pleasures which alternate
 spring.

of the image – the interrupted erotic encounter, the bared bosom, the inviting gaze – chimed generally with earlier writings about Miss Fenton outlining her supposed sexual availability²⁵. The Fenton/Clive confusion was continued in another mezzotint, later identified by historians as an image of Miss Fenton, which first circulated without identifying the portrait but with an epigram celebrating the conjunction of ‘native beauty’, ‘rustic charms’ and potential erotic encounters linked to both actresses. At a much later date the name ‘Kitty Clive’ was added to the portrait (Figs. 3.5 and 3.6)²⁶.

An alternative view of Mrs Clive was presented in the 1729 frontispiece to the *Damon and Phillida* playbook (‘with Musick prefix’d to each song’). Although her features are indistinguishable, her posture at least emphasizes Phillida’s most distinctive trait: when rejecting suitors to save herself for Damon, this Phillida relishes humiliating her hapless admirers (Fig. 3.7). Carey may have written her song lyrics underlining this idiosyncratic characterization (see n.15); in any case, in his subsequent cantatas and musical theatre pieces for his protégée, he expanded upon a woman’s right to repulse unwanted male attention. The *Damon and Phillida* playbooks appear to have played a vital part in fixing Mrs Clive in the public imagination. All six John Watts editions (1729-65), besides reprinting the frontispiece, listed the Drury Lane cast under the *Dramatis Personae*, and editions issued outside London

²⁵ Sneering, even pornographic, descriptions of Miss Fenton’s salubrious inclinations peppered her publicity. Outlining Miss Fenton’s conquests, Amhurst wrote, ‘Tell us how he [John Gay] plays,/How his fingers strays;/ Tell us all his various ways,/How he his Shot discharges ...’; or, ‘B[edfor]d’s pretty D[uk]e,/Wounded by a Look,/Would come in too for a Stroke,/And from the Stage he had thee ... He will no upbraid thee;/Tho’ others on thee Fall, O pretty, pretty Poll’. D’Anvers, *The Twickenham Hotch-Potch ... being a Sequel to the Beggar’s Opera*, 10-11. Other assertions of Miss Fenton’s predatory sexuality are described in Kimberly Crouch, ‘Attitudes towards Actresses in Eighteenth-Century Britain’ (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1995), 104-6.

²⁶ The painter of the source for this mezzotint, John Ellys (1701-1757), was a prestigious portraitist who dabbled in the theatre. He had produced Miss Fenton’s first 1728 portrait (Fig 3.2) and its popularity doubtless prompted him to produce a second. He briefly owned Robert Wilks’ share of the Drury Lane patent from 1732 until 1735. He was appointed principal painter of the Prince of Wales in 1736, and Robert Walpole employed him to help amass the celebrated Walpole collection. Prints of the later mezzotint with the title ‘Kitty Clive’ are housed at the Harvard Theatre Collection and the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings; the erroneous attribution is corrected in a manuscript note in their catalogues, and pointed out in *Biographical Dictionary, Fenton, Lavinia*, v (1978), 224. Ellys’s artistic career is summarized in Ellis K. Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British Eighteenth-Century Painters in Oils and Crayons* (Woodbridge, 1981), 103.

Fig. 3.5: John Tinney after John Ellys [*Miss Fenton*, 1729?]. Mezzotint. By permission of the British Museum.



Epigram:

When native Beauty adds the Pow'r of Art,
What sure Defence can guard the Lover's

Theatric Nymphs thus vary all their charms,
And the feign'd Shepherdess our Bosoms

Fig. 3.6: John Tinney after John Ellys, *Kitty Clive* [Lavinia Fenton], n.d. Mezzotint. By permission of the British Museum.



Fig. 3.7: Michael van der Gucht after Michael van der Gucht, *Damon and Phillida*, 1729. Engraved frontispiece.



Scene 3: From left to right: Mopsus (Mr Miller), Phillida (Mrs Clive), Damon (Mr Charke), Cimon (Mr Oates).

mentioned both the Drury Lane and local casts on their title pages²⁷. Through the power of print, Mrs Clive entered the public imagination as Drury Lane's singing shepherdess without having to repeatedly voice Cibber's anodyne verses.

Shepherding the Shepherdess: Harry Carey's High-Style Compositions

After proving Mrs Clive's merit in *Love in a Riddle*, Drury Lane managers rolled out a series of ballad operas featuring the singer actress, who was enthroned as the 'high priestess' of this genre from 1729²⁸. Indeed, Drury Lane became the home of ballad operas during their heyday, arguably because of Mrs Clive's skill, and Carey bolstered this repertory with ballad-style airs for her plays and entr'actes²⁹. At the same time, Carey began writing more sophisticated musical theatre, as well as 'English cantatas' for her to perform with himself and others as entr'actes. Gillespie notes that throughout his career, Carey reserved his most demanding music for Mrs Clive³⁰. And Carey made a significant musical and dramatic contribution to her line with his highly original and successful musical comedy, *The Contrivances* (1729)³¹.

²⁷ The *English Short Title Catalogue* lists 12 editions of *Damon and Phillida* published in London between 1729 and 1765; of these, only two (J. W[atts], 1729; J. Millan, 1731) omitted the Drury Lane cast, citing instead the players of the Haymarket theatre and the comedians of Tottenham Court Fair respectively. Editions of the ballad opera published in Ireland and Scotland during this period referred to both local and Drury Lane companies on their title pages.

²⁸ Edmond M. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York, 1937), 163.

²⁹ See ch. 2, n. 2. Carey composed two ballads as 'additional songs' for *The Contrivances* ('Additional Song ... in ye Scotch Humour', and 'Genteel in Personage'), which he published in Henry Carey, *The Musical Century*, iii (London, 1743), 43, 84. Later ballads included 'The Romp' and 'The Thoughts of an Ambitious Country Girl' (for Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Husband*, first sung by Mrs Cibber, then by Mrs Clive from 30 April 1730) and 'Roger and Dolly' (date of performance unknown), published in the same volume (pp. 28, 43, 49). See also 'The Tell Tale' and 'Sung by Mrs Clive ... in the Wanton Wife' [performed 1735] in Henry Carey, *The Musical Century*, ii (London, 1740), 10, 45.

³⁰ 'The high tessitura of some of Carey's songs ... is surprising ... most of the songs where these exposed high notes occur were written ... for certain singers in particular, who had developed a technique of high singing. In the case of Carey, the singer concerned was usually Mrs Clive.' Gillespie (1982), i, 234.

³¹ The work was based on his earlier spoken farce (1715) of the same title, and was performed 28 times during its first three seasons. Gillespie states: 'Carey no doubt had his pupil Catherine Raftor in mind when he revised his [1715] farce in the summer of 1729 ... this was the first role to display her considerable talents as a singer and actress to their best advantage. It was to launch her on a remarkable career'. He notes also that 'in view of its dual

Gillespie labels this work, ‘the first English comic opera’, arguing that the fusion of ballad with aria in *The Contrivances* helped ‘established the characteristics of that mid-century “English style” identified principally with Thomas Arne’³². In the music of *The Contrivances*, the spotlight is trained firmly on Arethusa, who sings the most music; her arias are vibrant, contain the widest range, and are rhythmically taut. ‘Cease to persuade’ typifies Carey’s ‘high style’, combining high-spirited lyrics with snappy rhythms and leaps to demonstrate musically Arethusa’s fiery temperament. His garnishing of straightforward harmonies with dissonances, and his elaboration of the melody through melismas, elevated the musical vocabulary (Ex. 3.1). Within the same work, however, Carey continued to woo the admirers of Mrs Clive’s ballad singing by later adding (perhaps at theatre managers’ request) two ballad-style airs which were published together with his original music³³.

The plot of *The Contrivances* diverged from the ballad farces she was then performing in its sentimentality, its lack of comic scenes, and its omission of a rustic setting. Conventional romance was the narrative platform for practically all Mrs Clive’s ballad operas, but here, the plot unwound in an elevated musical and dramatic language from which the ballad opera’s farce and didactic airs were excised. Arethusa followed Steele’s prescription for a comic heroine who excites empathy and thereby raises the moral consciousness of the viewer. Arethusa’s music expressed above all her determination: the titles to her songs alone (‘Cease to persuade nor say you love sincerely’, ‘O leave me to complain my Loss of Liberty’, ‘Sooner than I’ll my Love forego’ and ‘When Parents obstinate and cruel’) betray Carey’s desire to foreground her strength of will. He elaborated on this aspect of Arethusa’s character in *The Honest Yorkshireman*. Although couched in his earlier ballad idiom, the *Yorkshireman*

demands of comedy and serious singing, the role became much sought after for aspiring actresses’. Arethusa has six solo arias, Rovewell four, Madie one. There is one duet and dialogue for the lovers Rovewell and Arethusa. Henry Carey, *The Contrivances, or More Ways than One* (London, 1729) and Gillespie (1982), i, 316, 92.

³² Gillespie (1982), i, 217.

³³ The additional airs were advertised in Anon, *Universal Spectator*, 27 Oct 1729. Cited in Gillespie (1982), i, 92.

Ex. 3.1: Henry Carey, 'Cease to perswade', *The Songs, Duett and Dialogue in the Contrivances* (1729), 5.

5 Arethusa) sung by Miss Raftor.

Allegro.

Cease to perswade, nor say y^e love sincerely, w^h you've betray'd, you'l
treat me most severely, & fly what once y^e did pursue;

cease to perswade, nor say y^e love sincerely, w^h you've betray'd, you'l
treat me severely, w^h you've betray'd, you'l treat me severely, &

fly what once you did pursue.

was a virtual rewrite of *The Contrivances*, and featured a plea for female emancipation both in a song and in its epilogue. Fleetwood reneged on his repeated promises to mount this work and an infuriated Carey stalked out to produce the work at Goodman's Fields theatre, where it was enthusiastically received³⁴.

During the 1730s Carey also roped Mrs Clive into performing with him in an extravagant Purcell-themed benefit. Carey's desire to foster a native 'high style' of music had led him to champion Purcell, and he was one of the most outspoken advocates of a 'Purcell revival' from the mid-1720s³⁵. He created a niche for Mrs Clive in this market, composing interlude music 'after Purcell' for her and creating a Purcellian musical role for her in his masque *Cephalus and Procris*³⁶.

The popularity of this masque was staggering, with 72 performances during the first season following its premiere on 28 Oct 1730, and 111 performances by 1735. Here Carey broke from fusing ballad with aria, and sought instead to invoke his model, the Restoration masque: languid melodies, word painting, dotted rhythms, sighing, echo motifs and syncopated rhythms at cadences recalled the works of Eccles or Purcell. Eschewing the da capo form, Carey used interludes, postludes and *accompagnato recitative* to vary its structure³⁷. Like his models, he too, turned to classical mythology for the libretto³⁸. Drury

³⁴ Carey related this incident in his introduction to Carey, *The Honest Yorkshireman*. This work, featuring the song 'Why should Women so much be controul'd' (a resetting of the hunting song in his *Cephalus and Procris*), and an epilogue pleading for the 'woman's cause', was his most popular farce during his lifetime, with 100 performances by 1743.

³⁵ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), 97-9. Carey called for a Purcell revival in his poem 'The Poet's Resentment', in Carey, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 76. Purcell was, in Gillespie's words, Carey's 'great idol'. Gillespie (1982), i, 194.

³⁶ Mrs Clive performed 'A Dialogue in Imitation of Mr H. Purcell. Between a Town Spark and a Country Lass' on 2 May 1733, 23 Jan 1735 (billed as 'English Dialogue by Salway and Mrs Clive') and 13 May 1740. The dialogue was published in Carey, *The Musical Century*, 12. This 'Dialogue' was probably based on 'Dialogue between a Milk-Maid and a Gentleman', performed by Mrs Clive on 29 April and 29 Oct 1729. Gillespie (1982), i, 283-5.

³⁷ For instance, see the lament 'O Jealousy, thou raging pain. Sung by Miss Raftor', in Henry Carey, *All the Songs in the New Entertainment of Cephalus and Procris* (London, 1733), 6.

³⁸ Carey's lyrics indicate that he followed Ovid's version of this story in *The Metamorphoses*, Book vii.

Lane synchronized this masque with debuts by Mrs Clive in revivals of Purcell's musical works for the stage and with Clive performances of 'Rosy Bowers' in entr'acte numbers³⁹.

Together, he and his pupil stepped forth as Purcell representatives in Carey's benefit-cum-parade on 3 Dec 1730. After 'A Dialogue by Mr Henry Purcell, by Mr Carey and Miss Raftor' and 'A Cantata of Mr Carey's by Miss Raftor', the following festivities unfolded:

Our Friend Harry Carey having this Night a Benefit ... the Powers of Music, Painting and Poetry, assembled in his Behalf, he being an Admirer of the three Sister Arts: the Body of Musicians meet in the Hay-Market, from whence they march in great Order, preceded by a magnificent moving Organ, in Form of a Pageant, accompany'd by all Kinds of Musical Instruments ever in Use, from Tubal Cain to this Day: A great Multitude of Booksellers, Authors and Printers, form themselves into a Body at Temple-Bar, from whence they march with great Decency to Covent Garden, preceded by a little Army of Printer Devils, with their proper Implements: Here the two Bodies of Music and Poetry are joined by the Brothers of the Pencil, where taking a Glass of Refreshment at the Bedford-Arms, they make a solemn Procession to the Theatre, amidst an innumerable Crowd of Spectators⁴⁰.

Complementing his protégée's link to Purcell, Carey composed a series of English cantatas which she performed exclusively from 1729⁴¹. Like *The Contrivances*, this music was distinctly high-brow, and to clarify this new trend, Carey wrote a preface mapping out his evolution as a composer, according to which he had progressed from ballads to cantatas with an eye to graduating to serious opera⁴². The score in part lived up to this promise: the fifth number, '[The Sun was in his highest Stage] Sung by Miss Raftor [Mrs Clive] at the Theatre Royal', was Carey's most elaborate vocal composition to date, a 'Neapolitan style' cantata with an introductory two-movement symphony and obbligato accompaniments for two instruments. This was probably the cantata she sang at the bonanza benefit described above. The practices Carey followed in these cantatas – the use of obbligato, the relatively strict adherence to recitative-aria pattern – departed from his earlier vocal repertory in its imitation

³⁹ From 13 June 1729 Mrs Clive sang in the revival of *The History of Bonduca*, 'with the Original Songs set to Musick by Mr. H. Purcell'; from 12 May 1731 she sang 'The Original Song set to Music by Henry Purcell, perform'd in the Character of Kalid in The Indian Emperour'. She also performed Purcell's 'Rosy Bowers' on 19 April and 2 May 1732. See Appendix 2.

⁴⁰ *The Daily Post* 3 Dec 1730; reprinted under this date in *The London Stage: Part 3* (1961).

⁴¹ *The London Stage* records Mrs Clive singing Carey's cantatas on 28 April, 3 Dec, 1730; 10 Oct, 11 Dec, 29 Dec 1733, and 18 April 1734.

⁴² See n. 5 above.

of continental forms⁴³. Balanced against this ‘highly serious’ tone was a piece in which an oddly rebellious shepherdess sings a bouncy air that shrugs off any Italianate pretensions, and concludes with a condemnation of the male sex (Ex. 3.2). The E-flat of the Neapolitan sixth chord which Carey slipped into the melodic segment in the related minor key (second section, bars 3-5) artfully reflects the soprano’s own souring towards men. Eleven years later, in the last volume of his collected songs, Carey reprinted this movement from Cantata no. 2, titling it simply ‘Sung by Mrs Clive at the Theatre Royal’⁴⁴. The short tune epitomizes Carey’s contribution to the emerging 1732 Clive persona: his creation of a musical medium through which her dramatic line – a compilation of vehemence, independence, wit and charm – could assume a form both decorous and easily grasped⁴⁵.

After 1732 the management of the Clive image passed into the hands of Henry Fielding; Carey was relegated to a supporting role in her star production. As discussed in the next chapter, Fielding developed a different strategy: rather than trying to remodel her music, he re-fashioned the genre for which she was most celebrated; namely, the ballad opera. Fielding also introduced Mrs Clive’s animadversions against *dramma per musica* on stage, suggesting through his plays and writings that her expressed loathing was a personally held conviction. Carey strove to match Fielding’s efforts: having campaigned against Italian opera since the early 1720s, he now tried fruitlessly to provide Mrs Clive with vehicles through which she

⁴³ Malcolm Boyd, generally dismissive of Carey’s compositions, considers this collection a significant contribution to the genesis of the English cantata. Malcolm Boyd, ‘English Secular Cantatas in the Eighteenth Century’, *Music Review*, 30, no. 2 (1969).

⁴⁴ Published in Carey, *The Musical Century*, 11.

⁴⁵ Carey’s songs for her in *Betty and the Country Bumkins* also focused on the oppression of women, and the right to reject undesirable suitors: Air 1, ‘How hard is the Fortune of all Womankind’; Air 2, ‘Prythee Fellow take Denial’; Air 5, ‘When a Virgin’s so presst’; Air 6, ‘This Love makes all Men Asses’; and Air 7, ‘Leave me thou troublesome Elfe’. The lyrics only are preserved in a broadside distributed at the theatre, Henry Carey, *The Songs, as they are sung in Betty, or The Country-Bumkins at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane (Given gratis at the Theatre)* (London, [1732]). Air 6 was published with music in Henry Carey, *A Choice Collection of Six Favourite Songs* (London, 1742). The lyrics to two other play songs, ‘The Tell Tale. Sung by Mrs Clive’ and ‘Sung by Mrs Clive ... in the Character of Wanton Wife’, foreground Mrs Clive’s independent spirit. Carey, *The Musical Century*, 10, 45. Carey may have written her derisive lyrics about men in *Damon and Phillida*, as discussed above.

Ex. 3.2: Henry Carey, 'Go perjured Swain [Cantata no. 2]', *Six Cantatas ... the Words and Music by H. Carey* (1732), 12.

12

Allegro

Go perjur'd Swain Enjoy your Love, and may this darling She, as false to thy Endearments

prove, as thou hast been to me: no more I'll pine for an Ingrate, no more my mind per-

plex; but for thy sake I'll ever hate, thy whole deceitful Sex.

could amplify this message. To his frustration, the Drury Lane manager Charles Fleetwood blocked Carey from exploiting his formidable talent in burlesque to promote his pupil⁴⁶.

Already in 1730 Carey had tried to stage Mrs Clive as an opera critic in his much-lauded *Chrononhotonthologos*, a mock tragedy that included burlesque opera scenes; this was advertised in 1730 'with Miss Raftor' but was never produced⁴⁷. Mrs Clive's link to the popular opera burlesque *The Dragon of Wantley*, with Carey's libretto, is more murky but highly suggestive. Despite Carey's antipathy towards Fleetwood due to the *Honest Yorkshireman* debacle, and despite the success of this farce at a fringe theatre, Carey applied 'sometime in 1734' to have *The Dragon of Wantley* produced at Drury Lane⁴⁸. Carey perhaps wooed the despised Fleetwood in order to see Mrs Clive in the burlesque's leading role. Fleetwood, again snatching defeat from the jaws of victory, rejected what was to become London's most successful musical burlesque since the *Beggar's Opera*. Mrs Clive had to wait until her benefit of 1747 to debut as Margery, when she breathed new life into the work by interpreting the role in her then-celebrated 'mimic Italian manner'⁴⁹. Even as his fortunes failed, Carey sought through his publications to present Mrs Clive as a mouthpiece for opera criticism: in his earliest collected edition of music (1737), he titled his 'Ladies Lamentation' as 'Sung by Mrs Clive' (although she rarely performed this song), and placed it first; in his 1737 adaptation of this popular air, re-titled 'The Beau's Lamentation', he re-wrote the lyrics

⁴⁶ Carey's contribution to opera burlesque, both in lyrics and music, is the one aspect of his output that has attracted the attention of musicologists other than Gillespie. Carey's satires and their link to related works of the period are discussed in James Wierzbicki, 'Burlesque Opera in London, 1729-1737' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cincinnati, 1979). The influence of Carey's burlesques on John F. Lampe is traced in ch. 3 of Dennis R. Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe* (Detroit, 1985). The pithiness of Carey's libretto is praised in Hellmuth C. Wolff, 'Eine englische Parodie: *The Dragon of Wantley*', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 29 (1985).

⁴⁷ The work's premiere was first announced in *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 28 Nov 1730 for Carey's benefit on 3 Dec; the cancellation followed two days later in the *Daily Journal*. Stage directions call for 'An Entertainment of singing after the Italian manner, by Signor Scaciatinello and Signora Sicarina' in the scene in which the King seeks a cure for his insomnia. Gillespie (1982), i, 351.

⁴⁸ As in the case of *The Honest Yorkshireman*, Carey aired his dispute with the manager in his preface to Henry Carey, *The Dragon of Wantley* (London, 1738).

⁴⁹ On 7 March 1747, the bills for *The Dragon of Wantley* announced, 'Margerina - Mrs Clive (to be performed in a burlesque manner), first time'. With Mrs Clive performing, the burlesque enjoyed its longest run in six years.

to include an advertisement for Mrs Clive's superiority over Italian divas ('There's Beard, and there's Salway, and smart Kitty Clive,/The pleasantest, merriest Mortal alive')⁵⁰.

Opera burlesque became a hallmark of Mrs Clive's stage appearances from 1742, though it is possible that Carey imparted the tricks of musical mimicry to her at a much earlier date. At first these performances took place only in works already containing music; after 1760, however, Mrs Clive introduced them to spice up her spoken roles⁵¹. Her operatic *taking off* – impersonating a celebrated diva – transplanted from drama to music the performance practice pioneered by Samuel Foote of reproducing leading players through mimicry. Carey had nurtured the art of burlesquing opera, in lyrics and music, since 1724. Here again, the history of the Clive/Carey collaboration suggests how closely innovations in composition and performing practice were intertwined.

Carey's published music contains potential clues to the execution of Mrs Clive's 'Mimic Italian Songs': absurd subjects, an aping of stylized expressions, and melismas on insignificant words and syllables were characteristic of his opera burlesques, of which the

⁵⁰ The history of this song is convoluted. It circulated first as a broadside, titled 'Mocking is Catching or a Pastoral Lamentation for the Loss of Man and no Man' (1726), and was reprinted in Carey's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1729) as 'The Ladies Lamentation for the loss of Senesino'. An anonymous composer reset these lyrics in *The Collection of Songs on Various Subjects* (1729). Carey revised the words in 1736 to reflect Senesino's second departure, and this version, together with Carey's music, was issued in vols 1 and 3 of his *Musical Century* (1737; 1743). Six other publishers took up this version of the ballad, most famously George Bickham in 1737, who added to it the engraved caricature of Senesino in the first volume of his *Musical Entertainer* (1737). In 1737 Carey revised the ballad as 'England's Lamentation for the Loss of Farinelli', embellishing the original tune and changing the lyrics. This appeared also as 'The Beau's Lamentation for the loss of Farinelli'. It never achieved the popularity of its antecedent: only one other publisher beside Carey (who issued it twice) reprinted it. Although Mrs Clive did perform Carey's initial version ('The Ladies Lamentation') once at Drury Lane for a 12 March 1738 benefit, the ballad was sung many more times by Mrs Roberts at Covent Garden between 1737 and 1743. Carey's 'Ladies Lamentation ... Sung by Mrs Clive' appeared in Carey, *The Musical Century*, 1. The quatrain promoting Mrs Clive ran: 'Come never lament for a Singer, said I/Can't English performers his absence supply? There's Beard ...'. Carey, *The Musical Century*, 5 and Carey, *The Musical Century*, 35.

⁵¹ Horace Walpole first recorded her 'Mimic Italian Song' in *Miss Lucy in Town* on 6 May 1742, and thereafter she performed her burlesques in: *The Comical Lovers* (from 10 March 1746); *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (from 15 March 1750); *Lethe* (from 27 March 1756); *Island of Slaves* (from 26 March 1761); *High Life Below Stairs* (from 8 May 1761); and the comic opera *The Capricious Lovers* (from 4 March 1767). She also sang her 'Mimic Songs' as entr'acte numbers.

best-known is the ‘Lady’s Lamentation for the loss of Senesino’⁵². In ‘The Musical Hodge Podge’ Carey sandwiched quotations from arias between ballads, and the Italian sections mocked the celebrated talents of the *primi uomini* named in the music (Ex. 3.3). Perhaps Mrs Clive made use of any or all of these devices⁵³. Although no transcription of Mrs Clive’s musical *taking off* survives, the critic Frances Brooke (writing as ‘a Spinster’) described it thus:

I was particularly diverted by her *Italian song* [in *Lethe*, 1756], in which this truly humorous Actress parodys the Air of the Opera, and takes off the action, of the present favourite female at the *Haymarket* [Signora Mingotti] with such exquisite ridicule, that the most zealous partisans of both, I think must have applauded the comic genius of Mrs Clive, however they might be displeas’d with this application of it. I am a lover of music, am no enemy to the Opera, have seen and heard this performer [Mingotti] with pleasure, but have still been a good deal surpris’d ... by [the] praises of this Foreigner’s Action ... when we have more than one Actress on our own Stage, so infinitely superior to her⁵⁴.

This report provides three significant pieces of evidence: first, that Mrs Clive’s burlesques were not only improvisations over an existing musical score (as in her 1747 ‘Margerina’ in *The Dragon of Wantley*), but interpolations of entire arias inserted at the singer-actress’s discretion; second, that the imitation of physical as well as musical gesture was a key element to her appeal; and third, that the performances were read as demonstrations of the English soprano’s equal or superior talent to her Italian rivals and not merely as absurdly rendered high art. The stage directions for the 1757 edition of *Lethe* confirm that Mrs Clive sang her burlesque as an independent Italian number, and not, as formerly assumed, as an elaboration of vocal music supplied by a composer⁵⁵.

⁵² To this may be added his songs in *Chrononhotonthologos* (now lost), ‘The Beau’s Lamentation for the Loss of Farinelli’ (see above n. 50) and ‘The Queen of Spades. A Burlesque Opera Song’ and ‘The Effeminate’. The last two appeared in Carey, *The Musical Century*, 19, 44. He also issued three opera burlesques in Henry Carey, *Three Burlesque Cantatas ... by Sigr Carini* (London, 1741).

⁵³ Gillespie points out that ‘Son qual nave’ (by Farinelli’s brother Riccardo Boschi for Johann Hasse’s *Artaserse*) highlighted Farinelli’s breath control, while ‘Fortunate peccorelle’ encapsulated the pathos of Senesino. Carey, *Three Burlesque Cantatas ... by Sigr Carini*, 8-9 and Gillespie (1982), i, 292.

⁵⁴ [Frances Brooke], *The Old Maid by Mary Singleton, a Spinster*, 26 (1756).

⁵⁵ The playbook indicates she sang ‘fantastically in Italian’ in the middle of her scene. After an extensive dialogue she performed ‘The Card invites’ as a finale to this scene. David Garrick, *Lethe. A Dramatic Satire: with the Additional Character of Lord Chalkstone*, 5th edn (London, 1757), 36-9.

Ex. 3.3: Henry Carey, 'The Musical Hodge Podge', *Three Burlesque Cantatas* (1741), [8-9].

The Musical Hodge Podge.
Sung by M^r Beard

An Old Woman clothed in grey, whose Daughter was charming & young, her
Senses are all gone astray, e'er since Farinel-li has sung.
Son qual na ve. Son qual nave ch'agitata da piu scogli in
mozzo all'onde si confonde, confonde e spaventa
tu va solcando in alto mar
sooner comes up a Country Clown, with his Leather Breeches to London Town but he
goes to the Opera and pays his Crown, for sente il Fato il Fato che gia
fiso lo Bea-to lo Giocondo Flocks are sporting, Doves are courting

Publish'd according to Act of Parliament 1740.

The Musical Hodge Podge

while sweet Senesino sings. Fortunato peccorelle Pasciollette semplicette vaghi fiori

molle Erbette Lane L'altri vaghi e Belle senza inganni senza affanni nella vita e

nel amor nella vita e nel amor No Place like Norfolk for Pudding & Dumpling

No Place like London for Frolick & Fun. Kent is y Place for a Codling or Crumpling, Stejnays y

Place for a Lake or a Bur. But of all the Songsters in the Land, theres none like

Fa-ri-nelli He'll make your Heart to jump and start and caper in your Belly

Your Men of Arts may brag of Parts, they're all a Pack of Minnies. He shows most

Sense who gets most Pence and pockets all the Guineas

Larghetto

The platform that Roger Fiske has proposed for her Italianate lampooning in *Lethe*, Thomas Arne's 'The Card invites', was a Clive hit song that used an English genre of songwriting – the hunting air typical of English pantomime – to signify to audiences an un-Italian comic inversion. The gag of 'The Card invites' lay in its re-interpretation of the Diana topos: here, the egocentric Mrs Clive/Fine Lady, to the dismay of her husband, pursues gambling instead of prey, and her refutation of male power in this context turned the antique myth into a satire on dominating wives (Ex. 3.4). Fiske's erroneous assumption that she applied her Italian burlesque to Arne's song – stylistically impossible given the Englishness of Arne's writing – points to a tendency in music scholarship to privilege the composer over the performer. To grasp how this musical entertainment and others were performed, one must recognize the power of the player to shape the work. *Lethe* was a pure Clive product; it spawned more images of the soprano, in more diverse media, than any other role. (Figs. 3.8 to 3.11). To overlook the star's presence inevitably leads to misconceptions about the function and meaning of the work.

Even after being side-lined by Drury Lane, Carey was still recognized as a useful mediator of Mrs Clive's image. Drury Lane producers (possibly including Mrs Clive herself) elected to include new Carey compositions in two Clive *in propria persona* roles – the pantomime the *Colombine Courtezan* (1734) by Lampe and *The Coffee House* (1737). The former rehashed her initial *in propria persona* vehicle, *The Harlot's Progress*, whose appeal in 1734 appeared boundless⁵⁵. With the *Colombine Courtezan*, Drury Lane continued to exploit 'Miss Kitty', who at this moment in her career was being peddled as a saucy temptress. In his *Courtezan* air ('Crowds of Coxcombs'), Carey continued to style Mrs Clive as before, merging a decorous minuet with lyrics which both mocked undesired suitors and promised

⁵⁵ There were 107 performances of this pantomime at Drury Lane between 1733 and 1742. This work is discussed in detail in ch. 5.

Ex. 3.4: Thomas Arne, 'The Card invites', *The Agreeable Musical Choice*, vi ([1757]), 18-22.

18

Sung by M^{rs} Clive in LETHE

Cornì

Hautb: 1º

Hautb: 2º

Viol: 1º

Viol: 2º

Viola

Voice

Ballo

Pia. For. Pia. For. Pia. For.

Pia. For. Pia.

5 8 7
7 6 5

For
The Card invites In Crowds we live To

For Pia.
joyn the jovial routfull Cry to joyn the jovial routfull Cry What Joy from Cares and

Pia For
Nor Want nor Fear nor Grief nor Care nor should Husbands enter enter there

Pia
The brisk the bold the young the gay all hie to the Midnight hark away hark away

Fig. 3.8: Pieter van Bleeck, *Catherine Clive as Mrs Riot, the Fine Lady* [1750]. Oil on canvas. By permission of the Garrick Club.



Fig. 3.9: Charles Mosley after Pieter van Bleeck, *Mrs Clive in the Character of the Fine Lady in Lethe*, 1750. Line engraving. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Fig. 3.10: After Pieter van Bleeck, *Kitty Clive as the Fine Lady* [1750]. Bow porcelain figure. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Fig. 3.11: Charles Mosley after Pieter van Bleeck, *Mrs Clive in the Character of the Lady in Lethe* [1750]. Watchpaper. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



devotion to a true love (Ex. 5.1, ch. 5). Like its antecedent, the *Colombine Courtezan* was well-received; of the two surviving songs, one was Carey's air, which he preserved in his 1737 collected edition of songs⁵⁷.

Carey's final contribution to the Clive persona was in James Miller's *The Coffee House* (1737). According to his preface to the *Dragon of Wantley*, Carey continued to nurse resentment towards the Drury Lane management at the time this production was prepared; nonetheless, he agreed to collaborate with Henry Burgess on the music for his erstwhile protégée. Carey's ballads for Mrs Clive contrast with Burgess's music for the two fops, both opera lovers, who unsuccessfully court Kitty; she purges the fops' lapses into extravagance with a rational binary air⁵⁸. While Miller's *Coffee House* suffered an ignoble reception, Carey's tune ('Life of a Beau') evolved into the singer-actress's most powerful musical trademark. It was quickly added to her most popular spoken role (Lappet in Molière's *Miser* from 1739), and thereafter spread itself across her play repertory, both sung and spoken. The songsheets, engravings and different versions it spawned attest to its enduring link to the Clive persona⁵⁹. 'Life of a Beau' was an embryonic 'pop' tune; that is, a song conceptualized to transmit what was perceived to be the performer's natural voice and personality.

⁵⁷ Carey, *The Musical Century*, 13. Lampe, who was under Carey's protection when he began his London career, supported Carey's promotional efforts of Mrs Clive. She sang most of Lampe's Drury Lane compositions, including his second version of the *Opera of Operas* (1733), as well as his music for the *Fatal Falsehood* (1734), the *Colombine Courtezan* (1734), and eventually *The Dragon of Wantley* (1747). With his song collection *Wit Musically Embellish'd* (1731) Lampe sought, like Carey, to legitimize the English ballad by merging 'low' native with 'high' Italian style writing, a goal he clarified in his preface: 'I am not insensible that some Persons are so strongly prejudic'd against ye word Ballad ... I may venture to assert, that many of the sublimest Taste are Friends to this particular Branch of the Musical System'. John Frederick Lampe, *Wit Musically Embellished. Being a Collection of Forty New English Ballads* (London, 1731). Carey's pivotal in Lampe's career is described in Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe*, 14-18.

⁵⁸ This music is discussed at the conclusion of ch.5. Rather confusingly, the fops' duet by Henry Burgess was issued without attribution under the title of Carey's earlier ballad. Henry Burgess, *GB Lbl-G.316.f.(89.)*, 'England's Lamentation for ye Loss of Farinelli'.

⁵⁹ The songsheet is reproduced in *The London Stage: Part 4* (1962), facing 177. The history and reception of this song is discussed in ch. 5.

‘Charm’d with the sprightly Innocence of Nell’: Re-reading *The Devil to Pay*

The appeal of *The Devil to Pay* (1731), the ballad opera commonly considered the progenitor of the German Singspiel, confounds a modern sensibility⁶⁰. Adapted by Charles Coffey, this was a musical version of Thomas Jevon’s 1686 farce in which wife-swapping and wife-beating break the will of an emasculating female⁶¹. In its plot, a magician (‘the Doctor’) metamorphoses a spoiled Lady Loverule into Nell, a cobbler’s wife who is regularly beaten by her husband. Nell assumes the Lady’s form and, Cinderella-like, briefly enjoys the emotional and material refinements of the Lady’s domicile. After severe strappings, the Lady begs to go home, where, restored to her own body, she repents her earlier conduct. After Nell is also returned to ‘herself’, the Lord pays the Cobbler for services rendered with the hope that the Cobbler’s new prosperity will deter him from further abusing Nell.

⁶⁰ *The Devil to Pay* actually began its dissemination on the continent in Paris, where a translation, *Le diable à quatre* by Claude-Pierre Patu, was published the same year that *The Devil to Pay* premiered in London. Twelve years later the former Prussian ambassador to London, Herr von Borck, who probably witnessed Mrs Clive’s celebrated interpretation of Nell, published his translation of the farce, *Der Teufel ist los*. The actor J.F. Schönemann, who had split from Caroline Neuber’s Leipzig theatre company, staged Borck’s translation with English tunes that same year in Berlin. There were no further performances until the impresario Heinrich Gottfried Koch in 1752 commissioned a fresh translation from Christian Felix Weiss with music by Johann Standfuss for productions in Leipzig, where the farce provoked a bitter pamphlet war. In 1756 Michel-Jean Sedaine used Patu’s translation for production at the Foire de St Laurent (with parodies of musical numbers by Pierre Barans). This featured the vaudevilles and additional airs of François-André Philidor. *Le Diable* was the first success of both librettist and composer; both Sedaine and Philidor went on to have important careers. Philidor, who resided in England between 1745 and 1754, may also have seen Mrs Clive perform. Three years later Gluck reset Sedaine’s libretto for a production in Laxenburg (28 May 1759); it was re-staged in Vienna, where the folklike music drew admiration. (Haydn saw a performance in 1761.) In 1766 Koch convinced Weiss to revise his libretto, re-titled *Die verwandelten Weiber*, and commissioned a new setting by Johann Adam Hiller; this production was instantly popular and spawned further Hiller-Weiss collaborations fusing English ballad opera and *opéra-comique* (the so-called ‘Singspiel’). Later adaptations of the *Devil to Pay* included Anton Schweitzer’s *Der gebesserte Hausteufel* (1780), *The Devil’s In It* by Thomas Balve (1852), and *The Basket-Maker’s Wife* mounted in New York (1852). Bruce Allan Brown, ‘Le Diable à quatre’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, i (London, 1997) and Thomas Baumann, ‘The Eighteenth Century: Comic Opera’, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera*, ed. Roger Parker (Oxford, 1994), 98-103. See also Arthur H. Scouten and Leo Hughes, ‘The Devil to Pay: a Preliminary Check List’, *Library Chronicle [of the University of Pennsylvania]*, 16 (1948). Later adaptations are listed under *Die verwandelten Weiber* in Hugo Riemann, *Opern-Handbuch: Repertorium der dramatisch-musikalischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1887).

⁶¹ Jevon may have been assisted by his brother-in-law, Thomas Shadwell. The farce was first titled *A Comical Transformation, or The Devil of a Wife* (1686). Charles Coffey, aided by John Mottley, adapted it into a three-act ballad opera for the Drury Lane summer season of 1731. Theophilus Cibber is credited with turning the ballad opera into a one-act afterpiece, although William Chetwood records that he worked together with others (see below, n. 82). The literary history of this work is outlined in Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, 108-10.

Any appeal inherent to the work probably lay in its stretching of ‘recuperative’ devices to the breaking point. ‘Recuperation’ is a literary practice that allows fictional protagonists to trespass social rules because the plot type ensures a closure shoring up sanctioned modes of conduct⁶². By making a necromancer the agent of change, the point at which he, the master of irrational arts, would re-assert established codes of behaviour remained tantalizingly obscure. Watching a spoiled Lady being savaged by a cobbler, or a cobbler’s wife petted in a noble household, spoke to an array of fantasies – class inversion, revenge on dominating females, the ease of a rags-to-riches fortune – which vertiginously played themselves out, only to be reined in at the last possible moment through an unpredictable peripeteia.

But eighteenth-century critics inform us that in its ballad opera form, Jevon’s play achieved success not through its toying with audience expectations and desires, but through Mrs Clive’s representation of Nell. The ‘magic’ of Coffey’s musical version was a performance that transformed the Cobbler’s Wife from a marginal character into a primary one. In *The Devil to Pay*, Mrs Clive demonstrated for the first time her later legendary power to turn a ‘slight’ character into the play’s focal point⁶³. Her performance in *The Devil to Pay* in 1731 facilitated her entry into Drury Lane’s top rank of actors, and audience enthusiasm for her ‘Nell’ anchored the work in the patent theatre’s repertory:

⁶² The term was coined in Michèle Barrat, ‘Ideology and the Cultural Production of Gender’, *Feminist Criticism and Social Change: Sex, Class and Race in Literature and Culture*, ed. Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt (New York and London, 1985). This was also a standard device in sentimental comedies of the period, such as those Mrs Clive acted. In the words of Smallwood: ‘Endless examples could be given from the plot lines of Georgian comedies ... in which lively heroines are allowed a little scope within the exposition to step over limits of femininity or to question marriage, only to be tied down again firmly in conventional endings’. Angela J. Smallwood, ‘Women and the Theatre’, *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge, 2000), 245-6.

⁶³ From 1750 critics held up for emulation her penchant for seizing the spotlight in unimportant roles: ‘Her extraordinary Talents could even raise a Dramatic Trifle, provided there was Nature in it, to a Character of Importance – Witness the fine Lady in *Lethe*, and the yet smaller Part of Lady Fuz, in the *Peep behind the Curtain* – such sketches in her Hands became high finished Pictures!’. Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time*, 143. John Hill also noted: ‘The characters themselves are trifles, and whenever she [Mrs Clive] quits them, we shall find their great merit depended on the truth of her action’. John Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (London, 1755), 230.

In 1730 [1731], however, she had an Opportunity afforded her, which she did not permit to pass unemployed, of breaking forth on the Public in a Blaze of Comic Brightness. This was in the Part of Nell, in the *Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd*, a Ballad Farce, written by Coffey, in which she threw out a full Exertion of those comic Powers, which every Frequenter of the Theatre must since have received with such infinite Delight. Her Merit in this Character occasioned her Salary to be doubled, and not only established her own Reputation with the Audience, but fixed the Piece itself on the constant List of acting Farces, an Honour which perhaps it would never have arrived at, had not she been in it⁶⁴.

According to Thomas Davies, Nell provided Mrs Clive with the opportunity to shed her shepherdess image – one which he equated dismissively with interlude singers – and graduate to roles of greater dramatic scope such as Nell⁶⁵. The text of *The Devil to Pay*, however, does not support Davies' argument: Coffey meddled little with Jevon's farce, according to which Nell is a supplicant whose dialogue was devoid of means to assert her 'merit'⁶⁶. As discussed earlier, however, the playtext was only one element amongst several through which eighteenth-century players communicated with their audiences. In the *Devil to Pay*, she had two additional tools at her disposal: songs and a personalized manner of presentation.

Coffey's inserted ballads shifted the play's focus from the Lord and Lady – earmarked in the 1731 Prologue as the main characters – to Jobson and Nell, and in Act III the ballads offered Mrs Clive a means of cracking open her imposed Restoration stereotype⁶⁷. The last act

⁶⁴ 'Clive, Catherine', in Baker, 'Clive, Catherine'. Thomas Whincop first noted that Nell was the benchmark success of her career: 'Mrs. Clive owes great Obligations to this Farce, for it was her Playing the Part of *Nell* in the *Devil to Pay*, that made her first taken Notice of to any Purpose, and for that, if I am not mistaken, the little Salary she then had was doubled'. Whincop, *Scanderberg, or Love and Liberty ... to which are added a List of all the Dramatic Authors*, 200.

⁶⁵ 'Not till her Merit as an actress showed itself in *Nell, the cobbler's Wife*, was she considered in any other light than as one qualified to entertain the audience with a song between the acts of a play, or to act some innocent country girl, such as *Phillida* in *Damon and Phillida*'. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, ii (London, 1780), 190.

⁶⁶ Compare Thomas Jevon, *Devil of a Wife, or a Comical Transformation* (London, 1686) and Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera*, 1st edn (London, 1731). A typical extract from Nell's dialogue reads: 'Indeed my husband is somewhat rugged, and in his Cups will beat me, but it is not much; he's an honest Painstaking Man and I let him have his way'. Coffey, *The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera*, 20.

⁶⁷ The prologue sums up the plot thus: 'Link'd to a patient Lord, this Night behold/A wilful, headstrong, Termagant and Scold;/Whom, tho' her Husband did what Man cou'd do,/ The Devil only cou'd reclaim like you'. Nell is not mentioned. Prologue to Coffey, *The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera*. Nell and Jobson each sang six airs and one duet from the original 42 ballads, while Lord Loverule performed seven airs

commenced with a series of three ballads expressing attitudes which, through her iconography and Carey's repertory, audiences would have looked for in the ascending star soprano: the virtue of 'unadorned' beauty, the rejection of an abusive husband, and the praise of her celebrity status. In other words, these songs spin-doctored Jevon's passive victim – resistance on Nell's part is entirely absent in the source play – to chime with Mrs Clive's 1731 image, thematizing her persona in lyrics. The dramatic scope that Davies referred to lay not in the playtext or even in the music, but in the means of communicating with audiences that the 'operatiz'd' Restoration farce now contained⁶⁸.

Mrs Clive's 'Nell' established itself as formative for her future line, and marked a turning point in her acting style. Shedding the 'bashfulness' of Phillida (and the charms ascribed to her in the 'Theatric Nymph' mezzotint), she embraced a 'strong mark'd' representation of lower class characters⁶⁹. Describing her acting in 1750, John Hill related this new acting line of hers with a 'saucy and unnatural familiarity' or 'self-sufficiency and an unnatural freedom with her betters' which he found offensive⁷⁰. Other critics found her

(plus a duet) and Lady Loverule four songs (plus the duet with Lord Loverule). The remaining ballads were shared between servants, spirits and the priest Ananias, with the Butler receiving the majority (six). Nell's airs in Acts I and II restated the sentiments in her dialogue: yearning for her husband (Act I, air 1, 'Dear Jobson do not from me go', pp. 2-3); acceptance of his abuse (Act I, air 4 [duet] second verse, 'Be sure to get drunk then, if you can/Reel home to Nell', p. 4); and amazement at her changed fortune (Act I, air 15, 'My swelling heart', p. 20 and Act II, air 25, 'Sure all is Paradise', p. 40). In the Act I duet, her strophe is sandwiched by Jobson's in which he rejoices over his 'sovereign Sway' exercised by 'strapping her well'. She replies simply 'I must obey'.

⁶⁸ All Act III airs used standard popular tunes; they mix the 'ballad singer'-style delivery with first person narrative. Air 29 praises natural beauty over the artifices of Fine Ladies ('But we poor Folks in home-spun Grey,/By Patch nor Washes tainted,/Look fresh and sweeter far than they,/That still are finely painted'); in air 30 Nell rejoices over her liberty ('My Rock and Reel, and Spinning Wheel, and Husband I despise'); and in air 31, set to 'What tho' I am a Country Lass', the heroine revels in her rags-to-riches transformation ('And from poor humble Nell-a,/I'll learn to dance, to read and write,/And from all bear the Bell-a'). See *ibid.*, 47-50.

⁶⁹ Whincop, describing her debut as Phillida, reported that 'she was received with much Applause, and greatly encouraged for her musical Voice, and more especially for exceeding modest and bashful Behaviour'. Whincop, *Scanderberg, or Love and Liberty ... to which are added a List of all the Dramatic Authors*, 196. Victor's comments about Mrs Clive indicated that the switch in her line from shepherdess to Nell allowed her to cultivate her distinctive acting mannerisms: 'She was always inimitable when she appeared in strong mark'd Characters of the middle, or low life – her NELL in *The Devil to Pay* was Nature itself!'. Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time*, 142.

⁷⁰ John Hill, *The Actor: a Treatise ... with Theatrical Anecdotes* (London, 1750), 151 and Hill, *The Actor, or A Treatise on the Art of Playing*, 222.

cheekiness disarming; in his seminal critique of contemporary players, Churchill fondly described her as ‘Original in spirit and in ease, She pleased by hiding all attempts to please’⁷¹.

Already in 1733 a critic enthused:

Charm’d with the sprightly Innocence of Nell.
Others may court, but she commands Applause;
And all become the Patrons of her Cause⁷².

Like the ballads, the acting conventions of the period gave Mrs Clive latitude to seize upon a generic character and ‘wind’ or manipulate it according to her own ambitions⁷³. In short, Nell was the first fictional character that admitted the highly individualized style of acting that became Mrs Clive’s trademark. Her interpretation established itself immediately as definitive, and actresses throughout the century strove to duplicate it. Until the end of the century, the popularity not just of any new ‘Nell’, but of the work itself, depended on the quasi-mechanical reproduction of the star performance whence the farce’s popularity originally sprang. Coffey’s education of his protégée Peg Woffington in *The Devil to Pay*, the work he had adapted, attests to the privileging of Mrs Clive’s performance over any other consideration:

It is well known that the part of Nell established the fame of Miss Raftor, afterwards Mrs Clive. Mr Coffey, very luckily for the lovely Peggy, by frequenting the booth she belonged to, took a mighty pleasure in instructing and using his good natured endeavours to cultivate her rising genius. In his favourite character of Nell, he was particularly assiduous in teaching her every applauded stroke he had observed in Miss Raftor’s performance⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad* (Dublin, 1761), 12.

⁷² Anon, *The Theatre turned upside down, or The Mutineers. A Dialogue. Occasioned by a Pamphlet, called The Theatric Squabble* (London, 1733), 7. This poem, which is discussed in the next chapter, may have been by Henry Fielding.

⁷³ ‘I am sorry to hear you have an indifferent part in the new Comedy, but don’t at all wonder when you tell me the author he is a wretch of wretches, however I charge you to make a good part of it[;] let it be never so bad, I have often done so myself therefore I know it is to be done turn it & wind it & play it in a different manner to his intention and as hundred to one but you succeed’. Letter of 15 Dec 1774 [no.8] in Catherine Clive, *US-Ws W.b.73*, ‘Collection of Letters to Jane Pope’.

⁷⁴ Charles L. Lewes, *Memoirs of Charles Lee Lewes*, ii (London, 1805), 12-13. Mrs Clive performed the same service for her protégée, Miss Pope: ‘Mrs Clive being on the retiring plan almost on Miss Pope’s commencement, gave her an opportunity to be let occasionally in some of the former’s principal parts ... But what called out the full extent of her powers, was the character of Nell, in Coffey’s ballad farce of *The Devil to Pay* ... Those who had seen Mrs Clive in the character, or remembered her first appearance in it, were pleased with the thoughts of so able a successor’. Anon, *Theatrical Biography or Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the Three Theatres Royal* (London, 1772), 49-50.

Such performance traditions blocked any teleology of genre: what could, and did, evolve was a star persona that quickly re-cast the work in its own image. Like all ballad operas (except the *Beggar's Opera*), the managers cut down the mainpiece – in this instance a ‘summer company’ work designed to showcase younger players – to an afterpiece for the winter season that followed⁷⁵. Two versions were transmitted in print, in 1731 and 1732. In both, the plot was streamlined to focus on the pairing of Nell/Lord Loverule and Lady Loverule/Jobson, and the comic subplot was excised. Other cuts to the dialogue thrust Mrs Clive in the foreground: Nell now opened the farce, other ‘low’ figures disappeared, and speeches by the Lord and Lady were shortened while those by Nell were preserved⁷⁶.

The musical face-lift was even more drastic than changes to the dialogue: at first only 19, and then only 16 airs from 42 were retained, and these were relegated to five characters (Sir John, Lady Loverule, Nell, Jobson and the Butler)⁷⁷. In the second one-act version, which became standard, Lady Loverule’s solo airs evaporated and the Lord’s were halved, while the comic figures (Butler, Jobson and Nell) retained their airs from the first one-act version. Nell emerged in both one-act versions with the largest number, and greatest concentration of solos⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ Drury Lane traditionally aired new works featuring young players at the end of the season, after many audience members had departed to spend the summer months in the country.

⁷⁶ The characters excised from Coffey’s three-act version were: Ranger, Valentine (friends of Lord Loverule), Lady Loverule’s father, the serving boy, Gaffar Dungfork, the Fiddler, and the priest Ananias. When amending her dialogue, adaptors cut only five of Nell’s lines (pp. 41, 45, 48-9) in addition to adjusting her dialogue to accommodate other excisions. Many lines for Lord and Lady Loverule were collapsed or omitted. Compare the first edition cited above with Coffey, *The Devil to Pay*, 2nd edn (London, 1731).

⁷⁷ In the first one-act version, Nell sings four airs and one duet; Lord Loverule has four airs, a duet and a finale verse; Jobson has four airs (one unnumbered and one with an unnumbered reprise), a duet and a finale verse; the Butler has two airs; Lady Loverule, one song, one duet and one finale verse. There is also the ‘Spirit’s Song from *Macbeth*’ sung offstage to accompany the magician casting his spell. *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ In the second version Nell sings four airs and two duets; Jobson four airs (one with a reprieve); Lord Loverule two airs and a duet; and the Butler two airs. The ‘Spirit Song’ and finale (shared amongst Jobson, Lady and Lord Loverule) remained as before. Nell’s songs appear in a series from air 12 through to air 15. Coffey, *The Devil to Pay* (London, 1732).

Apart from training the spotlight on Mrs Clive, new songs added to the one-act version helped modernize a production that had been criticized for targeting obsolete tastes, exemplified by the ‘transformation’ scene featuring dusted-off music from *Macbeth*⁷⁹ and the Restoration ballads preserved from Jevon’s original farce⁸⁰. These had doubtless been included to give the opera a nostalgic appeal, and they were carefully safeguarded in both one-act versions as part of the double game typical of mid-eighteenth-century musical theatre, which alternated between re-staging traditions and parading novelties. As the prologue of *The Devil to Pay* stressed, its producers had sought to merge Restoration dramatic traditions with the vogue for ballads⁸¹. Besides ‘operatiz’ing’ the farce with popular tunes, the one-act version was ‘greatly helped by several additional Songs, by Mr [Theophilus] Cibber and others’⁸². The prompter William Chetwood referred to three new airs, two by Mr Seedo and the third

⁷⁹ Whincop noted that ‘Some severe Critics, but at the same Time, ill-judging, have found fault with this Farce for the Improbability of the Fable of Two Women being changed into each other, and say it ought not to please because it is unnatural’. He defends the magician’s scene in Coffey’s ballad opera on the grounds that Shakespeare used similar ones (‘the same Reason will hold against Shakespear’s Ghost in Hamlet, his Witches in *Macbeth* ...’). Whincop, *Scanderberg, or Love and Liberty ... to which are added a List of all the Dramatic Authors*, 200. Whincop drew this parallel probably because *The Devil to Pay* included Richard Leveridge’s 1702 Witches’ song from *Macbeth* (‘Let’s have a dance upon the heath’). The false attribution of this music to either Henry Purcell or Matthew Locke is corrected in Roger Fiske, ‘The *Macbeth* Music’, *ML*, xlv (1964), 119-20. Apparently Mrs Clive sang this tune from 1735 when she appeared as a vocalist in *Macbeth*. Richard Leveridge, *GB-Lbl I.530* (87), ‘The Witch’s Song in the Tragedy of *Macbeth*. Sung by Mrs Clive’.

⁸⁰ Jevon included two popular ballads in his original farce, and Coffey transmitted both. Both ballads (air 1 ‘The Twitcher’ and ‘In Bath a wanton Wife’) were sung by Jobson. Until the 1732 version, the second air was indicated only as a stage direction with an incipit; thereafter it was ‘air 10’. ‘The Twitcher’ was traditionally a woman’s lament over male infidelity; in *The Devil to Pay*, Jobson complains about his wife to this tune. Coffey’s inversion of the ballad’s customary meaning probably aimed to raise smiles. The history of this ballad, which was used in 15 ballad operas, is traced in Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), 151-3.

⁸¹ The prologue reminded audiences: ‘These scenes begun which shak’d your Fathers Sides./And we, obsequious to your Taste prolong,/Your Mirth, by courting the Supplies of Song’. Prologue to Coffey, *The Devil to Pay* (London, 1731). The prologue was reprinted in later editions.

⁸² William Chetwood, *The British Theatre, containing the Lives of the English Dramatic Poets, with an Account of all their Plays. Together with the Lives of Most of the Principal Actors* (Dublin, 1750), 176. Apart from the ‘additional songs’, the music Coffey selected followed the standards set for airs in early ballad operas: jigs or country dances, modal scale patterns (predominantly Aeolian or Mixolydian i.e. alternating sharp/natural 6-7 steps of the scale, or flattening the seventh), and tunes with wide skips and broken chord motifs.

based on a Handel aria ('No non temere', from *Ottone*, 1723) arranged as an unattributed duet between Nell and Sir John (Ex. 3.5)⁸³.

This sentimental scene had a deep impact on the drama and tone of *The Devil to Pay*. The duet fashioned a love scene out of the merely courteous, and confused, salutations of the original single scene between Nell and Lord Loverule⁸⁴. But the new tender musical exchange was not, as one might expect, appended to this one scene for Nell and Lord Loverule; instead, it was inserted after the farcical (and violent) row between Lady Loverule and the Cobbler. Situated at this dramatic juncture, the duet constituted an independent 'high style' musical outpouring typical of Carey's vehicles for Mrs Clive at this time. It also set up contrasts within the drama – the unaffected heroine versus the termagant, the low-life husband versus the hero, the sentimentalized Mrs Clive versus Jevon's Nell – which lay outside of Jevon's script. This 'Handel duet' is also the musical climax of the three Clive ballads preceding it.

Enthusiasm for *The Devil to Pay* prompted one music publisher to issue the songs without playtext. Between this edition and the notated tunes in contemporaneous playbooks, there exists only one significant musical variant: all of Mrs Clive's solo airs were transposed into much higher keys⁸⁵. The dramatic shift in tessitura (particularly in 'O charming Cunning-Man' which hovers between f' and b''), suggests that she executed her airs in *The Devil to Pay*

⁸³ Seedo composed 'Ye gods you gave me a wife' and probably the drinking song 'Here's good health to the King'; Walter H. Rubsamen, 'Mr Seedo, Ballad Opera and the Singspiel', *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, ii (Barcelona, 1958-61), 19.

⁸⁴ This short scene takes place in Act II, scene 1: 'Sir John: My Dear, I am overjoy'd to see my Family thus transported with Ecstasy which you occasioned./ Nell: Sir, I shall always be proud to do everything that may give you Delight, and your Family Satisfaction ...'. Coffey, *The Devil to Pay* (London, 1731), 48-9.

⁸⁵ Air 7 'My swelling heart' (to the tune 'Send home my long-stray'd Eyes'), originally in a minor, was transposed to d minor. Air 12 'Tho late I was a cobbler's wife' (to the tune 'What tho' I am a country lass'), originally in C major, was changed to D major. Air 13 'Fine Ladies with artful Grace' (to 'When I was Dame of Honour), initially in B flat major, was moved up to D major. Air 14 'O charming Cunning-Man' (to 'Twas within a furlong') first in g minor, was published in b minor. Anon, *Songs in the Devil to Pay, or The Wives Metamorphos'd as they are perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London, [1732]), 7, 10-12. As Rubsamen points out, the 1732 music editor ordered the songs otherwise than did Watts in his editions of the *Devil to Pay* (1731-2).

S C E N E, Sir John's. *M^e*
 Sir JOHN and Company enter. *all Di*
 AIR XV. Duetto.

Sir John. *Was ever Man possess of*
So sweet, so kind a Wife!

Nell.

26 The Devil to Pay; Or,

Nell. *Dear Sir, you make me proud:*
Be you but kind,
And you shall find
All the Good I can boast of,
Shall end but with my Life.
Give me thy Lips;
First let me, dear Sir, wipe 'em;
Was ever so sweet a Wife!
Thank you, dear Sir!
I vow and protest,
I ne'er was so kiss'd;
Again Sir!
Again, and again, my Dearest;
O may it last for Life!
What Joy thus to enfold thee!
What Pleasure to behold thee!
Inclin'd again to kiss!
How reviv'ing the Bliss!
I little thought this Morning,
'Twas'd ever come to this. Da Capo.

Sir John. *Again, and again, my Dearest;*
O may it last for Life!

Nell. *What Joy thus to enfold thee!*
What Pleasure to behold thee!
Inclin'd again to kiss!
How reviv'ing the Bliss!
I little thought this Morning,
'Twas'd ever come to this. Da Capo.

Sir John. *Again, and again, my Dearest;*
O may it last for Life!

Nell. *What Joy thus to enfold thee!*
What Pleasure to behold thee!
Inclin'd again to kiss!
How reviv'ing the Bliss!
I little thought this Morning,
'Twas'd ever come to this. Da Capo.

Enter L A D Y. O P

Lady. Here's a fine Rout and Rioting! You Sirrah, Butler, you Rogue.
But, Why how now! Who are you?
Lady, Impudent Varlet! don't you know your Lady?
But, Lady, here, turn this mad Woman out of Doors.
Lady, You Raical, take that, Sirrah. [Flings a Glass at him.
Foot-Have-a-carey-Huffy, there's a good Pump without, we shall cool your Courage for you.
Lady, You, Lucy, have you forgot me too, you Minx?
Lucy, Forgot you, Woman! why I never remember'd you, I never saw you before in my Life.
Lady, Oh the wicked Slut! I'll give you Cause to remember me, I will, Huffy.
Lucy, Murder! Murder! help!
Sir John, How now! what Uproar's this?
Lady, You, Lettice, you Slut, won't you know me neither?
Let, Help, help! —
Sir John, What's to do there?
But, Why, Sir, here's a Madwoman calls herself my Lady, and is beating and cuffing us all round,
Sir John.

with a *bel canto* technique instead of the ballad-style ‘natural’ singing theatregoers would have expected to hear (Exx. 3.6 and 3.7).

The many playbook editions of *The Devil to Pay* aided Mrs Clive’s promotion in two significant ways. First, they consistently listed the Drury Lane cast as the *Dramatis Personae*, despite competition from other houses⁸⁶. Second, they circulated as their frontispiece what was to become one of her most important iconographic representations of the 1730s. For his first edition, Watts commissioned a frontispiece representing Act I, scene 3 in which the Doctor, who has just privately promised Nell to change her fortune, is discovered by the suspicious Cobbler. The design was twice engraved, first by a certain ‘Mr Phillips’ in 1731 and then in reverse by the better known Michael van der Gucht in 1738 (Figs. 3.12 and 3.13)⁸⁷. With the latter image, Watts divulged the name of the frontispiece designer: Francis Hayman, the theatrical set painter at Drury Lane. The second engraving was of much higher quality, and van der Gucht enhanced Mrs Clive’s representation by enlarging and foregrounding her figure⁸⁸. The decision to name Hayman may have been connected to the painter’s rising fortunes on the London entertainment scene. He had landed a commission for a series of large oils to be hung in the supperboxes of the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, renovated and re-opened by John Tyers in 1732. The Gardens were one of London’s most heavily-trafficked public

⁸⁶ According to *The London Stage*, Goodman’s Fields Theatre produced *The Devil to Pay* nine times the same year it premiered (1731). Until the end of the 1732-3 season there were a total of 140 performances spread amongst London’s major theatres (Drury Lane, Goodman’s Fields, Lincoln’s Inn Fields, the newly-opened Covent Garden, and the Haymarket Theatre); of these, 86 were at Drury Lane. Nonetheless, only the Drury Lane cast appeared in John Watts’s five luxurious editions ‘with Musick’ (1731-58) and in multiple pirate editions of the farce (1731-60). Scottish versions also listed the Drury Lane cast, while Irish editions mentioned the Drury Lane company only on the title page. Publication details are available from the on-line *English Short Title Catalogue*, under ‘The Devil to Pay. Adaptations’. The catalogue lists a total of 18 British playbook editions of Coffey’s *The Devil to Pay* (1731-63).

⁸⁷ The frontispiece engraved by Phillips was printed in the first three editions of *The Devil to Pay* (1731-2) cited above. This engraving also resurfaced in a 1771 edition issued by T. Lowndes. Watts issued the van der Gucht engraving in 1738, the year he changed Mrs Clive’s name in the *Dramatis Personae* to reflect her married status, and reprinted this image in his 1748 and 1758 editions of the ballad farce. The van der Gucht frontispiece appeared also in an edition ‘printed by assignment from Mr. Watts, for T. Lowndes’ issued in 1758.

⁸⁸ See ch. 1, n. 20.

Ex. 3.6: 'O charming Cunning-Man' [Twas within a Furlong], *Songs in Devil to Pay, or The Wives Metamorphos'd* ([1732]), 12.

S O N G S
in the
DEVIL to PAY:
or, the
WIVES Metamorphos'd
as they are perform'd
at the Theatre Royal
in Drury Lane.
The Tunes Proper
for the German Flute,
Violin, and Common Flute.
 Price 6d.

L O N D O N.
Printed and Sold at the Music-Shops.
 N. 301

Ex. 3.7: 'O charming Cunning-Man' [Twas within a Furlong], *The Devil To Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd* (1731), 12.

12

Well.

O charming Cunning-Man, thou has been wondrous kind,
 wondrous kind, And all thy golden words do
 now prove true I find; Ten thousand Transports
 wait, to crown my happy State, Thus kifs'd, and
 pres'd, and doubly blest'd in all this Pomp and State:
 New Scenes of Joy arise, which fill me with Sur-
 prize; My Rock, and Reel, and Spinning-Wheel, and
 Husband I despise; Then Jobson, now adieu, thy
 Cobling still pursue, For hence I will not,
 cannot, no, nor must not buckle to.

AIR XXX. 'Twas within a Furlong, &c.

Well. O charming Cunning-Man, thou has been wondrous kind,
 And all thy golden Words do now prove true I find;
 Ten thousand Transports wait,
 To crown my bappy State,
 Thus kifs'd, and pres'd,
 And doubly blest'd
 In all this Pomp and State;
 New Scenes of Joy arise,
 Which fill me with Surprise;
 My Rock, and Reel,
 And Spinning-Wheel,
 And Husband I despise;
 Then Jobson, now adieu,
 Thy Cobling still pursue,
 For hence I will not, cannot, no, nor must not buckle to.

Fig. 3.12: Mr Phillips after Francis Hayman, *The Devil to Pay*, 1731. Engraved frontispiece.



Act I, scene 3: From left to right: the Doctor (Mr Oates), Jobson (Mr Harper), Nell (Mrs Clive).

Fig. 3.13: Michael van der Gucht after Francis Hayman, *The Devil to Pay*, 1738. Engraved frontispiece.



Act I, scene 3: From left to right: Nell (Mrs Clive), Jobson (Mr Harper), the Doctor (Mr Oates).

spaces, and one of the earliest forums designed for the co-mingling of social stations. In keeping with this levelling of social hierarchies, the majority of Hayman's Vauxhall paintings depicted simple games, domestic scenes and rural pastimes; included amongst these diversions were popular plays. One of his earliest installations was his frontispiece design for *The Devil to Pay*, now inflated to a large oil canvas (Fig. 6.14). In 1743 the engraver Thomas Bowles issued a copy of Hayman's oil, along with eleven other pictures, and this image, titled *The Humorous Farce of Jobson and Nell*, circulated thereafter in print series and reproductions in journals made from the same plates (Fig. 3.14)⁸⁹. No art historian has previously traced the source of Hayman's *Jobson and Nell* supperbox oil to his frontispiece for Watts, nor has any historian identified the players in the picture⁹⁰. Although the actors' likenesses are vague, the players could easily have been identified because playbooks printed their names beside Hayman's frontispiece.

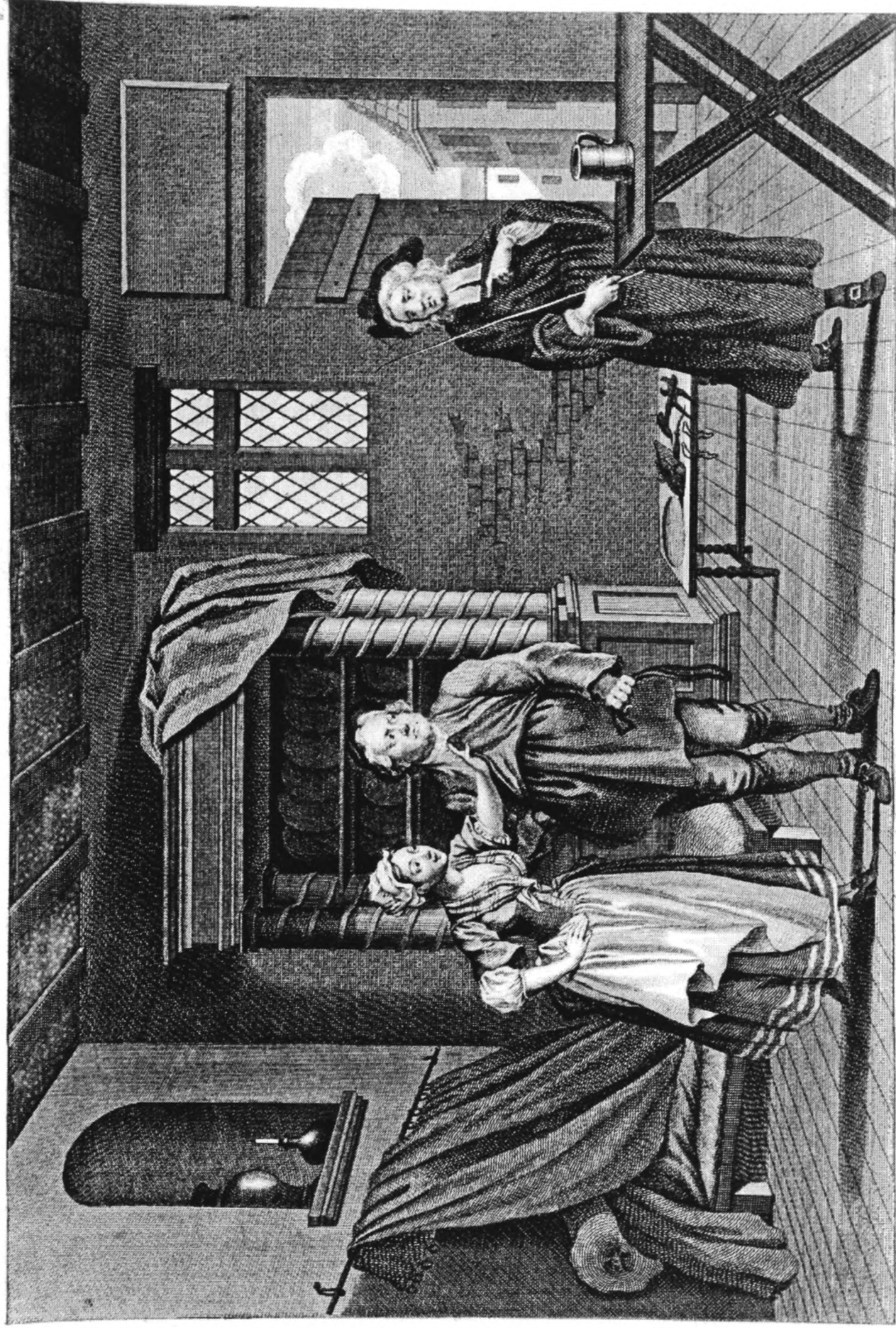
Hayman's pictures, in their various forms, remind us of the heterotopic nature of the mid-eighteenth-century London stage, where authorial ambitions, generic traditions, personality cults and ideological concerns collided. Being market-dependent, London theatres insisted on an admixture of cutting-edge performance fashions (irrespective of genre classification) and the broadest dissemination of its products that technology would allow. Within this industry, the commodified player personality could prove unexpectedly efficient in popularising a humble offering, as was the case with *The Devil to Pay*. Producers manifested a dim awareness of this power in their willingness to allow Mrs Clive a brief display of Carey's 'emancipated' soprano in three of her ballads in Coffey's three-act version. She, in turn,

⁸⁹ Tyers began hanging oil paintings in the Vauxhall supperboxes from the mid-1730s, but the rate and chronology of his installations is uncertain. By 1762 there were 48 oils catalogued as supperbox decorations. Laurence Gowing has traced four print series and two journals which re-issued Hayman's picture of Mrs Clive between 1743 and 1764. Lawrence Gowing, 'Hogarth, Hayman and the Vauxhall Decorations', *Burlington Magazine*, 95 (1953).

⁹⁰ This literature is examined in ch. 7 of this thesis.

Fig. 3.14:

Robert Parr after Francis Hayman, *Jobson, Nell and the Doctor ... from the Original Painting in Vauxhall Garden* [1743].
Engraving. By permission of the British Museum.



Jobson, NELL, and the DOCTOR. scene 3 in the Wife Melanconchoid Engraved from the Original Painting in Vauxhall Garden.

bolstered this ‘spirited’ Nell with a bolder, and musically more demanding, interpretation. Like *Love in a Riddle*, the one-act version of the *Devil to Pay* exploited her popular reception, tailoring both dialogue and music to highlight the rising star and recall Carey’s characterization of her as a sympathetic heroine. Her sentimental duet with Lord Loverule featuring Handel’s music veered strikingly from the ‘Nell’ of the Restoration farce, and elevated the tone of her on-stage presentation. The iconography of this ballad farce bears witness to Mrs Clive’s impact on the play’s reception amongst audiences and producers alike. In its revisions, music and longevity, *The Devil to Pay* also bore her stamp. The history of this farce reveals the extent to which a work seminal to later musical theatre could be the product of its star performer.

‘Flatt’ring Glasses shew the Face as made by Art, not Nature’

The Devil to Pay initiated not only a new direction for Mrs Clive’s line – one in which the actress merged, or shifted, between the ‘sentimental heroine’ and ‘strong mark’d’ farcical characters – but also public awareness of her body. The success of her ‘homespun Nell’ allowed her to ‘shew the Face as made by Art not Nature’⁹¹, but significantly this was now her own likeness, rather than one conjured up by male fantasy in the form of Schalcken or Fenton ‘nymphs’. With her triumph of 1731 the public would no longer tolerate images which did not reflect her; but her new representation was itself mediated by her emerging stage reputation.

Two mezzotint portraits of Mrs Clive, based on a 1734 oil portrait by Peter van Bleeck (‘Mrs Clive in the Character of Phillida’), appeared in 1734 and 1735, engraved by John Faber and van Bleeck respectively (Figs. 3.15 and 3.16)⁹². It appears that van Bleeck prepared the

⁹¹ Coffey, *The Devil to Pay* (London, 1731), 47.

⁹² Full descriptions of the mezzotints may be found in John Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, i (London, 1883), 331. See also *ibid.*, iii, 1397.

Fig. 3.15: John Faber after Pieter van Bleeck, *The Celebrated Mrs Clive, late Miss Raftor in the Character of Phillida*, 1734. Mezzotint. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Fig. 3.16: Pieter van Bleeck after Pieter van Bleeck, *Mrs Clive in the Character of Philida*, 1735. Mezzotint. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



second mezzotint because he felt Faber had distorted his original portrait of the actress. Faber bridled at this accusation and turned it against his competitor:

The print of Mrs CLIVE, in the Character of PHILIDA (lately published by Mr. Faber) failing in the Likeness, obliged Mr Van Bleeck, jun. (the Painter) to have the same done anew, by another Hand, and may now be had of Mr Sympson, at the Dove in Russel-Court, Drury Lane.

Mr. VAN BLEECK, jun. Painter, having asserted that I have in a print of Mrs Clive, in the Character of Phillida fail'd in the Likeness, and that he has been obliged to have the same done by another Hand, meaning his own; I submit it to all Judges, which of us has most fail'd: the Painter, in his Copy after Nature, or I in imitation of his Picture; and at the same time take Leave to acquaint the Publick, that I always acknowledged my Print unlike Mrs Clive, it being impossible to take a Likeness where none was to be found. The Publick may soon be convinc'd of this, when they see a Print of Mrs Clive, which I hear, will shortly be published from a Painting by an eminent Hand; and this I think sufficiently proves that the first was never approv'd. In the mean Time I would desire the Curious to examine two Prints lately published of Oliver Cromwell, from an original Painting of Sir Peter Lely, the one by Mr VAN BLEECK, jun and the other by JOHN FABER⁹³.

With this paragraph, Faber demonstrated a profound command of promotion management: playing on the notion of 'false' Clive images, he blamed the inaccuracy of the portrait on van Bleeck, whose painting he had simply transmitted, and suggested that admirers look to a forthcoming print for the 'real Mrs Clive' (that is, 'the first ever approved'). The 'painting by an Eminent Hand' Faber referred to is the 1735 oil portrait by Joseph van Haecken. Van Haecken, a native of Antwerp, specialized in surfaces and draperies – a fitting talent for rendering the slick 1735 oil portrait of Mrs Clive – and was much sought after by English painters to complete their pictures. In the words of Horace Walpole, 'As in England almost everybody's picture is painted, so almost every painter's works were painted by Vanaken'⁹⁴. This oil was either copied by or from Jeremiah Davison, who sold his version of it to Mrs Clive's close friend, Horace Walpole⁹⁵. His younger brother Andrew van Haecken prepared the mezzotint after the oil, later titled 'The Fair Songster', and adorned it with an

⁹³ This newspaper clipping is interleaved in Augustin Daly, Harvard Theatre Collection, 'Woffington a Tribute to the Actress and the Woman', 46.

⁹⁴ James Dallaway, ed., *Anecdotes of Painting in England ... collected by the late Mr George Vertue. Digested and published ... by the Honourable Horace Walpole*, vi (London, 1828), 117.

⁹⁵ Jeremiah Davison (c1695-1745) was a pupil of Joseph van Haecken, who taught him to paint satins. Brian Stewart and Mervyn Cutten, *The Dictionary of Portrait Painters in Britain up to 1720* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 161. Davison's portrait is housed in a private collection in Longleat, Scotland; it was acquired from

epigram celebrating the soprano's Orphic powers⁹⁶.

Ironically, van Bleeck's earlier portrait was, judging from Mrs Clive's other iconography, much more accurate than van Haecken's, but Faber could convince the public otherwise because the van Haecken portrait was both more complimentary and more in line with the public image Henry Fielding was cultivating for her at this time (Figs. 3.17 and 3.18). Although van Bleeck captured key aspects of her post-Nell character – candour, indifference to suitors, natural appeal – these traits, together with the shepherdess topos, worked against the 'graceful' woman fit for polite society that Mrs Clive and her producers actively cultivated from 1734. Despite its greater accuracy, van Bleeck's portrait dropped from circulation while copies of van Haecken's Clive portrait persisted⁹⁷. Another mezzotint after the Van Haeken oil was later reissued (without date) as 'Mrs Clive from the Picture at Strawberry Hill', and the National Portrait Gallery slip file under 'Clive, Catherine' lists five small engravings made after the van Haecken/Davison oil portrait.

In 1736 William Hoare made one more attempt to capture the 'real' Mrs Clive, creating a tender red-chalk portrait study in which the unadorned soprano stared dreamily past the viewer (Fig. 3.19). There is no evidence that this study was ever realized, despite its startling verisimilitude and sense of intimacy. Here is an example of a portrait which failed to fulfill its primary function of the period: to structure, through codes of representation, the relationship between the sitter and the viewer, and between the sitter and his or her society. In the words of Pointon, eighteenth-century portraiture was a 'communicative act' through which 'individuals collectively and the state as organism [could] regulate society'⁹⁸. Like the modern

Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, according to the catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery Library, box file 'Clive, Catherine'. Van Haecken's oil, if he indeed produced one, has disappeared.

⁹⁶ The Alexander van Haecken mezzotint is catalogued in Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, 1407-8.

⁹⁷ One engraving was made in the mid-nineteenth century after the van Bleeck portrait, by W.J. Alais.

⁹⁸ Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT and London, 1993), 4.

Fig. 3.17: Jeremiah Davison, *Catherine Clive* [1735]. Oil on canvas. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.



Fig. 3.18: Alexander van Haecken after Joseph van Haecken, *Mrs Clive*, 1735. Mezzotint. By permission of the British Museum.



Epigram:

Of all the Arts that sooth the human Breast,
 Music (blest Power) the sweetest is confest;
 Heightens our Joys, suspends our fiercest Pains:
 This each One proves who hears thy heavenly Strains.

Fig. 3.19: William Hoare, *Mrs Clive in the Character of Phillida*, 1736. Red chalk on paper. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.



entertainment industry, however, the actress's image was first and foremost to be sold, rather than accurately recorded.

FOUR

‘THE PIOUS DAUGHTER AND THE FAITHFUL WIFE’: HENRY FIELDING AND THE STAGING OF THE CLIVE PERSONA

Introduction

In the 1730s Henry Fielding was known to the London public exclusively for his involvement with London’s theatres. His dramatic output has attracted the scrutiny of scholars ranging from traditional theatre historians to modern literary critics of the ‘New Eighteenth Century’. This attention is richly deserved: the spectacular successes of *Tom Thumb* (1730) and *The Author’s Farce* (1730) augured the intriguing ways in which Fielding would exploit and subvert comic theatre over the next decade¹.

During his playwriting career, Fielding’s fame was nourished by his reputation as an *enfant terrible*, a role he filled both as author and private man. Historians credit Fielding with single-handedly garnering enough hostility from Prime Minister Robert Walpole and his party to provoke the Licensing Act of 1737. The Licensing Act enforced strict censorship, effectively barring authors from exploring the very issues which had sparked Fielding’s most dazzling prose: abuses of power in government and Church, the implications of gender, and the reputation of public figures. Fielding’s authorial profile meshed with a private flamboyance: gambler, whoremonger, gourmand and drinker, he drew disgust from critics of

¹ Interest in Fielding’s theatrical writings has blossomed since the first detailed Fielding biography by Wilbur Cross in 1918. Robert Hume’s *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728-37* (London, 1988; cited under ‘Abbreviations’) is the standard reference work on this subject. Cross’s biography has been superseded by Martin Battestin’s magisterial account, which contains important discoveries about Fielding’s career in the theatre. Martin C. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life* (London, 1989) and Martin C. Battestin, *A Henry Fielding Companion* (Westport, CT and London, 2000). Past scholarship on Fielding’s plays has sought generally to locate his stage works within either a biographical context, or the history of the London stage, or the political debates of the period. The pioneering investigation on the last topic was John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (Oxford, 1963). More recently, literary scholars such as Jones DeRitter, Angela Smallwood, and Jill Campbell have examined Fielding’s contradictory reactions to social issues as gleaned from his satirical plays and pamphlets. Many of their works are cited below. Earlier writings on Fielding’s plays are listed in John A. Stolen and Richard D. Fulton, *An annotated Bibliography of Twentieth-Century Criticism on Fielding, 1900-1977* (New York, 1980).

the period for his apparently boundless excesses. The extreme dysfunctionality of his family – his mother’s early death, his hatred of his father and step-mother, incest with his sister – doubtless informed Fielding’s exploration of transgressions both on and off stage².

Although modern critics have probed both the political and psychological dilemmas exteriorised in his plays, this chapter explores a less familiar aspect of Fielding’s theatrical activities: his work as a publicity manager and promoter. When Fielding re-joined Drury Lane after his Haymarket successes of 1730, he engaged in a professional partnership with Mrs Clive. This working relationship was to become the most lucrative of his playwriting career. The success of the Clive-Fielding collaboration depended on these two artists’ clever negotiation of the system of star production within which they both worked.

From the Restoration onwards, audience interest in star actors on the London stage had required playwrights such as Fielding to tailor their works to the performing strengths and reputations of the players through whom stage pieces were marketed. Fielding adhered to this practice while engaging in a branch of star production new to the period: publicity. To popularise both his works and the singer-actress performing them, he projected through his writings two distinct and contradictory Clive ‘personalities’: first, the ‘sexy ingénue’, constructed for male viewers to market his risqué comedies, and after 1733, the ‘pious daughter and faithful wife’ who presented herself in tamer works, including many French comedies performed in translation. Fielding’s initial incarnation of Mrs Clive capitalized on the legacy of her first 1729 ‘Theatric Nymph’ mezzotint, whose epigram touted her power to

² Battestin describes Fielding’s troubled family background in the first two chapters of Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*. Fielding’s incendiary lampooning of Robert Walpole in his Haymarket comedies of the mid-1730s apparently provoked the 1737 Licensing Act, which Parliament had previously turned down. According to Fielding, the incensed Walpole promised a theatre patent to actor-manager Henry Giffard if he would write a play of such scurrility that it would goad the government into supporting censorship. This strategy, if it existed, was a success: at a parliamentary session, Walpole read aloud passages from the *Golden Rump*, a work openly attacking the country’s leadership and the Act was passed, but Giffard never received a patent. Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1968), 50-51.

seduce male spectators through her unaffected voice and charms. Fielding animated this provocative image with a series of racy fictional characters and epilogues, creating an urban 'shepherdess' both unvarnished and eager to please men. After 1733, when Mrs Clive drew criticism for refusing to rebel against Drury Lane manager John Highmore, Fielding needed to rally support for the actress upon whom his own fortunes depended. He re-invented the 'nymph' as the 'pious wife'. In each case, Fielding relied on songs to bolster the Clive persona he proposed to audiences.

What brought Fielding and Mrs Clive together in 1732? Fielding's debut as a playwright had been at Drury Lane, in 1728, but managers there lost interest in him after his first mediocre offering³. Although he had gone on to be wildly successfully at the Haymarket theatre, a return to the substantially more lucrative Drury Lane promised Fielding greater relief from the financial strain his profligacy placed him under. Drury Lane managers, for their part, would profit from employing England's 'most successful living playwright'⁴.

The Drury Lane manager Colley Cibber had reason to bear Fielding a grudge, however. The playwright's overt caricature of Cibber in the *Author's Farce* (1730) at the

³ The play was *Love in Several Masques*, which Hume labels 'not very good', and which had a lukewarm reception. Hume (1988), 28-30. Comments in the prologue to Fielding's *Temple Beau* (1730) suggest that Drury Lane turned down Fielding's other pre-1732 plays (*Don Quixote*, *The Wedding Day*, *The Temple Beau*). Hume (1988), 46.

⁴ Hume (1988), 112. Arthur Murphy, Fielding's first biographer, reported that throughout his career Fielding dashed off what he considered hack stage works to drum up funds: 'Formed and disposed for enjoyment, he launched wildly into a career of dissipation ... [and] commenced a writer for the stage in the year 1727 ... [to the causes for] our author's failure in the province of the drama, may be added that sovereign contempt he always entertained for the understanding of the generality of mankind ... he doubted the discernment of his auditors, and so thought himself secured by their stupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. Generally his judgment was little consulted. And indeed, how could it be otherwise? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, it is well known by many of his friends now living, that he would go home rather late from a tavern, and would, the next morning, deliver a scene to the players written upon the papers which had wrapped tobacco, in which he so much delighted ... it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write [plays] always with a view to profit'. Introduction to Arthur Murphy, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq. With the Life of an Author*, i (London, 1762), 9-27. Writing in 1735, James Miller sneered at the spendthrift playwright: 'F—g, who yesterday appear'd so rough,/Clad in coarse Frize, and plaistered down with Snuff/See how his Instant gaudy Trappings shine:/What Play-house Bard was ever seen so fine!/But this, not from his Humour shows, you'll say,/Not mere Necessity; -- for last Night lay/In Pawn the Velvet which he wears to Day'. James Miller, *Seasonable Reproof. A Satire in the Manner of Horace* (London, 1735), 6-7.

Haymarket militated against Cibber inviting him back. Cibber also relished crushing young playwrights, or to use his phrase, ‘choaking young birds’, and Fielding’s recent successes must have been a galling reminder of Cibber’s misjudgement of the novice dramatist⁵. Cibber could also be notoriously spiteful if wounded, famously refusing to save his own daughter, the actress Charlotte Charke, from destitution once she had embarrassed him⁶.

What would move a man like Cibber to invite a man like Fielding back? Fielding’s proven ability to fill seats? Certainly. But surely the prospect of being able to leverage his Clive asset must also have been attractive to Cibber. Clive and Fielding excelled in the same branch of comedy, she on the stage and he on the page. Robert Hume’s observation that ‘Fielding’s best creations are always artificial ... [he is] a deliciously effective stylist’ could apply equally to Mrs Clive⁷. They had each become famous independently, before their collaboration, despite Fielding’s claim in 1734 (echoed by his first biographer Arthur Murphy in 1762) to have ‘discovered’ her talent⁸. The success of *The Devil to Pay* (1731) brought Clive and Fielding into direct competition with each other. With his friendly takeover of Fielding, Cibber not only eliminated a major rival but acquired the ‘dream team’ of Drury

⁵ Tiffany Stern catalogues contemporary accounts of Cibber’s repression of, and pilfering from, young dramatists of the period, in Tiffany Stern, *The Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford, 2000), 207.

⁶ The turbulent career of his daughter frequently embarrassed Cibber: a lesbian actress specializing in travesty roles, Mrs Charke’s popularity in Fielding’s Haymarket comedies could not sustain her career. After quarrelling with Drury Lane manager Charles Fleetwood, she was reduced to ‘strolling’, and eventually died impoverished, despite the popularity of her scandalous memoirs, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (London, 1755). Her history, which includes marriage to another woman, has attracted the attention of modern scholars such as Terry Castle, Jill Campbell and Lynda M. Thompson. Her troubling representation of femininity is analysed in Jones DeRitter, “‘Not the Person she Conceived me’”: the Public Identities of Charlotte Charke’, *The Embodiment of Characters: the Representation of Physical Experience on Stage and in Print, 1728-1749* (Philadelphia, 1994).

⁷ Hume (1988), 62. Similarly, Hume’s opinion that ‘mimesis was never to be [Fielding’s] strength’ also held true for Mrs. Clive.

⁸ ‘The Town ... have one Obligation to me, who made the first Discovery of your great Capacity, and brought you earlier forward on the Theatre’. ‘Epistle to Mrs Clive’, in Henry Fielding, *The Intriguing Chambermaid. A Comedy ... taken from the French of Regnard* (London, 1734). Arthur Murphy parroted Fielding’s claim: The LOTTERY, the INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID, and the VIRGIN UNMASKED ... served to make early discoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth’. Introduction to Murphy, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq. With the Life of an Author*, 15.

Lane's celebrated singer-actress of ballad farce and London's most provocative author in this genre.

It is easy to see Fielding as John Gay's theatrical heir: since the *Beggar's Opera*, no author had exploited the ballad's satirical potential so effectively. With his prototype, Gay had established a dramatic syntax in which a sentimental drama was interlaced with a separate sung commentary. With his Haymarket hits, Fielding began to mine this rich discursive vein. With the 1730 *Author's Farce*, Fielding re-invented the 'rehearsal play', first introduced to England by the Duke of Buckingham in 1671⁹. In plot and dialogue, Fielding cleaved to Buckingham's model by lampooning public figures and mocking fashions in theatre music¹⁰. Fielding departed from this model, however, by conducting his parody through song as well as through dialogue. Placed in the mouths of recognizable individuals, such as authoress Eliza Haywood ('Mrs Novel') or the castrato Senesino ('Signior Opera'), Fielding's airs typically sneered at the celebrity's perceived misdemeanours – Haywood's sexual exploits, Senesino's self-adulation – as well as commenting on social issues generally¹¹.

No writer since Gay had used ballad with such sophistication. The didactic function of Fielding's songs was to warn audiences off trends deemed to be absurd, but one reason they succeeded was certainly the crowd-pulling power of gossip. People wanted to hear the latest about the famous. Burlesque is a play on form; satire, a criticism of society; under Gay and Fielding music and lyrics served up both. Ballads are not today a renowned portion of Fielding's output, but for eighteenth-century London theatre audiences his ballads were

⁹ Fielding's modifications to Buckingham's dramatic model are described in ch. 2 of Peter Lewis, *Fielding's Burlesque Drama* (Edinburgh, 1987).

¹⁰ Buckingham targeted John Dryden by aping his tragic writing; he also burlesqued the clumsy interpolation of musical scenes in Restoration plays. Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge, 1984), 49-51.

¹¹ There are six airs in *The Author's Farce* (1730) mocking the reputation of the person performing: air no. 4 by Signior Opera [Senesino], who opens with 'Claps universal/ Applauses resounding'; nos. 9, 15, by The Orator [Orater Henley] and air nos. 5, 9, 14 by Mrs Novel [Eliza Haywood]. Charles Woods identifies the individuals whom Fielding represented in this comedy, and briefly discusses their reputation. Charles B. Woods, ed., *Henry Fielding: The Author's Farce (Original Version)* (London, 1967).

famous. Martin Battestin notes that it became traditional for audiences to sing Fielding's setting of 'The Roast Beef of Old England' (from *The Welsh Opera*) before and after any new play and even between acts¹². In 1731 the bookseller John Watts paid homage to Fielding's song lyrics by including his ballads in his sixth and last volume of his prestigious song collection, *The Musical Miscellany* (1731)¹³.

By the time Fielding rejoined Drury Lane in 1732, he had established his talent in three overlapping areas: comedy, ballad writing, and the representation of contemporary figures. As Drury Lane managers may have anticipated, all three were to serve him in his promotion and publicity for Mrs Clive.

'The Opportunities Mr Fielding's Pen afforded': Unmasking and Re-masking the Virgin

Part 1: 'HINT writes and RAFTOR acts in Drury Lane'

When Fielding joined Drury Lane, Mrs Clive had just begun what one biographer described as her meteoric climb to fame¹⁴. Still, in 1732 her media profile lacked definition. Her first promoter, Henry Carey, had concentrated on representing Mrs Clive through sentimental stage characterizations and a native style of music which accorded with his own convictions about female rights and compositional ideals. Fielding, by contrast, wove a

¹² Boswell and Horace Walpole both attested to this practice, the former in his *London Journal, 1762-3*, ed. F. A. Pottle (New York, 1950), 154; the latter in a letter to Horace Mann of 24 Feb 1743. Cited in Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 113-14. Edgar Roberts shows that the lyrics originated with Fielding, not Richard Leveridge, whose contribution was limited to a few lines. Edgar V. Roberts, 'Henry Fielding and Richard Leveridge: Authorship of the "The Roast Beef of Old England"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 27 (1964).

¹³ Watts published two songs from Fielding's early farces and one independent ballad by Fielding: 'Set by Mr Munro. Sung by Mr Burney in the *Temple Beau*'; 'A Song in the Comedy call'd, *Love in Several Masques*. Set by Mr Abiel Whichello'; and 'A Dialogue between a Beau's Head and his Heels. By Mr Fielding'. John Watts, ed., *The Musical Miscellany; Being a Collection of Choice Songs, and Lyrick Poems*, vi (London, 1731), 129, 52, 71. The earliest description of Fielding (by 'Scriblerius Tertius', probably Thomas Cooke) labelled him a ballad writer. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 103.

¹⁴ 'But never any Person of her Age flew to Perfection with such Rapidity; and the old discerning Managers always distinguish'd Merit by Reward'. William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), 127.

hitherto neglected strand of Mrs Clive's promotion, that represented by the 1729 'Theatric Nymph' mezzotint, into the fabric of his plays and epilogues. He sought to create in the imagination of the spectator a 'live' seductress who would woo male spectators and playbook readers; male devotees would in turn demand further simulated intimacies with the Drury Lane nymph. This portrayal of Mrs Clive was complemented by the mezzotints of her 'impudent' ballad-singing predecessor, Miss Fenton, which circulated contemporaneously.

Drury Lane producers launched Fielding's flagship Clive vehicle, *The Lottery*, on 4 January 1732, and it was a sensation. One report claimed that this work together with the mainpiece (*The Modern Husband*) earned Fielding close to £1,000 pounds, and that the playwright promptly gambled his profits away¹⁵. In this sentimental farce, Fielding transplanted the shepherdess to urban London. Chloe is a country ingénue who foolishly believes that holding a lottery ticket automatically bestows £10,000 upon her. Arriving in the city, she is intoxicated by the lifestyle of its upper-classes. To gain Chloe's alleged fortune, Jack, an evil stockbroker, disguises himself as a fop and persuades Chloe to marry him. Once rescued from his clutches – her faithful suitor pays him to disappear once the lottery ticket draws blank – Chloe forswears beaux and town life generally. The lightning speed of the action, the sly digs at current taste and the witty song lyrics made the piece an invaluable addition to Mrs Clive's repertory¹⁶.

¹⁵ 'Fielding has had a very good and very bad success, a Farce of his call'd the *Lottery* and a Comedy intituled the *Modern Husband*, have both met with extraordinary success; and, between both, he has made a little less than a thousand pounds, but the poor author has fall'n into the Jaws of *Rattlesnakes*, His Elbows have destroy'd the Offspring of his Brain; and in Spight of all his good sense he has been stript at Play by Sharpers.' Robert D. Hume, ed., *See and Seem Blind, or A Critical Dissertation on the Publick Diversions [1732]*, facs. repr. edn (Los Angeles, 1986), 7-8. Hume marks the intake down to around £700; Hume (1988), 126. Not everyone was enamoured of the comedy: witnessing a performance on 4 Jan 1732, Lord Hervey reported that 'the new farce called *The Lottery*, [was] ill-written, ill-acted and ill-sung'. Cited in Henry Fox Holland, ed., *Lord Hervey and his Friends, 1726-38* (London, 1950), 69. *The Modern Husband*, although well received, was never revived after its initial run.

¹⁶ Henry Fielding, *The Lottery* (London, 1732). Fielding revised the work quickly, dramatizing the riotous annual London ritual of the lottery draw at the Guildhall. In general, the musical farce showed Fielding's facility in transforming current controversies into popular comedy: the newly-instituted State Lottery drew heavy criticism

The Lottery established the pattern for Fielding's image management of Mrs Clive until 1733. In *Chloe*, Fielding emphasized the two overriding features of Clive's 1729 mezzotint: eroticism and lack of artifice. Creating the fop as Mrs Clive's enemy highlighted in particular her own 'naturalness', and anti-fop sentiments eventually became characteristic of her line. Chloe's unaffected nature also resonated with that of Nell, who in her ballads rejected the luxuries of the rich¹⁷. In other words, Fielding refined a stereotype to confirm a pre-established notion about the actress, a practice that film scholars call crafting 'a perfect fit'. The song 'O what Pleasures will abound' summed up the country girl whose innocence and values are besieged by urban pleasures (Ex. 4.1). This song, and its topos, was then mapped on to the Clive persona: Theophilus Cibber selected this air as the 'motto song' for Mrs Clive's first *in propria persona* role – a role in which she played 'herself' – in another tale of lost innocence, the pantomime *The Harlot's Progress* (1733)¹⁸.

The Lottery also re-situated Mrs Clive in a more dignified dramatic genre. In general, Fielding's musical comedies for Mrs Clive represented a new strategy for marketing the singer-actress, away from the operas which had established her fame but which by 1732 seemed to be losing their drawing power¹⁹. Fielding designed his Clive vehicles to highlight her comic acting and her singing simultaneously. While retaining the interpolated ballad – the key tool in Mrs Clive's success thus far – Fielding abandoned the conventions of her earlier operas, replacing a rustic setting or Restoration source with a slick romantic farce or translated French *comédie*. He obscured the line between sung and spoken theatre by titling works

at this time. Besides public response to the State Lottery, the complex of system of selling tickets (or shares of tickets) and collecting winnings is explained in Edgar V. Roberts, 'Fielding's Ballad Opera *The Lottery* and the English State Lottery of 1731', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 27 (1963).

¹⁷ In airs 7, 12, and 13 of Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay; or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera* (London, 1732).

¹⁸ This pantomime is treated in the following chapter.

¹⁹ After the *Devil to Pay* (1731) none of Mrs Clive's operas were major successes. By 1736 the creation of ballad operas had virtually ceased. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 102.

Ex. 4.1: 'Oh what Pleasures will abound' [Perseus and Andromeda], *Songs in the Lottery* ([1732]), 6-7.

Chloe.

Oh what Pleasures will abound, when I've
got ten thousand Pound! Oh how courted I shall
be! Oh what Lords will kneel to me! Who'll dis-
pute my, Wit and Beauty? when my golden
Charms are found: O what Flattery, in the
Lottery, when I've got ten thousand Pound!

7

Chloe.

Farewel, ye Hills and Valleys; farewel, ye ver-
dant Shades; I'll make more pleasant Sallies,
To Plays and Masquerades. With
Joy, for Town I barter those Banks where
Flowers grow; What are Roses to a Garter? what
Lilies to a Beau?

simply 'farce' or 'comedy' (as opposed to 'Opera'), by introducing the 'dramatic' forms of prologue and epilogue, and by abandoning the opera's traditional 'vaudeville' finale (i.e. an air with verses sung alternately by players) or closing dance. Most importantly, ballads no longer constituted a didactic subtext in which all fictional characters participated; instead, Fielding used them to train the spotlight on Mrs Clive.

The Lottery contained many of these structural elements. Although its density of songs remained close to that of one-act 'Operas', Fielding assigned Mrs Clive six of its 19 songs. Instead of popular ballads, he introduced commissioned songs written in *galant* style by Mr Seedo²⁰ (Exx. 4.2 and 4.3). Chloe's songs, unlike the aphoristic ballads of operas, showed inner conflict and change (for example in 'O what Pleasures will abound', Ex. 4.1). The sentimental plot and elevated music related Chloe more closely to Carey's Arethusa (in *The Contrivances*, 1729) than to any of Mrs Clives's ordinary ballad opera roles.

In his next 1732 musical comedy for her, *The Mock Doctor* after Molière, Fielding again altered the early ballad opera's typical organization, reducing the number of airs to nine, giving all but one of them to Mrs Clive, and omitting a sung finale. These changes transformed the function of airs within the drama: songs became 'acts' featuring Drury Lane's most celebrated singer, an impression reinforced by the ballad lyrics. Rather than spanning a range of social issues, the verses – Fielding's main addition to the French source – dwelt solely on the question of male prerogatives over the female body, such as the husband's right to beat his wife, women's innate promiscuity and hence sexual availability, and the belief that women market sex and their maidenhead for financial gain²¹.


²⁰ Seedo contributed ten songs from a total of 22 in the first edition of the farce. The compositions distinguish themselves from the popular ballads in their use of galant dance metres, their inclusion of figuration in the vocal line and their higher tessitura. Walter H. Rubsamen, 'Mr Seedo, Ballad Opera and the Singspiel', *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, ii (Barcelona, 1958-61), 784-5.

²¹ See further p. 126 below.

Ex. 4.2: Seedo, 'When Love is lodg'd within the Heart', *The Lottery* (1732), 13.

THE LOTTERY. 13

AIR VIII. Set by Mr. SEEDO.




Chloe. *When Love is lodg'd within the Heart,
 Poor Virtue to the Outworks flies;
 The Tongue, in Thunder, takes her part,
 She darts in Lightning from the Eyes.
 From Lips and Eyes with gifted Grace,
 In vain we keep out charming Sin;
 For Love will find some weaker place
 To let the dear Invader in.*

Ex. 4.3: Seedo, 'Alas! my Lord, you're too severe', *The Lottery* (1732), 15.

THE LOTTERY. 15

J. Stocks. Ha! and are you then resolv'd not to pardon me!
 Oh! it is now too late; you may pronounce my Pardon with
 your Tongue, when you have executed me with your Eyes.

AIR IX. Set by Mr. SEEDO.



Chloe. *Alas! my Lord, you're too severe,
 Upon so slight a thing;
 And since I dare not speak for fear,
 Oh give me leave to sing.
 A Rural Maid you find in me,
 That Fate I've oft deplor'd;
 Yet think not I can angry be,
 With such a noble Lord.*

Such a vivification of the 1729 mezzotint ‘nymph’ in dialogue and song was fortified by Fielding’s stream of Clive epilogues, which constituted his earliest publicity for the actress. According to period stage practice, epilogues singled out a cast’s leading player: writing in 1749, William Chetwood observed that ‘as Prologues and Epilogues are the most difficult Tasks of both Sexes on the Stage, it is to be remark’d, but few, besides the capital Performers, are trusted with them’²². In speaking an epilogue, the player filled a dual function. First, he or she commented on the work – its merits, weaknesses, and analogies to current events – to evoke a sympathetic reception from the audience. Second, the speaker clarified his or her own public persona by pointing out divergences between the fictional role just represented and the actor’s ‘true personality’²³. Players spoke epilogues (and prologues) only during the first week of a run, and they were advertised in the bills²⁴. If audiences demanded, the run of the epilogue could be lengthened. Prologues and epilogues created ‘a buzz’ around the performer; failure to deliver them when expected could result in riots in the theatre²⁵.

Before working with Fielding, Mrs Clive had never performed an epilogue. During their collaboration, she spoke every one of his epilogues, which he included in every work he wrote for her, musical and non-musical. He even reversed traditional gendering, authoring a prologue – usually the provenance of male actors – for her in 1734 in his revised *The Author’s*

²² Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage*, 254. Pierre Danchin notes that after the Restoration, ‘English theatre audiences came to expect every new play to be escorted by a prologue and epilogue, these becoming stage performances usually monopolized by the most celebrated actors and actresses ... no other European stage developed the same process’. Pierre Danchin, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century* (Nancy, 1990), 15.

²³ The most famous example is Nell Gwynn’s epilogue after Dryden’s tragedy, *Tyrannick Love*. Jumping up from her theatric deathbed, the actress expressed disgust at the characterization the author had imposed upon her (‘damn’d dull poet, who could prove/So senseless to make Nelly die for love’). Another famous example was Mrs Oldfield’s epilogue to Ambrose Philip’s *The Distrest Mother* (1712). Danchin, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century*, 27.

²⁴ The exact number of nights that a player would have performed a prologue or epilogue in the 1730s is unclear. By the 1770s it seems the public expected epilogues for ten nights; in 1710 the run was only three nights. See *ibid.*, 28 and Leo Hughes, *The Drama’s Patrons: a Study of Eighteenth-Century London Audiences* (Austin, TX, 1971), 51-2.

²⁵ Hughes, *The Drama’s Patrons: a Study of Eighteenth-Century London Audiences*, 28-9, 51-2. Hughes observes that ‘no actor would dare omit an epilogue merely from weariness’.

Farce. And Fielding's early Clive epilogues uniformly asserted that the singer-actress's private persona paralleled that of the spicy heroines she had just enacted²⁶.

His 'stage nymph' profiling via epilogues assumed its most extreme form in the *Covent-Garden Tragedy* (1732). In this comedy (which preceded *The Mock Doctor*), Fielding fashioned her first lead role in a spoken mainpiece: a kind-hearted whore. He counterbalanced the lubricious heroine of the mainpiece by having Mrs Clive perform a wily yet innocent protagonist in the afterpiece, the *Old Debauchees*. The second comedy was nonetheless richly suggestive, with a plot based on the recently aired scandal of a Jesuit priest's rape of a young charge. (Unlike the victim in this report, Fielding's Isabella/Mrs Clive outwits and humiliates her assailant.) In the epilogue following these plays, Fielding merged both female protagonists in the speaker, Mrs Clive. Addressing the male viewer ('Sir'), she argued that her two fictional characters, because they shared the life-goal of ensnaring a male partner, were of the same moral calibre. By representing such heroines Mrs Clive enlightened the spectator about female strategies:

IN Various Lights this Night you've seen me drest,
 A virtuous Lady [Kissinda], and a Miss confest [Isabel],
 Pray tell me Sir, in which you like me best?
 Neither averse to Love's soft Joys you find,
 Tis hard to say, which is the best inclin'd ...
 For you we dance, we sing, we smile, we pray;
 On you we dream all Night, we think all Day.
 For you the Mall and Ring with Beauties swarm;
 You teach soft Senesino's Airs to charm,
 For thin wou'd be th' Assembly of the Fair,
 At Operas – were none but Eunuchs there.
 In short you are the Business of our Lives,
 To be a Mistress kept, the Strumpet strives,
 And all the modest Virgins to be Wives.
 For Prudes may cant of Virtues and of Vices
 But faith! We only differ in our Prices²⁷.

²⁶ Prologues and epilogues were usually given over to: 1) derision of the author; 2) patriotism; 3) critical discussion of dramatic rules; 4) protest against foreign performers on the London stage; 5) undue public attention paid to prologues/epilogues; 6) justification of the play's didactic value; and 7) women's rights. The last topic featured only occasionally. Pierre Danchin, 'Prologues and Epilogues as Evidence of Changing Taste on the Eighteenth-Century Stage', *Historical and Cultural Contexts of Linguistic and Literary Phenomena*, ed. E.D. Killam (Guelph, ON, 1989).

Understandably, critics accused Fielding of labelling all women ‘*arrant whores*’; Fielding, in a published defence, retorted that he sought ‘nothing more ... than [to show it] is natural for one Sex to be fond of another,’ and accused his critics of sloppy textual analysis²⁸. They, in turn, derided his hiding behind ‘the Speaker’ (Mrs Clive) to malign women²⁹.

The *Covent Garden* epilogue, and the fury it aroused, exemplifies the seediness of Fielding’s initial Clive marketing. Mrs Clive was made the mouthpiece of the dramatist’s own skewed views on femininity. When given voice by an ingénue, the offensiveness of the attributes being ascribed to females was softened. Fielding’s commentary insisted obsessively on the primitive physicality of females and their manipulative, grasping nature. Despite the outrage against *Covent-Garden Tragedy* having forced that comedy off the boards, the *Mock Doctor* epilogue also made Mrs Clive the conduit for a perverse lucubration on female desire. Here she asserted that female ailments were psychosomatic disturbances curable through sexual gratification³⁰.

In June 1732 the playwright began using introductions to playbooks for his Clive publicity. The decision appears related to his desire to control her image, which he also manifested by allowing *The Mock Doctor* to debut prematurely. Worried that managers might replace the rejected *Covent-Garden Tragedy* with ‘any old worn-out Entertainment’ to accompany the Clive afterpiece, *The Old Debauchees*, Fielding ‘permitted this Performance

²⁷ ‘Spoke by Miss Raftor’ in Henry Fielding, *The Covent-Garden Tragedy* (London, 1732).

²⁸ The *Grub-Street Journal* issued articles on 29 June, 20 July and 27 July 1732 denouncing the epilogue. Fielding published his defence of the two comedies in the *Daily Post*, 31 July 1732. Ronald Paulson and Thomas Lockwood, eds, *Henry Fielding: The Critical Heritage* (London and New York, 1969), 59-63.

²⁹ Fielding complained critics misrepresented his comedy (‘Criticks, after having terribly mangled the Play by tearing out several Passages’.) During the protracted quarrel over this work, Fielding defended the epilogue by ‘making the Reader acquainted with the Character of the Speaker’. The critic ‘Publicus’ accused Fielding of using an ‘*in propria persona*’ in the epilogue voice disguised as that of the ‘the Speaker’. See *ibid.*, 58, 61.

³⁰ ‘Doctors, with some, are in small Estimation,/But Pimps, all own, are useful to the Nation,/How many Maids, who pine away their Hours,/And droop in beauteous Spring, like blasted Flowers ... Would they our mighty Doctor’s Art essay,/I’d warrant he – wou’d put ‘em in a way’. Epilogue in Henry Fielding, *The Mock Doctor, or The Dumb Lady Cur’d* (London, 1732).

[*Mock Doctor*] to come on at more disadvantageous Season [i.e. the summer] than he first intended'³¹.

The Mock Doctor was an adaptation of Molière's *Le médecin malgré lui*, and as such its cultural pretensions eclipsed those of all of Mrs Clive's earlier comedies. In his introduction (ostensibly a Molière *hommage*), Fielding equated himself with the French playwright, drawing an analogy between the conditions which had spawned the original French production and those generating *The Mock Doctor*. He went on to add:

But I cannot, when I mention the rising Glories of the Theatre, omit One, who, tho' she owes little Advantage to the part of Dorcas [in *The Mock Doctor*], hath already convinced the best Judges of her admirable Genius for the Stage: She hath sufficiently shewn in the *Old Debauchees*, that her Capacity is not confined to a Song, and I dare swear they will shortly own Her able to do Justice to Characters of much greater Consequence³².

With this passage, Fielding demanded a paradigm shift. He maintained that Mrs Clive possessed a genius not just for singing, but for comic representation as well. He exhorted audiences to draw a line under her past repertory and judge her by forthcoming roles which, like that of Isabel (in the *Old Debauchees*) would disclose her talent as an actress.

Producers of *The Mock Doctor* appear to have targeted three goals with this production: first, to legitimise Mrs Clive as an actress; second, to encourage sales of the new collected Molière edition just issued by John Watts; and third, to hedge against a future disaster (like the *Covent-Garden Tragedy*) by creating a more sophisticated, and therefore more durable, version of the perennially popular *Devil to Pay*.

³¹ *Daily Post*, 16 July 1732. Cited in Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 137-8.

³² On the parallels between the conditions spawning the French and English productions, Fielding wrote, 'The English Theatre owes this Farce to an Accident not unlike that which gave it to the French. And I wish I had been as able to preserve the Spirit of *Molière*, as I have, in translating it, fallen short even of that very little Time he allowed himself in writing it'. Introduction to Fielding, *The Mock Doctor, or The Dumb Lady Cur'd*.

Besides hailing Mrs Clive's comic gifts, Fielding in his introduction encouraged spectators to collate his translation with that of Watts's collected edition³³. Yet the appeal of *The Mock Doctor* was hardly scholarly: like *The Devil to Pay*, wife-beating was the plot's central comic gag, and again, the heroine eventually triumphed over her abuser – this time without the assistance of a magician³⁴. Her husband Gregory's violent exchanges with, and revenge upon, her – including punitive 'cures' such as bleeding and cutting off her hair – were largely Fielding's invention³⁵. His lyrics for Mrs Clive echoed the denigration of women and defence of spousal abuse in the Restoration dialogue of *The Devil to Pay*, while the popular ballad tunes and didactic third-person lyrics were redolent of her opera repertory (air 2 and air 6, Exx. 4.4 and 4.5)³⁶. In *The Mock Doctor*, however, caustic social commentary and a racy epilogue modernized the production.

³³ 'One Pleasure I enjoy from the Success of this Piece, is a Prospect of transplanting successfully some others of Molière of great value. How I have done this, any English Reader may be satisfy'd by examining an exact literal Translation of the *Médecin malgré Lui* which is the Second Volume of *The Select Comedies of Moliere*, just published by John Watts'. Introduction to *ibid*.

³⁴ Writing in 1724, Daniel Defoe observed that the practice of wife-beating was so common among the 'meaner sort of people, that to hear a woman cry murder now, scarce gives an alarm'. Daniel Defoe, *The Great Law of Subordination considered* (1724), 6-7; cited in Bridget Hill, *Women, Work & Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1989), 199. Hill observes that despite prohibitions against violating women, many jurists throughout the century 'upheld the right of a husband to beat his wife provided he did not do so outrageously'.

³⁵ All the songs were new, and Fielding's most radical changes were to the two central figures, Dorcas and Gregory. Jean Du Crocq, *Le Théâtre de Fielding: 1728-1737* (Paris, 1975), 249-58.

³⁶ In air 2 Dorcas (Mrs Clive) defended a man's right to beat his wife ('Go thrash your own Rib, Sir, at Home,/Nor thus interfere with our Strife,/May Cuckoldom still be his Doom,/ Who strives to part Husband and Wife'). In air 8 she contended that husbands who attend to their duty earn the right to abuse or to enjoy their wives ('So the Husband who,/To Duty true,/And performs his Bus'ness well;/ Tho' he often thwack,/His Deary's Back,/One tender Smack,/More sweet than Sack,/Can quell all her fury.'). In air 4 she complained of modern wives' infidelity. The salacious first strophe of her first air obscured the message that a man should 'attend' to his partner's will. ('When a Lady like me condescends to agree,/To let such a Slobberer taste her,/With what Zeal and Care should he worship the Fair,/Who gives him – what's Meat for his Master?'). In air 6 Dorcas repeated the cynical assertion in Mrs Clive's epilogue for the *Covent-Garden Tragedy* that a woman's sexual favours can always be purchased, the only variant being that the price rises with her station and fluctuates with her sexual reputation. ('A Woman's Ware, like China,/Now cheap, now dear is bought;/When whole, tho' worth a Guinea,/When broke's not worth a Groat./A Woman at St James's,/With Hundreds you obtain;/But stay till lost her Fame is,/She'll be cheap in Drury Lane'). Similarly, in air 9 Dorcas assured audiences that 'She is most happy, who well knows how to hold,/At once her dear Virtue, and her Lover's dear Gold'. Fielding, *The Mock Doctor, or The Dumb Lady Cur'd*. Note that air 6 was published earlier in *The Grub-Street Opera* (1730), as air 5.

Ex. 4.4: 'Go thrash your own Rib, Sir, at Home' [Winchester Wedding],
The Mock Doctor (1732), 14.

The DUMB LADY cur'd.

AIR II. *Winchester Wedding.*




*Go thrash your own Rib, Sir, at Home,
 Nor thus interfere with our Strife;
 May Cuckoldom still be his Doom,
 Who strives to part Husband and Wife.
 Suppose I've a mind he should drub,
 Whose Bones are they, Sir, he's to lick?
 At whose Expence is it, you Scrub,
 You are not to find him a Stick.*

Ex. 4.5: 'A Woman's Ware, like China' [Pinks and Lilies], *The Mock Doctor* (1732), 14.

14 *The Mock Doctor*

AIR VI. *Pinks and Lilies.*



*A Woman's Ware, like China,
 Now cheap, now dear is bought;
 When whole, tho' worth a Guinea,
 When broke's not worth a Groat.*

*A Woman at St. James's,
 With Hundreds you obtain;
 But stay till lost her Fame is,
 She'll be cheap in Drury-Lane.*

The Mock Doctor was the first of several comedies linking Mrs Clive to French *comédies* in general, and to Watts's Molière edition in particular. James Miller, chief editor and translator of the series, supplanted Fielding in 1734 as Mrs Clive's writer, in which position he persistently adapted Molière comedies to continue the Clive dramatic line pioneered by Fielding. But even before Miller took over this post, the product tie-in between the collected edition and actress was strong³⁷. The first volume Watts issued in the series was *The Miser*, just months before Drury Lane mounted the same comedy, prepared by Fielding and featuring Mrs Clive³⁸. The introduction to *The Miser* in the collected edition called for adaptations of the French dramatist for the London stage³⁹. For the playbooks of the Drury Lane *Miser*, Watts concocted an advertisement linking that production to his own prestigious translation⁴⁰.

The chambermaid 'Lappet' in *The Miser* was Mrs Clive's first non-musical triumph; through this role (invented by Fielding) she completed her transition from singing shepherdess to star comedienne⁴¹. With Lappet Fielding successfully re-created in dialogue Mrs Clive's celebrated manner of addressing audiences in ballads. In operas, the ballad's satirical impact

³⁷ Until 1942 scholars believed erroneously that Fielding, not Miller, had translated Watts's editions. A close comparison between Fielding's comedies and Watts's translations, together with research on Miller, revealed that Fielding never contributed to the Molière collected edition. L.P. Goggin, 'Fielding and the *Select Comedies of Mr. de Moliere*', *Philological Quarterly*, 31 (1952) and Joseph E. Tucker, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Translations of Molière', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3 (1942). The *comédie* adaptations for Mrs Clive by Miller are discussed in the following chapter. Other translated French comedies featuring Mrs Clive included *The Imaginary Cuckold* (1733) after Molière, and *Timon in Love* (1733) after Sieur de Lisle. These were both musical farces.

³⁸ Goggin, 'Fielding and the *Select Comedies of Mr. de Moliere*'.

³⁹ 'Moliere is the best Comic Writer which ever appear'd on the Stage; and upon the whole we may venture, I believe, to recommend the Perusal of him, to our present Dramatick Authors, for whose sake we in some measure attempted the Translation'. Introduction to Anon, ed., *Select Comedies of Mr de Moliere. In French and English: The Miser and The Cuckold in Conceit*, i (London, 1732).

⁴⁰ In an unusual move, Watts designed an advertisement for the collected edition that traced English plays (including Fielding's *Miser*) to their Molière sources: 'A SELECT COLLECTION of MOLIERE'S COMEDIES, French and English in EIGHT POCKET VOLUMES ... That it may be seen how much the English Stage has been indebted to Moliere, we have, in this Catalogue, plac'd such of Our Comedies as have been founded upon His [Moliere] over-against the Originals, from whence they were taken'. Advertisement in Henry Fielding, *The Miser. A Comedy* (London, 1733).

⁴¹ Functionally Lappet combined two characters from the original, Frosine and Dame Claude, but Fielding largely rewrote her dialogue. Du Crocq, *Le Théâtre de Fielding: 1728-1737*, 263.

had depended on the singer sharing with the audience insights which were denied to the fictional characters. This singer-audience relationship, as previously discussed, copied that of the street-ballad singer, whose tunes were the mainstay of operas. Fielding adapted the ballad singer's manner of addressing audiences to the dialogue of Lappet, a character who knows everyone's secrets, devises schemes to save the lovers, manipulates her employers, and in the denouement unravels the web of lies she has woven. The chambermaid, like the on-stage ballad singer, generated hilarity by laughing with the audience at the stupidity of the figures with whom she interacts. By realizing in dialogue a discursive practice that had originated with the direct address of ballad song, Fielding secured for Mrs Clive a new niche in Drury Lane comedies. Even in this spoken role, Mrs Clive sang one air - which she replaced in 1740 with her hit song, 'Life of a Beau'⁴².

John Hill, analysing the way Mrs Clive addressed audiences out of character while still enacting a fictional role, labelled this practice 'double representation':

While the actress is here construing the very look and gesture of Mr Goodall into madness to Mrs Highmore, and every glance and accent of that lady into frenzy to him; she is expressing to the audience all the while the utmost terror in the world, lest one or the other of them shou'd discover her: Nay, she even adds to the necessary perplexity of the part she has to act by blending with her very terror the pert self-sufficiency, that marks out the rest of her character ... The person who understands this merit in Mrs Clive's short character, will not wonder if it appears very insipid when perform'd by any body else⁴³.

⁴² The history of this song is discussed in the next chapter. The fourth edition indicates that the original production included two airs, one for Mrs Clive and one for her male counterpart, Mr Harper. The song named in this edition, 'As Fiddlers and Archers commonly know' was 'The Provident Damsel' by Richard Charke, and was first performed by Mrs Clive in James Miller's *The Humours of Oxford* in 1729. Mention of her performing this air did not appear until the fourth edition of the *Miser* (1761), but the title 'Sung by Miss Raftor' suggests she performed the song before her marriage in 1733. Preface to Henry Fielding, *The Miser. A Comedy*, 4th edn (London, 1761).

⁴³ John Hill, *The Actor: a Treatise ... with Theatrical Anecdotes* (London, 1750), 263. Earlier in this treatise, Hill had noted that 'there is another requisite as necessary to the chambermaid as this volubility of tongue; this is an arch and cunning look, with a world of discernment, and occasional secrecy in it ... We do not forget that Mrs Clive has succeeded to admiration in a great number of parts of this kind'. *Ibid*, 150.

Mrs Clive's chambermaid representations, which grew to be one of the core stereotypes of her line, became a touchstone for future actresses⁴⁴.

The Miser epilogue also charted new territory: here she first opposed the playwright. This standard epilogue device (see n. 26) 'made real' Lappet's trenchant humour. In her epilogue, the actress complained of Fielding's refusal to supply her with an epilogue. The playbook named Colley Cibber as the author of the epilogue in which she lodged this complaint, which would have suggested to playbook readers that Fielding had indeed been obdurate. Through time, the denigration of playwrights, traditionally a secondary theme in epilogues, developed into Mrs Clive's dominant motif as a speaker⁴⁵.

Within two seasons, Mrs Clive emerged as Drury Lane's top comic actress as well as singer, largely through Fielding's efforts. Her advancement helped his own: in Arthur Murphy's words:

As this excellent actress received great advantages from the opportunities Mr Fielding's pen afforded her, so he, in his turn, reaped the fruits of success from her abilities⁴⁶.

Mrs Clive not only popularized Fielding's stage works, she raised his stature by cementing his cherished link to Molière⁴⁷. To quote Chetwood, 'Most of his [Molière's] Comedies have given a Foundation to our English Dramatic Writers; but none have met with more Success

⁴⁴ By 1747 Samuel Foote maintained that 'Mrs Clive (the best actress in her Walk, that I, or perhaps any Man living has seen) ... is peculiarly happy in hitting the Humours of Characters in low Life ... [as in] affected Airs of a Lady's Woman, or the pert Behaviour of an intriguing Chambermaid'. Samuel Foote, *The Roman and English Comedy Considered* (London, 1747), 41-2. After she retired, Benjamin Victor lamented above all the loss of her chambermaid roles: 'The Spirit of Roguery and speaking Looks of her Chambermaids accompanied by the most expressive voice that ever satisfied the ears of an audience, has made her loss irreparable'. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London, 1771), 142. Charles Churchill also praised her chambermaid roles. See Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad* (Dublin, 1761), 12.

⁴⁵ 'Epilogue Written by Colly Cibber, Esq; Spoke by Mrs. Raftor./ Our Author's sure bewitch'd! The senseless Rogue/Insists no good Play wants an Epilogue ...'. In Fielding, *The Miser. A Comedy*. Some of her most strident epilogues against authors are listed in ch. 8, n. 28.

⁴⁶ Introduction to Murphy, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq. With the Life of an Author*, 15.

⁴⁷ Smallwood notes that until his 1736 hit *Pasquin*, Fielding advertised himself predominantly as Molière's translator. Angela J. Smallwood, *Fielding and the Woman Question: the Novels of Henry Fielding and Feminist Debate, 1700-1750* (New York, 1989), 30.

than the *Miser*, and the *Mock-Doctor*, by Mr Fielding'⁴⁸. An encomium celebrated the fortuitous Clive-Fielding partnership:

By HINT [Fielding] and KEYBER [Colley Cibber] form'd to please the Age,
See little RAFTOR mount the Drury stage.

FENTON outdone with her no more compares,
Than GAY's best Songs with HINT'S *Mock Doctor's* Airs.
Lament, O Rich! Thy Labours all are vain,
HINT writes and RAFTOR acts in Drury Lane⁴⁹.

Part 2: The Summer of their Discontent: Mrs Clive, Henry Fielding and the Drury Lane Rebellion of 1733

Until 1733, Fielding had a relatively free hand in styling Mrs Clive's public personality. The generic 'nymph' of 1729 was easily moulded into the pert, inviting 'Miss Raftor' who efficiently mediated his brittle satire and *outré* gender politics. The only factor Fielding had to negotiate was Mrs Clive's specific performance skills, which proved optimally realized within the less erotic 'chambermaid' topos. Such roles highlighted wit, cunning, independence, irreverence, and above all an ability to communicate with the public. The popularity of *The Miser* taught playwright and actress that the Shepherdess should yield to the Servant. But the Drury Lane rebellion of 1733-4 interrupted this moment of image-management. A clash between actors and manager thrust Mrs Clive into the media cross-fire, and Fielding was forced to defend her public persona against her detractors.

The Clive/Fielding theatrical triumphs of the summer of 1732 came against a backdrop of burgeoning discontent within the Drury Lane company. Deaths, illnesses and the expiration

⁴⁸ Note in Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage*, 44. The success of *The Miser* was startling: there were 11 performances in the summer of 1732, seven performances in September, and 250 performances by 1750. It also spawned a pirated version at the Tottenham Court theatre by 4 August. Hume (1988), 150-53.

⁴⁹ 'To Miss Raftor on her Success in Acting Polly Peachum', Anon, 'To Miss Raftor', *Grub-Street Journal*, 17 August 1732. 'Hint' was the pseudonym Fielding adopted during the *Covent-Garden Tragedy* controversy, and was used in connection to the dramatist by others. Charles B. Woods, 'Cibber in Fielding's *Author's Farce*: Three Notes', *Philological Quarterly*, 64 (1965).

of the Drury Lane patent had destabilized the theatre's management. Richard Steele had died in 1729 and his patent passed legally to the triumvirs Colley Cibber, Barton Booth and Robert Wilks after a long delay in September 1732. But within months the patent had slid into the hands of novices: three months before taking possession of the patent, the ailing Booth had sold for £2,500 half of his share to John Highmore, a gentleman dabbler in theatrics; Wilks died on 27 Sept 1732, and his widow unaccountably appointed the painter John Ellys her deputy. Meanwhile, Colley Cibber had 'rented' the post of manager to his son Theophilus Cibber for the 1732-3 season at £442, and hired himself back at two guineas per performance⁵⁰.

Unease exploded into open rebellion in the spring of 1733. After dangling another management contract under his son's nose in February, Colley Cibber snatched it away in March and sold his share of the patent to Highmore for at least £3,000, if not more. Inflamed, Theophilus Cibber schemed with other players to seize power back from the new managers⁵¹. Having failed to secretly take over the lease, the younger Cibber and his followers were locked out of the house; they sued for possession and debate raged in the press over whether the younger Cibber's cause was righteous. One side maintained that the managers were fair, and that Theophilus Cibber was merely a selfish opportunist; the opposing side charged that the managers were incompetent and repressive. Cibber and his supporters accused the managers

⁵⁰ Theatre historians of the day considered John Highmore's takeover of Drury Lane management an incursion by a rich dilettante into a serious profession. The same contempt was expressed towards the painter, John Ellys, to whom Mrs Wilks deputed her share of the patent: 'had she ... directed Mr Fig to have play'd a Solo of Corelli's on the Violin, the Company would have not been more surprized'. Theophilus Cibber, *A Letter from Theophilus Cibber, Comedian, to John Highmore, Esq.* (London, [1733]), 2. Hume supplies the most reliable modern account of the 1733 actors' rebellion in Hume (1988), 155-64.

⁵¹ A pamphlet presented to parliament as an argument against introducing the Barnard playhouse bill in 1735 contained the names of the players who were lease-holders and the terms of the lease (15 years at £920 per annum). The original pamphlet was titled *The Case of John Mills ... [et al] and the Rest of the Comedians of the Theatres-Royal at Drury Lane and Covent Garden* ([London, 1735]). In his reprint of this document, Theophilus Cibber included Mrs Clive's name in the list of lease-holders. This attribution may well be erroneous, however, being a gloss years after the original documents appeared. Theophilus Cibber, *The Life and Character of that excellent Actor Barton Booth* (London, 1753), 45.

of the patent theatres of forming a cartel to force the players back on Highmore's terms.

Unable to co-opt Drury Lane legally, Cibber set up a rival company at the Haymarket theatre on 26 Sept 1733⁵².

Where did Mrs Clive fit into this controversy? She sided with Highmore (as did Mrs Horton and Mr Bridgewater)⁵³ and continued to perform. Perhaps the sudden vacuum of talent at Drury Lane enticed her to seize the spotlight: Patrick Crean notes that she appeared 152 times during 100 evenings of the rebellion⁵⁴. Mrs Clive's loyalty to Drury Lane provoked the first attacks on her in the media. Criticism targeting her appears to have emerged in the following order: a line engraving, a stage burlesque based on this picture, a poem affirming the accuracy of the 'Mrs Clive' revealed in the burlesque, and a rebuttal of these charges. Her opponents mocked her vaunting of her chastity, which she had apparently begun to broadcast during the early 1730s, and accused of her being a 'scold' – a woman whose alleged moral rectitude could not redeem her tart tongue.

The line engraving that initiated the campaign, *The Stage Mutiny* (Fig. 4.1) was issued in June 1733 by the French engraver Louis Laguerre. The scene depicted the principal actress Mrs Heron holding a 'Liberty' standard, with the actors Ben Griffin, Ben Johnson and John Harper mobbing their leader Theophilus Cibber. Opposite them stood Highmore, protesting, with three unidentified players, one of whom, a female, holds a banner stating 'We'll starve 'em out'. The subsequent stage burlesque based on this print clearly suggests that this figure was Mrs Clive. Colley Cibber, in the corner with bags of gold, mocked the players⁵⁵.

⁵² The players were locked out on 26 May 1733. The suit against Fleetwood is documented in PRO C11/778/28. This document and articles covering the rebellion, June-Sept 1733, are cited in Hume (1988), 258.

⁵³ Deserting actors and their salaries under Highmore were published in Anon, *Grub-Street Journal*, 17 June 1733. This list was reprinted later that month in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, iii (1733), 286.

⁵⁴ Crean (1933), 119.

⁵⁵ A copy of *The Stage Mutiny*, a line drawing measuring 11 ¼ inches by 15 ½ inches, is housed in the Burney Theatrical Portraits collection (second volume, fol. 86) of the British Museum, Department of Prints and

Fig. 4.1: Louis Laguerre, *The Stage Mutiny*, 1733. Line engraving. Reproduced in Dane Farnsworth Smith, *Plays about the Theatre in England, from The Rehearsal in 1671 to the Licensing Act in 1737* (1936).



On 27 July 1733 Covent Garden brought the print to life by staging Edward Phillips's *The Stage Mutineers*⁵⁶. Following the tradition of burlesque rehearsal plays, stage characters represented local celebrities whom spectators could identify through emblematic name, characteristic mannerisms, typical roles, and in this case, ballads. Cibber was 'Pistol' – bombastic, self-aggrandizing and apoplectic⁵⁷ – and 'Crambo the Poet' was Fielding⁵⁸. In the plot, Crambo directs a rehearsal of a typical Clive vehicle, a musical *comédie* with an 'infinite deal of Humour, all the Quintessence of the *French* join'd to the Smartness of the *English* Ballad'. The character of 'Miss Prudely Crotchet' was a clear allusion to the leading singer-actress of French-import farces, Mrs Clive⁵⁹.

In both the prologue ('A Ranting Hero and a Green Room Queen') and the story of the burlesque, Pistol/Cibber and Miss Crotchet/Mrs Clive oppose each other. Like Lappet in *The Miser*, 'Miss Crotchet' professes an aversion to men, yet unlike Lappet she engages in a backstage love affair with Pistol. Despite this entanglement, she refuses to join Pistol's faction, opting instead to protect her 'sordid Interest' (Pistol's words), i.e. her professional ambition:

[To the tune 'Mirletone']
 If such Arts you Men will use, Sir,
 With Self-Interest in your View,
 Can Folly you accuse her,

Drawings. It is catalogued under its title in Frederic G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, iii/1 (London, 1873).

⁵⁶ [Edward Phillips], *The Stage Mutineers, or A Playhouse to be Let* (London, 1733). It received 12 performances.

⁵⁷ The nick-name stuck for the rest of Cibber's life. A mock autobiography of Cibber aping that of his father described the Cibber impersonation: 'A Farce was wrote [*The Stage Mutineers*] and perform'd, and the Bent of it was to ridicule poor me: Tone of Elocution, my buskin Tread, my Elevation of Countenance, my Dignity of Gesture, and expressive Rotation of Eye-balls: In short, all my Manner was burlesqu'd, and a mock Pomp of Works which were a parody of Tragedy Speeches, and Pistol's Bombast run through the Character'. Anon, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T--- C----*, *Comedian* (London, 1740), 16-17.

⁵⁸ Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 168.

⁵⁹ In the course of the *Stage Mutineers* a Wardrobe-Keeper, when listing the house assets, makes pointed reference to Mrs Clive: 'A little Tent-Bed never lain in but by Desdemona and Nell Jobson [in *The Devil to Pay*]' [Phillips], *The Stage Mutineers, or A Playhouse to be Let*, 31. Audiences easily grasped the *ad hominem* references: 'The characters [in *The Stage Mutineers*] were so transparent that the Town knew immediately whom they were intended to represent'. *Grub-Street Journal*, 9 Aug 1733; cited in Crean (1933), 110.

Who pursues her Interest too? [Exit]⁶⁰

On the heels of Phillips's burlesque, the squib *The Theatric Squabble, or The Patentees* appeared. In verse, it embellished Phillips's characterization of the players. In the case of 'Miss Raftor' the author singled out the four dominant aspects of Phillips's 'Miss Crotchet': the temper of the 'scold', a pretence to prudishness, the indulgence in secret love affairs, and professional arrogance:

The R—ft—or, followed by Wise and Bold,
 A pleasing Actress, but a Green-room Scold;
 Puff'd with Success she triumphs over all,
 Snarls in the Scene-Room, Curses in the Hall:
 She has Learning, Judgment, Wit, and Manners too;
 Ay and good Sense, --if what she say's be true.
 Her Virtue too, the purest of the Age,
 She'll scarcely be a Whore – upon the Stage:
 Yet she that rails 'gainst vicious Talk so strong,
 Makes no Objection to a Bawdy Song:
 She'll ne'er seek Good, nor yet from Evil flinch;
 In short, she is a *Woman*, ev'ry Inch.
 Can Men of Sense with such as these Combine?
 As well my Contraries together join,
 Short is the Feud when Wits together jar,
 But Sense and Blockheads wage continual War⁶¹.

Perhaps it was the smear of impropriety levelled at her at this time that compelled her to marry. The exact date of her union is unknown, but her wedding appears to have taken place during early October 1733⁶². The match seems clearly to have been a public relations move: advising her protégée decades later, Mrs Clive expressed hard-headed pragmatism on

⁶⁰ Phillips], *The Stage Mutineers, or A Playhouse to be Let*, 3-4.

⁶¹ Anon, *The Theatric Squabble, or The Patentees. A Satire* (London, 1733), 6.

⁶² Crean has scoured public records for information on Mrs Clive's marriage without success. In the Burney Theatrical Records under her name there is the annotation: 'Clive, Mrs Cath late Raftor Marriage between 2 & 7 Oct [1733]'. Anon, *GB-Lbl Burney 939.b* (1), 'Biographical Notes A-Z (pt 3)', 'Clive Catherine'. This date agrees with the evidence of Percy Fitzgerald, who recorded a theatre bill, now lost, advertising her as 'Mrs. Clive, formerly Miss Raftor' on 3 Oct 1733 (in *To Rule a Wife and Have Wife*). Percy H. Fitzgerald, *The Life of Mrs Catherine Clive with an Account of her Adventures on and off the Stage* (London, 1888), 15. *The London Stage* first records her being advertised as 'Mrs Clive' on 5 Oct 1733, when she debuted in George Farquhar's *The Beaux Strategy*.

career-enhancing matches⁶³. George Clive was expedient to her 1733 cause: a non-practising barrister and nephew of Baron Clive (and later uncle of Clive of India), George Clive's pedigree cast Mrs Clive in the mould of English gentlewoman⁶⁴. Evidence suggests her husband was homosexual, and their marriage collapsed after a few months. Remarkably, the estrangement seems to have provoked no printed commentary⁶⁵.

Her involvement in theatrical politics, however, continued to draw attention. The *Theatric Squabble* was rebutted with *The Theatre turned upside-down or, The Mutineers. A Dialogue. Occasioned by a Pamphlet called The Theatric Squabble* (1733). This poem, written as a dialogue between 'Mr Friendly' and 'Mr Charles Easy', has apparently never been quoted by theatre scholars, probably because it has survived in a unique copy⁶⁶. Its extensive

⁶³ In a letter to Jane Pope, Mrs Clive made reference to the two essentials for a marriage beneficial to a rising actress: timing and social station. 'I suppose you are going to be married, indeed it is high time; but don't bring your husband for I must hear what sort of a man he is before I will let him'. Letter of 24 July 1773 [no.5] in Catherine Clive, *US-Ws* W.b.73, 'Collection of Letters to Jane Pope'. In a subsequent letter in the same collection, Mrs Clive insisted that she vet whomever Miss Pope selected for a partner. Letter of 26 Feb 1778 [no.29], *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Crean provides particulars on George Clive and his family in P.J. Crean, '[on George Clive]', *Notes and Queries*, 7, no. 8 (1932). Related aspects of Mrs Clive's image management were her distancing herself from actresses of ill-repute; her costuming herself as a 'Woman of Quality' even in chambermaid roles; her advertising of her sexual correctness (hence the nick-name 'Miss Prudely Crotchet'); and her professed reluctance to publish her own work. These strategies, which she began to follow during the 1730s, are described in Kimberly Crouch, 'The Public Life of Female Actresses: Prostitutes or Ladies?' *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalais (London and New York, 1997), 71, 159, 220-27. Mrs Clive's apologies for appearing in print dominated not only her self-defence in the Polly debate, but also her introductions to Catherine Clive, *The Case of Mrs. Clive submitted to the Public [1744]*, facs. repr. edn (Los Angeles, 1973) and Catherine Clive, *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (London, 1753). See also Catherine Clive, *London Chronicle or the Universal Evening Post*, 2-4 April 1761.

⁶⁵ After his divorce George Clive became the domestic companion to a wealthy Templar, Mr Ince, who left him his family fortune. John Taylor, in his *Records of my Life*, ii (1832), 81 recorded George Clive's post with Mr Ince; the Ince inheritance was reported in George Clive's obituary in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1780), 589. Both items are cited in Crean (1933), 425. The separation of the Clives was acrimonious: Mrs Clive severed all ties to her husband, and he cut her out of his will. Upon notification of his death she wrote to Jane Pope on Christmas day: 'I was surprised you did not take notice of Mr Clive's death in your letter. I suppose you had heard of it; I received notice from his executor not till three weeks after his Death; he has not left me even the shilling to cut me off with; he has left his fortune which I believe was considerable to his Landlady where he lodged at Bath; poor man his heart was too hard to feel any compunction for the injuries he has occasioned me; I shall send you the Clause in his will where he mentions me. "And as for and concerning my wife Cath. Clive, whom is as well known has been separated from me for many years, I give her no part of what I did seize or poses'd of; but I give or rather confirm to her everything she shall be poses'd of at my Death; it being my will and intention that she should have nothing to do with my estate and representation"'. Letter of 25 Dec 1780 [no.4] in Catherine Clive, *GB-Ob* Toynbee b.1, 'Autograph letters from Catherine Clive to Jane Pope', fol. 36.

⁶⁶ The copy is housed at Library of Congress in Washington DC, shelf mark LC PR1171.Z5 [vol. 9].

commentary on Mrs Clive, its closing with an encomium to her, and its similarity to Fielding's later 'Epistle to Mrs Clive' (1734) all point to Fielding as its author:

Yet in the other House doth one remain,
Whom e'en Bracegirdle's Age would not disdain;
R[afto]r whose Merit might support a Stage,
And lull the most malicious Critic's Rage.
In every Part, with pleasure, can I trace,
Judgment, and Humour, join'd with every Grace.
On her soft Notes, dissolv'd in Pleasures, dwell;
Charm'd with the sprightly Innocence of Nell.
Others may court, but she commands Applause;
And all become the Patrons of her Cause.
Scorning to copy meanly, she's out-done,
Where Oldfield late in greatest splendor shone.
Such are the Parts she acts – in private Life,
The pious Daughter, and the faithful Wife.
R—r, by whom the Muses live, may claim,
A Muse with Justice, to assert her Fame.

Scorn and Correction be the Wretch's doom,
Who on such Worth shall to reflect presume;
Who vile suggests, what, in the Face of Day,
His Impudence, or Malice, dare not say:
When all his Spite can no Reflection find,
*But to condemn her, damns all Woman-kind.
If Verse, sad Scribbler! Be thy vain Pretence;
Learn *Crambo* first, -- then study long for Sense;
Learn Goodness next thyself – if then severe,
Thy Satires justly may the Faulty fear.

*In short, she is a Woman every Inch. Vide *The Stage-Mutineers*.
FINIS⁶⁷.

The writer of the *Theatre turned upside-down* made some important assertions about the skills and personality of Mrs Clive. First, that her 'merit' (i.e.talent) was enough to support a stage (that was in fact practically devoid of principal players at this time); second, that her singing constituted a key component of her appeal; and third, that she was entitled to inherit the mantle of 'muse' from Drury Lane's recently deceased top comedienne, Mrs Oldfield. Further, according to the author, she was the 'only' player of merit at Drury Lane – no other actor who remained with Highmore is mentioned – making her *de facto* the Drury Lane standard-bearer. The poem constructed an identity antithetical to Fielding's initial

⁶⁷ Anon, *The Theatre turned upside down, or The Mutineers. A Dialogue. Occasioned by a Pamphlet, called The Theatric Squabble* (London, 1733), 7-8.

characterizations of Mrs Clive, and stressed the gulf between her fictional characters and her putative private self. Revealed as the ‘pious Daughter’, ‘faithful Wife’ filled with ‘Judgment, and Humour ... [and] every Grace’, the new Mrs Clive embodied female virtues advocated in period conduct manuals, as opposed to Fielding’s impish ‘Miss Raftor’. The poem’s closing dictum ‘Learn *Crambo* first’ is significant: it cryptically advised readers to judge Miss Raftor by Fielding’s writings.

The following year, this advice segued into Fielding’s Clive manifesto, ‘The Epistle to Mrs Clive’ published as a dedication to *The Intriguing Chambermaid* (1734). This comedy was the first Clive/Fielding hit since *The Miser*, and boiled down the essence of Lappet – French chambermaid topos, witty lyrics, derision of other characters – into a musical afterpiece. Fielding couched his ‘Epistle’ in the language of objectivity, implying that his statement was a spontaneous outpouring by an uncompromising playwright intimately familiar with backstage personalities⁶⁸:

Dedications, and indeed most Panegyrics, have been generally confined to Persons in high Life ... but as the Praise which most Authors bestow comes not from the Heart, nor is the Effect of their Gratitude for past Favours ... we often see an Epistle crammed with gross, false, and absurd Flattery, as the Poet ought to be ashamed of writing, and the Patron of accepting. But while I hold the Pen, it will be a Maxim with me, that Vice can never be too great to be lashed, nor Virtue too obscure to be commended; in other Words, that Satire can never rise too high, nor Panegyrick stoop too low [to praise an actress] ...

But as great a Favourite as you at present are with the Audience, you would be much more so, were they acquainted with your private Character; cou’d they see you laying out a great Part of the Profits which arise to you from entertaining them so well, in the support of an aged Father; did they see you who can charm them on the Stage with personating the foolish and vitious [sic] Characters of your Sex, acting in real Life the Part of the best Wife, the best Daughter, the best Sister, and the best Friend.

The Part you have maintain’d in the present Dispute between the Players and the Patentees, is so full of Honour, that had it been in higher Life, it would have given you the Reputation of the greatest Heroine of the Age ... In short, if Honour, Good-nature, Gratitude and good Sense, join’d with the most entertaining Humour, wherever they are found, are Titles to publick Esteem, I think you may be sure of it⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ According to cinema theory, this was ‘publicity’: commentary seeming to present the expert’s empirical perspective, but in fact functioning very much as part of the machinery of production.

⁶⁹ ‘An Epistle to Mrs Clive’ in Fielding, *The Intriguing Chambermaid. A Comedy ... taken from the French of Regnard*.

Fielding here framed his ‘made-over’ Mrs Clive in a moving narrative according to which the embattled actress strained to fulfil duties to her family and professional (male) superiors. Although the literary topos shifted from the ‘Muse’ of *The Theatre turn’d upside-down* to the tragic stage heroine, the strategy and profiling of the two pieces was consistent. After identifying the gulf between her fictional roles and her ‘real’ personality, Fielding attested to her sense of family duties, her rationality (‘good sense’) and humour.

Fielding devoted the rest of ‘the Epistle’ to constructing a victim theory to explain Mrs Clive’s recent lack of success, elaborating an argument first postulated in Mrs Clive’s lines in the 1734 revival of the 1730 *Author’s Farce* – the mainpiece to *The Intriguing Chambermaid* – and its prologue and epilogue. When these various monologues and comedies had premiered on 15 January 1734, Highmore’s demise was imminent. Theophilus Cibber had successfully repulsed efforts to outlaw his rival company, and was poised to win the suit for the Drury Lane lease. Desperate to attract audiences, Highmore had already unsuccessfully revived one Fielding work, the *Opera of Operas* (a musical version of *Tom Thumb* by Lampe, 7 November 1733). In January 1734 he brought on the *Author’s Farce*.

Modifications to the *Author’s Farce* from its 1730 version were fairly minor, except in Mrs Clive’s dialogue, which Fielding updated to reflect current events⁷⁰. Not surprisingly, the coquette of the original version metamorphosed into a sentimental heroine, nervous about public rejection of her new role – this was a rehearsal play – and willing to ‘starve’ with her lover. The epilogue explicitly restated the ‘let ‘em starve’ motto emblazoned on the banner in Laguerre’s print:

English is now below this learned Town,

⁷⁰ Fielding also replaced the figure of Sparkish (Wilks) with Marplay Jr (Theophilus Cibber). Correcting Charles Woods’ assertion that the 1734 *Author’s Farce* was ‘in effect a new play’, Fewer than half the pages contained significant changes; see the Introduction to Woods, ‘Cibber in Fielding’s *Author’s Farce*: Three Notes’ and Hume (1988), 170. The two versions are also compared in Marsha Kinder, ‘The Improved *Author’s Farce*: an Analysis of the 1734 Revisions’, *Costerus*, 6 (1972).

Non but Italian Warblers will go down.
 Tho' Courts were more Polite, the English Ditty,
 Could heretofore at least content the City:
 That for Italian Warblers will go down.
 And *Dimi[sic] Cara* rings thro' ev'ry Shop.
 What glorious Thoughts must all our Neighbours nourish,
 Of us, where Rival Operas can flourish ...
 No, let 'em starve, who dare to lash the Age,
 And as you've left the Pulpit, leave the Stage⁷¹.

Prologue and epilogue, both spoken by Mrs Clive, allowed her to enact the 'struggling Heroine' Fielding was to project in the 'Epistle'. She insisted, as Fielding would do, that Italian opera was drawing audiences away from Drury Lane. Although a ludicrous assertion, the argument did slyly shift the blame for audience loss from Drury Lane's inadequacies onto a much-visited locus of hostility⁷². Out of a discourse usually devoted to articulating views held by an 'imagined community', Fielding fashioned a personal drama, casting Mrs Clive as blameless heroine whom he had discovered at a time when others were blindly following foreign fashion:

It is your Misfortune to bring the greatest Genius for acting on the Stage, at a time when the Factions and Divisions among the Players have conspired with the Folly, Injustice, and Barbarity of the Town, to finish the Ruin of the Stage, and sacrifice our own native Entertainments to a wanton affected Fondness for foreign Musick; and when our Nobility seem eagerly to rival each other, in distinguishing themselves in favour of *Italian* Theatres, and in neglect of our own.

However, the few who have yet so much *English* Taste and Good-nature left, as some times to visit the Stage where you exert your great abilities, never fail to receive you with the Approbation you deserve;

⁷¹ Epilogue printed in Fielding, *The Intriguing Chambermaid. A Comedy ... taken from the French of Regnard*. It was reprinted in two later editions of the farce (1750, 1761). In her dialogue, Harriot (Mrs Clive) is portrayed as an actress concerned about her reception: 'Harriot: I shall never have Assurance enough to go thro' with it [the role], especially if they shou'd hiss it a me./Luck: O! Your Mask will keep you in Countenance, and as for hissing you need not fear it'. In addition to the epilogue, Fielding's new dialogue for Harriot referenced the 'let 'em starve' motto: 'Harriot: Well, Madam, and I wou'd sooner starve with the Man I love, than ride in a Coach and Six with him I hate'. Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce, or the Pleasures of the Town ... third Edition ... revised and greatly alter'd by the Author* (London, 1750), 36. Comparing the 1734 Harriot with the 1730 Harriot, Edgar Roberts writes: 'In the first version, Harriet [sic] had been a colourless sentimentally-conceived romantic heroine ... in the revision, by contrast, she had the same scenes as before, but also had prominent parts in Act II, scenes, 9, 10 and 11 ... sang six solos and participated in five duets, a greater task than in the 1730 production Fielding had assigned to two actresses'. Edgar V. Roberts, 'The Songs and Tunes in Henry Fielding's Ballad Operas', *Essays on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage: Proceedings of the 1971 Symposium of the Manchester University Department of Drama*, ed. Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson (Manchester, 1972), 31. Roberts also stresses that 'Mrs Clive was in a class by herself as a singing actress and as an influence on Fielding's ballad operas'.

⁷² Hume debunks Fielding's claim (accepted by his early biographers) that the Italian opera in London imperilled the success of rival entertainments. Robert D. Hume, 'Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s', *ML*, 67 (1986).

nay, you extort, by the force of your Merit, the Applause of those who are languishing for the Return of *Cuzzoni*.

And here I cannot help reflecting with some Pleasure, that the Town, that part of it, at least, which is not quite *Italianized*, have one Obligation to me, who made the first Discovery of your great Capacity, and brought you earlier forward on the Theatre, than the Ignorance of some and the Envy of others would have otherwise permitted. I shall not here dwell on any thing so well known as your Theatrical Merit, which one of the finest Judges and the greatest Man of his Age hath acknowledged to exceed in Humour that of any of your Predecessors in his Time⁷³.

'The Epistle' and the *Author's Farce* epilogue exploited a corpus of criticism fired by nationalist and gender politics. In presenting Mrs Clive both as victim of Italian opera and the source of a robust alternative, Fielding made her embody English values. Her personality and stage presence were held to call audiences back to their proper allegiance, associated in 'The Epistle' with sexual propriety. Through her soothing presence, she could rescue audiences from the irrationality, libidinous pleasures, blurring of gender roles, and indulgence in luxury which the *dramma per musica* putatively unleashed⁷⁴.

In being constructed as a leading opponent of incursions by Italian singers, Mrs Clive came to symbolize opposition to foreign penetration of local economies, indigenous traditions and shared values generally. Booksellers helped foster the link between the 'pious [British] daughter' of the epilogue and that of the 'Epistle' when they took the unusual step of printing the epilogue of the mainpiece (*The Author's Farce*) in the playbook of its far more successful afterpiece (*The Intriguing Chambermaid*). Fielding subsequently tagged Mrs Clive's

⁷³ 'Epistle to Mrs Clive', Fielding, *The Intriguing Chambermaid. A Comedy ... taken from the French of Regnard*.

⁷⁴ Criticism of the *dramma per musica* began c1710, soon after the first operas were mounted in London. By the 1730s it had become a light industry encompassing prologues, epilogues, stage burlesques, squibs, pamphlets, prints, ballads, vocal compositions (above all by Henry Carey), poems, journal articles, and countless jibes within plays. The best-known scholar of this literature is Thomas McGeary, whose writings include among others, Thomas McGeary, "'Warbling Eunuchs": Opera, Gender and Sexuality on the London Stage, 1705-1742', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 7, no. 1 [2nd series] (1992) and Thomas McGeary, 'Opera, Satire, and Politics in the Walpole Era', *The Past as Prologue: Essays to celebrate the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of ASECS*, ed. Carla H. Hay and Syndy M. Conger (New York, 1994). See also Thomas McGeary, 'Gendering Opera: Italian Opera as the Feminine Other in Britain, 1700-1742', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 14 (1994). The fusion of gender biases with nationalist rhetoric in opera criticism of the 1730s is traced in Suzanne Aspden, "'An Infinity of Factions": Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 9, no. 1 (1997). A bibliography of pre-1719 anti-opera publications is listed in Lowell Lindgren, 'Critiques of Opera in London, 1705-1719', *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età Barocca*, ed. A. Colzani and others (Como, 1995).

opposition to the Italians musically: in her *Author's Farce* epilogue, she had cited Senesino's aria 'Dimmi cara' (from Handel's *Scipione*, 1726) as an example of adulterated taste; in his 1735 Clive vehicle *The Virgin Unmask'd* (1735), Fielding transferred 'Dimmi cara' to Quaver, an opera singer whose advances Lucy/Mrs Clive rebuffs in favour of Mr Ballad⁷⁵.

Once Cibber's rebel company had reinstated itself at Drury Lane in March 1734, enthusiasm for Fielding's productions waned. Mrs Clive pressed on to fresh successes, however, despite the new manager Fleetwood appointing her opponent Theophilus Cibber as his deputy. This career divergence between Clive and Fielding is suggestive of the expendability of authors and the indispensability of principal players to the eighteenth-century London stage.

Despite cooled relations between management and author, Fleetwood commissioned from Fielding a mainpiece and afterpiece for the 1734-5 season. On 6 January 1735 audiences howled down Fielding's turgid five-act *Universal Gallant* (without Mrs Clive), but the Clive vehicle *Old Man Taught Wisdom, or The Virgin Unmask'd* became one of the most successful afterpieces of the century⁷⁶. This work was aggressively low-risk: the original version reverted to 'Opera' traditions in its density of songs, ballad repertory, omission of prologue/epilogue and inclusion of a musical finale. Fielding also returned to the narrative strategy of indulging the viewer's prurience under the guise of instruction. As with the heroines of the *Old Debauchees* and the *Covent-Garden Tragedy*, Lucy in *The Virgin Unmask'd* narrowly avoids (sexual) 'unmasking' at the hands of a gaggle of unsavoury stereotypes, two of whom had already courted Mrs Clive/Jenny in a 1733 opera, *The Boarding School*. Lucy rids herself of

⁷⁵ Henry Fielding, *An Old Man taught Wisdom, or The Virgin Unmask'd. A Farce* (London, 1735), 28.

⁷⁶ The failure of the *Universal Gallant* is described in Hume (1988), 189. During its first season *The Virgin Unmask'd* received 27 performances, and by 1750 this number had exceeded 250. Edmond M. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York, 1937), 145. The work was performed exclusively with Mrs Clive at Drury Lane roughly 100 times until 1740. After she gave up the role in 1749, Drury Lane performances dwindled. This was a common pattern for her vehicles.

this pair of unwanted suitors through Phillida's trick of goading them into battle with each other.

With Lucy, Fielding effectively re-masked the Virgin with the traditional prostitute's visor. He was not a pioneer here, having before him Theophilus Cibber's success with *The Harlot's Progress* (1733), discussed in the next chapter. But these productions both benefited by Fielding having recently unmasked the 'pious Daughter' behind the erotic 'Miss Raftor' guise he had constructed back in 1732. Now clad in an off-stage persona of impeccable moral standing, Mrs Clive could safely parade as a whore-like figure without endangering her reputation or offending her audiences. Fielding's two-dimensional characterization further distanced Mrs Clive from Lucy by permitting the actress to caricature, rather than 'be', the heroine. The finale was in reality a sung epilogue in which Fielding summoned the respectable off-stage Clive persona to indulge in anti-opera musical banter⁷⁷.

In a sequel, *Miss Lucy in Town* (written c1737 but not staged until 1742), the fictional Lucy penetrated even more deeply into London's torrid zones. Fielding recycled the *Covent-Garden Tragedy* trick of representing a known brothel and its frequenters, whom he identified through *ad hominem* references⁷⁸. Lucy's husband Tom, mistaking a brothel for an inn, leaves her there for the evening. Unsavoury clientele threaten the heroine's honour, which the inn-keeper/procuress tries to auction to the highest bidder. Although the plot left Mrs Clive's reputation unscathed, its explicit invocation of known figures in the local sex trade provoked

⁷⁷ '[Sung] And though soft Italians the Ladies controul,/He swears he can charm a fine Lady, by Gole!/More than an Italian can do for his Soul ...'. Fielding, *An Old Man taught Wisdom, or The Virgin Unmask'd. A Farce*, 36.

⁷⁸ 'Whilst the Farce was performing, I over-heard a Gentleman behind me cry out, by G--, it is quite natural! Damn it, I fancy myself at *Mother Heywood's* ... A sober Person sat by, taking a pinch of snuff, said, Faith *Fleetwood* had better have hired *Mother Heywood* and her Company, personally to have appeared ...'. Anon, *A Letter to a Noble Lord ... occasioned by ... a Farce call'd Miss Lucy in Town* (London, 1742), 13-14. In *Miss Lucy*, the *ad hominem* references were as follows: the procuress Mother Heywood (Mrs Haycock); the opera impresario Lord Middlesex (Lord Bawble); the soprano castrato Angelo Maria Monticelli (Signior Cantilero); and the singer-actor Mr Lowe (Mr Ballad). Anon, *A Letter to a Noble Lord ... occasioned by ... a Farce call'd Miss Lucy in Town*, 10, 17.

an anonymous 22-page tirade, and Fleetwood buried the farce⁷⁹. Evidently the staging matched the dialogue's provocativeness. The pamphleteer described a scene in which:

The Jew ... admires her Beauty, and talks of all the little Preludes to the last Scene of Love, as *soft Hands, white Neck, sweet Lips*; these Provocatives, at last, make him Sample of her, and he fairly *kisses her*, and feels her *Bubbies* ...⁸⁰.

While castigating those responsible for bringing *Miss Lucy* to the stage (author, theatre manager, censor), the anonymous critic cast no aspersions on the reputations of the players. Given that 'feeling *bubbies*' grossly transgressed on-stage decorum, the absence of negative Clive publicity suggests the extent to which her persona had itself organized the spectator's reading of the performance. The ability of her own reputation to dominate the apprehension even of so transgressive a character as Fielding's Lucy explains David Garrick's willingness to create for her a third 'Miss Lucy' role in *Lethe* (1740)⁸¹.

⁷⁹ After 19 performances during 1742, Drury Lane dropped *Miss Lucy* from the repertory. (It was revived as *The Country Madcap in London* at Covent Garden for a couple of performances in December 1770 with 'new music by [Thomas] Arne'.)

⁸⁰ Anon, *A Letter to a Noble Lord ... occasioned by ... a Farce call'd Miss Lucy in Town*, 12.

⁸¹ *Lethe* went through several revisions, and after sporadic performances, eventually established itself as one of Drury Lane's most popular afterpieces, largely due to Garrick's aggressive marketing. The first version featuring the Lucy invented by Fielding received only one performance at Drury Lane on 15 April 1740. It was picked up a year later by Goodman's Fields, where it ran regularly until 1742. This version circulated in a pirate edition issued by J. Cooke, David Garrick, *Lethe, or Esop in the Shades* (London, 1745). In 1748 Garrick adapted Lucy to Mrs Clive's bulkier physique and new 'scold' persona; thus modified, it featured her burlesquing an imperious Fine Lady (Mrs Riot) whose addiction to card gambling she celebrated in Arne's camp 'huntress' air, 'The Card Invites'. David Garrick, *Lethe. A Dramatic Satire: with the Additional Character of Lord Chalkstone*, 5th edn (London, 1757). The music was issued as a songsheet and in a collection: Thomas Arne, *GB-Lbl I.530.87* ['The Card Invites'], 'Sung by Mrs Clive in *Lethe*' and Thomas A. Arne, *The Agreeable Musical Choice*, vi (London, [1757]), 18-22. As discussed in ch. 3, from 1756 Mrs Clive also improvised a 'Mimic Italian Song' when playing Mrs Riot. In 1749 Garrick released two writings to stimulate reception of the 1748 version (*A Letter to Mr G----k ... with some remarks upon Lethe, Lethe Rehears'd or a Critical Discussion of the Beauties and Blemishes of that Performance*), and once its success was assured from 1756, he added to the play what became one of his most celebrated roles, Lord Chalkstone. Charles Woods attributes the link between the 'Lucy' characters in the *Virgin Unmask'd*, *Miss Lucy* and *Lethe* to the dramatists (rather than the player), and floats the dubious theory that Fielding assisted Garrick in writing *Lethe*. Charles B. Woods, 'The "Miss Lucy" Plays of Fielding and Garrick', *Philological Quarterly*, 41, no. 1 (1962).

Postlude

One thread running through the Fielding-Clive story is the tension between authorial intent and the exigencies of persona marketing. Much Fielding scholarship is devoted to teasing out pronouncements on national or gender politics which he embedded in his plays. Fielding's stage works were undoubtedly informed by his desire to participate publicly in contemporary social debate: his warring versions of Mrs Clive were themselves testimony to the 'conflict between moralism and subversion' underlying his on-stage commentary⁸². His Clive vehicles, like his non-Clive works, constituted a unique dramatic territory within which norms were repeatedly dissolved and reformulated. But modern efforts to find the author's voice tend to obscure the period audience's obsession with another identity: that of the player. Mrs Clive's talents, her line, and her off-stage activities necessarily co-authored the script.

One must also be alert to the constructed nature of Fielding's sympathy for Mrs Clive. In order to maintain credibility with stargazers, the promoter or publicity manager must pretend to intimacy with the star. Fielding's playbook introductions particularly emphasized his personal knowledge of the actress. But when Fielding no longer stood to gain from advancing her cause, he allowed the mask of friendship to slip. In *Tumbledown Dick*, produced at the Haymarket in 1736, Fielding both travestied Clive's hit pantomime *The Fall of Phaeton*, and pilloried her personally: the character 'Clymene' stood for Mrs Clive, whom he represented as a shrew and a slut with illusions of grandeur⁸³. Although in *Amelia* (1752)

⁸² Terry Castle, 'The Carnivalization of English Narrative', *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (Oxford and New York, 1995), 116.

⁸³ In his mock-pantomime, Fielding's reference to Mrs Clive is clear: 'the Lady *Clymene* [pronounced 'klim-eeen'] or *Clymene* [pronounced 'kley-meen'] as they call her in *Drury Lane*'. In a reference to Mrs Clive's role of Nell, Clymene's son Phaedra complains at being stuck in a 'Cobler's Stall'. Henry Fielding, *Tumble-down Dick, or Phaeton in the Suds* (London, 1736), 3-4. When Fielding mounted *Tumble-Down Dick*, Mrs Clive was performing Clymene in *The Fall of Phaeton* set to Arne's music. In Fielding's travesty, the illegitimate Phaedra calls himself 'son of a whore'; Clymene humiliates herself through her pretensions to greatness. Fielding, *Tumble-down Dick, or Phaeton in the Suds*, 13-15. According to his introduction to this work, Fielding was also targeting John Rich, Mrs Pritchard, and pantomime generally. Several modern articles review Fielding's hostility

Fielding was later to draw a parallel between Mrs Clive's skills and those of Shakespeare⁸⁴, in his translation of Juvenal's sixth satire he made her a prototype of unruly modern women who 'Paint their Faces out like Witches'⁸⁵. Such contradictions remind us that faked relationships have long been central to star production.

Fielding's frustrations with having to manage Mrs Clive's image also become evident in retrospect. In *Eurydice hiss'd* (1737) he critiqued the failure of his final Clive vehicle, *Eurydice, or the Devil Henpeck'd*, which had premiered on 19 February 1737⁸⁶. In a dialogue between the Muse and the poet Pillage, Fielding appears to blame the failure of the *Devil Henpeck'd* on his own willingness to pander to commercial taste:

Muse: Art thou not conscious of the Wrongs I bear,
Neglected, slighted for a fresher Muse? ...
Ask thy base, whose is *Eurydice*?
Pillage: By all that's great, begotten on no Muse,
The trifling Offspring of an idle Hour,
When you were absent, far below your Care.
Muse: Can I believe you had her by no Muse?
Pillage: Ay, by your Love ...⁸⁷.

The debate between Muse and Poet is over authorship ('whose is *Eurydice*?'): weak characterization ('a trifling Offspring') and the exile of the Muse arose due to concessions,

to pantomime, including Charles W. Nichols, 'Fielding's Tumble-Down Dick', *Modern Language Notes*, 38, no. 7 (1923) and Charles W. Nichols, 'Fielding's Satire on Pantomime', *PMLA*, 46 (1931). See also Peter Lewis, 'Three Notes on Fielding's Plays', *Notes and Queries*, 119 (1974).

⁸⁴ 'Such indeed was her Image, that neither could Shakespeare describe, nor Clive act a Fury in higher perfection'. Martin C. Battestin, ed., *Henry Fielding: Amelia* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1983), 43. Battestin interprets this as personal opinion: 'To the end of his life Fielding would praise "Kitty" Clive ...'. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 170.

⁸⁵ Fielding modernized Juvenal's complaints about women appropriating male roles within society by inserting a metaphor based on actresses in trouser roles. (In fact, Mrs Clive never played such roles). The passage ran: 'Others, I say, themselves turn Players,/With Clive and Woffington's gay Airs; Paint their Faces out like Witches,/And cram their Thighs into Fle—w—d's Breeches'. Henry Fielding, *Miscellanies*, i (Dublin, 1743), 65. Felicity Nussbaum explains the relationship between the popularity of Juvenal's satire in England during this period and contemporary prejudices towards females who sought public recognition. She contends that the popularity of Juvenal's satire rested on its neat packaging of negative female stereotypes which Fielding represented according to current fashion ('including the whore, the coquette [and] the Amazon'). Felicity Nussbaum, *The Brink of all we Hate: English Satires on Women, 1660-1750* (Lexington, KY, 1984), 85-7.

⁸⁶ The play was first published in Fielding, *Miscellanies*, 249-76.

⁸⁷ Henry Fielding, *The Historical Register, for the Year 1736 ... to which is added a very merry Tragedy, call'd Eurydice Hiss'd* (Dublin, 1737), 40.

presumably market pressure to conform to the Clive persona ('by all that's great, begotten on no Muse')⁸⁸.

After 1734 Fielding failed to reap further benefits from his Clive publicity. She, however, profited throughout her career from his input. Fielding's vehicles showcasing Clive's acting talents and his 'revelations' of her putative off-stage gentility prepared audiences for the Davison-Van Haecken vision of Mrs Clive discussed in chapter three (Fig. 3.18). Both this and the Faber portrait (Fig. 3.15) made concrete what was perhaps Fielding's most significant contribution to Mrs Clive's publicity: the suggestion that her seriousness as an actress qualified her to inherit the mantle of the 'Celebrated Mrs Oldfield'. This actress's premature death in 1730 had deprived Drury Lane of its '*brightest Star*'⁸⁹. By persistently marketing Mrs Clive as an actress (rather than singer), and possibly by penning the *Theatre turned upside-down* (1733), Fielding had helped Drury Lane merge Mrs Clive's line and image with that of Mrs Oldfield. Throughout the 1730s, Mrs Clive took possession of her predecessor's key roles: Elvira in *The Spanish Fryar*, 1733; Estifania in *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, 1733; Aurelia in *The Twin Rivals*, 1734; and Biddy in *The Tender Husband*, 1736 – to

⁸⁸ Battestin and Hume disagree on the reason for the work's failure. Battestin believes that the riot between footmen and other audience members which erupted on the opening night blocked a positive reception; he also quotes Fielding's testimony in *Eurydice Hiss'd* that a dig at the military upset some audience members. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life*, 213-14. Hume believes that the audience simply disliked the farce, arguing that its poor reception prompted Fielding to add the sub-title 'as it was damn'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane' when he finally published *Eurydice* in 1743. I would side with Hume; further, I would posit that audiences rejected the farce because Fielding set up expectations for a mimic scene from Mrs Clive that he failed to deliver. *Eurydice* is the stereotypical 'Fine Lady' who rebuffs Orpheus in order to indulge in female diversions available in the Underworld. Such a stereotype usually manifested her intemperance by fawning over castrati. *Eurydice* was unable to enact such a scene, however, because Fielding made Orpheus an Italian tenor whom she then rejects. In short, Fielding tripped up in his manipulation of Clive stereotypes, merging two Clive tropes – the Fine Lady and the Opera Enemy – which negated each other.

⁸⁹ 'But Mrs Oldfield's Voice, Figure and Manner of Playing soon made her shine out, even here, the *brightest Star*'. [Edmund Curll], *Faithful Memoirs of the Life, Amours and Performances of the justly Celebrated and most Eminent Actress of her Time, Mrs Ann Oldfield* (London, 1731), 20. This was perhaps the first time the term 'star' was used to signify a celebrated actor; the Oxford English Dictionary dates the word's modern meaning from 1824.

name but a few⁹⁰. The Clive portraits of 1734 and 1735, despite reproducing her likeness, were careful to duplicate Oldfield poses (Figs. 4.2 to 4.5). In his mezzotint (Fig. 3.15), Faber implicitly hailed Mrs Clive as the new Mrs Oldfield by titling Clive's portrait 'The Celebrated Mrs Clive' after Oldfield's then popular biography⁹¹. Finally, in 1746, Mrs Clive set the seal on her position as Mrs Oldfield's heir by acquiring the latter's famed patriotic epilogue, 'The cause of Liberty to the Beauties of Great Britain'⁹².

Mrs Clive was not a copy of Mrs Oldfield, however, but a permutation of her, and no critic ever equated their acting manner. Singing was what chiefly differentiated Clive from Oldfield: artists replaced the playbook Mrs Oldfield had clasped with a songbook held open by Mrs Clive in her lap. The 1735 mezzotint extolled Mrs Clive's vocal talent. According to its iconography and epigram, her voice had assumed new powers: rather than exciting male desire, the soprano now 'soothed' the listener with its 'heavenly strains'. Graciously poised within a private space, the shepherdess of her early promotion had now yielded to Mrs Clive, the harmonising Comic Muse.

⁹⁰ The trend continued until 1741, by which time Mrs Clive had taken over most of Mrs Oldfield's celebrated comic roles: Mrs Brittle in *The Amorous Widow*, 1736; Laetitia in *The Old Batchelor*, 1737; Narcissa in *Love's Last Shift*, 1738; Mrs Lovett in *Man of Mode*, 1738; Lady Lurewell in *The Constant Couple*, 1741; Lady Townley in *The Provok'd Husband*, 1740; and Millamant in *Way of the World*, 1740. Compare this list with Mrs Oldfield's repertory (Appendix 2) in Joanne Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield: the Life and Art of an Actress* (Carbondale, IL, 1989).

⁹¹ [Curl], *Faithful Memoirs of the Life, Amours and Performances of the justly Celebrated and most Eminent Actress of her Time, Mrs Ann Oldfield*. Curl's biography of Mrs Oldfield was preceded by another, the *Authentick Memoirs of the Life of the Celebrated Actress, Mrs Ann Oldfield* (1730), on which he drew heavily. Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield: the Life and Art of an Actress*, p. ix.

⁹² Mrs Oldfield's exhortations, devised as an anti-Jacobite tract after the 1715 uprising, were placed the mouth of Mrs Clive in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. The epilogue was issued in print the day after Mrs Oldfield first spoke it, and 'enjoyed its own separate run'. Its circulation spread from London broadsides and newspapers out to Edinburgh, where it was also published. Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield: the Life and Art of an Actress*, 128 and Danchin, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century*, 628. Mrs Clive spoke the epilogue as a prologue at Drury Lane on 15 and 21 April 1746 a year after the Battle of Culloden (16 April 1745).

Fig. 4.2: John Faber after Pieter van Bleeck, *The Celebrated Mrs Clive, late Miss Raftor in the Character of Phillida*, 1734. Mezzotint [Fig. 3.15].



Fig. 4.3: Jonathan Richards, *Ann Oldfield* [n.d.]. Oil on canvas. Reproduced in Joanne Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield* (1989).



Fig. 4.4: Alexander van Haecken after Joseph van Haecken, *Mrs Clive*, 1735. Mezzotint [Fig. 3.18].



Fig. 4.5: Jonathan Richards, *Ann Oldfield* [n.d.]. Oil on canvas. Reproduced in Joanne Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield* (1989).



FIVE

‘IN WIT SUPERIOR, AS IN FIGHTING’: EXPROPRIATING THE *IN PROPRIA PERSONA*

Introduction

A novel medium for star promotion took hold of the London stage in the eighteenth century: the *in propria persona* vehicle. This theatrical form exemplified the processes at work in the formation of period celebrities in general, and it did so self-consciously. An *in propria persona* role allowed the player’s own commodified personality to be the protagonist, within a narrative designed largely to set off that personality to best effect¹. *In propria persona* roles are also one of our most useful sources of information about what producers anticipated audiences would look for in a star, and about how producers sought to inflect the star’s image. The following chapter compares Mrs Clive’s first two *in propria persona* roles – in the pantomime *The Harlot’s Progress* (1733) and the musical farce *The Coffee House* (1738) – to trace changes in the representation of her ‘personality’.

Between these first and second *in propria* representations, in 1736, she successfully fought off the Drury Lane management’s attempt to transfer her lead role of Polly in the *Beggar’s Opera* to her rival, Mrs Cibber. Mrs Clive’s adroit manipulation of public opinion in the course of her campaign against Drury Lane, together with support for her in the press, changed how audiences perceived her. After 1736, the articulate, humorous and indomitable rebel replaced Fielding’s ‘pious daughter’ as the dominant strand in Clive’s line. The ground for this change was prepared by her new writer James Miller, whose vehicles wove together

¹ The template for this genre lay in the Duke of Buckingham’s burlesque, *The Rehearsal* (1671) in which the playwright represented John Dryden as ‘Bayes’. In his chapter ‘The Importance of *The Rehearsal*’, Peter Lewis points out that Buckingham adapted the structure and methods of Molière’s *L’impromptu de Versailles* (1663) to caricature both the ‘personal characteristics’ of Dryden and his writing style. Peter Lewis, *Fielding’s Burlesque Drama* (Edinburgh, 1987), 11-23. Later *in propria persona* vehicles on the London stage often adopted the rehearsal play format, as in Mrs Clive’s *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (1753).

Carey's vision of the emancipated female with her later topoi, including the comic muse and the stout defender of British values. The new Mrs Clive was put before the public fully realized in Miller's *Coffee House*, where Miss Kitty, the ruler of the coffee bar, stepped forth to deliver the song that became her musical trademark.

Of Progressive Harlots and Deluded Coxcombs

Ironically, her chief opponent in the 1736 Polly row, Theophilus Cibber, had until the Drury Lane rebellion of 1733 been a major supporter. During the early 1730s, Cibber had managed the Drury Lane 'summer company', a troupe of young company members who tested new productions after 'the Town' had left London for the season. According to his 1733 letter defending his rebellion – a self-aggrandizing tract that was later lampooned in a mock biography – Cibber had an instinct for selecting productions advantageous to young players such as Mrs Clive, whom he said he had worked tirelessly to promote. Following Clive's success in the farce *The Miser* (1732), Cibber credited himself with having procured her both a salary increase and the production rights to the farce for her benefit, in the teeth of management opposition². Although Cibber's testimony on this point was transparently self-serving, he had in fact seemed to manifest a real eagerness to support the actress by producing

² The passage in Cibber's letter regarding Mrs Clive ran: 'Upon Recollection, I think I was above three Weeks bringing it to bear, that Miss *Raftor*, having acquitted herself so much to the Satisfaction of the Town in the Character of *Lappet*, should have an immediate Satisfaction or Reward; at length I procured her having ten Guineas extraordinary and a Promise of Advance of Salary, next Winter; and by my Persuasion she took the Play of the *Miser* for her Benefit in the height of its Success, tho' it had not been usual to give a Performer a new Play for their Benefit in its first Run'. Theophilus Cibber, *A Letter from Theophilus Cibber, Comedian, to John Highmore, Esq.* (London, [1733]). The passage was parodied thus: 'Accordingly, I got Leave from Mr Wilks and the other Masters, to form a young Company, and to play during the Vacation ... I generally brought out some new Pieces and Farces, which not only turned to our immediate Account, but to the good of the Actors ... To Instance this, I need say no more than that *George Barnwell*, the *Devil to Pay*, the *Mock Doctor*, the *Beggar's Opera*, the Part of *Polly* by Mrs Clive, were first perform'd under my management of Summer Companies: From these young Companies see what Performers have been chiefly sprung; Mrs Clive, Mrs Butler, and, though last, not least in Love – MYSELF'. Anon, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T--- C----*, *Comedian* (London, 1740), 85-6.

her first *in propria persona* vehicle, *The Harlot's Progress*, after William Hogarth's picture series.

The choice was extremely shrewd. Hogarth's series 'first made his genius conspicuously known' and enjoyed enormous circulation³. Conceived as an illustrated cautionary tale, the images invited dramatization. Cibber was not the only author to narrate the contents, but unlike others, he was wildly successful in doing so⁴. He piggy-backed on the artist's burgeoning popularity by dedicating the work to him, and induced the publisher to preface the edition with lavish engravings of Hogarth and Cibber himself (Figs. 5.1 to 5.3). The parallels between Hogarth's methods for chronicling a country's maiden's demise through the London sex trade and those deployed to similar effect by Fielding in the *Covent-Garden Tragedy* (and later in *Miss Lucy in Town*) were striking. Both encouraged the identification of well-known London purveyors of vice while pretending to instruction⁵. Such 'Modern Moral Subjects' titillated viewers by parading recognizable individuals in a kind of test of audience knowledge about urban erotic topography (Figs. 5.4 to 5.6).

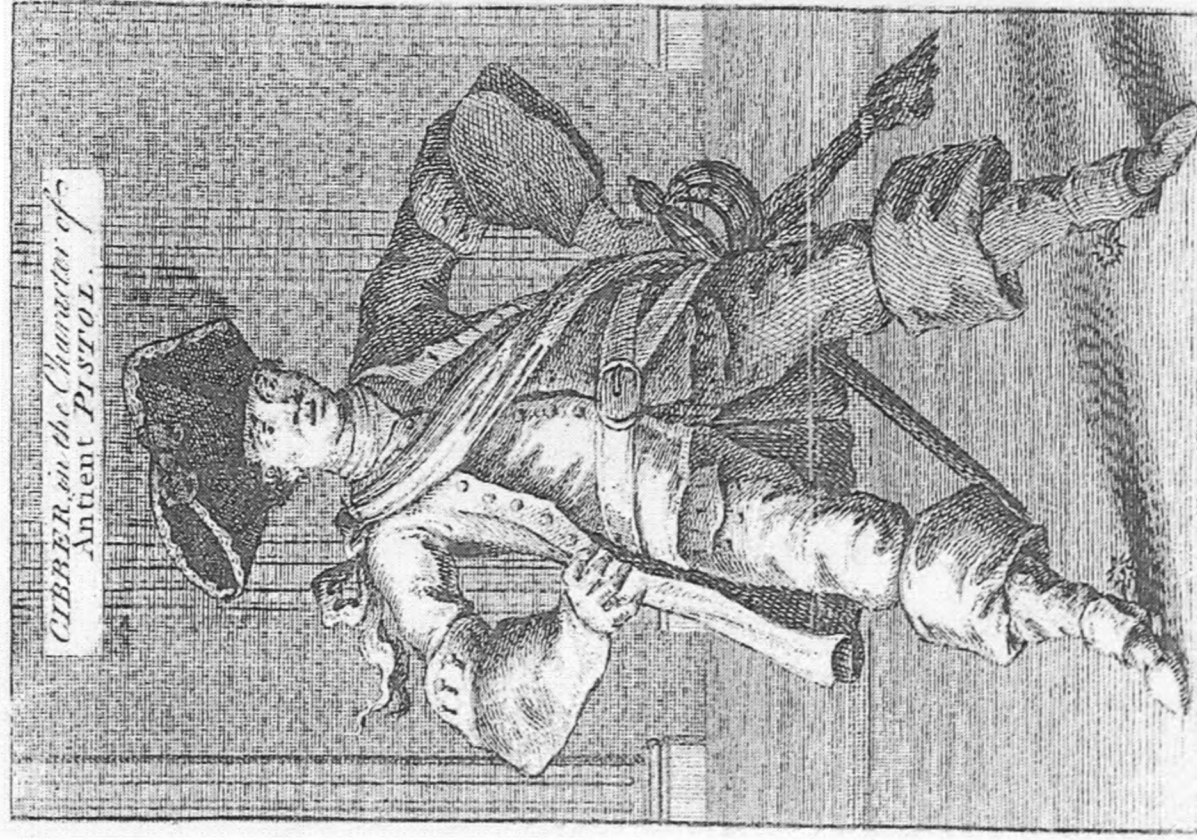
Cibber only partly followed this strategy. Although he reproduced Hogarth's settings, he replaced the anti-heroine Moll [Kate] Hackabout, a celebrated London whore, with Miss Kitty. He also abandoned Hogarth's eventual damning of the prostitute, dramatizing only the

³ In the words of Hogarth's first biographer, the 'familiarity of the subject, and the propriety of its execution, made the *Harlot's Progress* tasted by all ranks of people. Above twelve hundred names were entered in his subscription-book'. John Nichols, *Anecdotes of Mr Hogarth* (London, [1780]), 10.

⁴ Two less successful narrations of Hogarth's prints were Anon, *The Jew decoy'd, or The Progress of a Harlot. A new Ballad Opera of three Acts* (London, 1733) and John Breval, *The Lure of Venus, or A Harlot's Progress. An heroi-comical Poem ... founded upon Mr. Hogarth's six Paintings* (London, 1733). Cibber's pantomime was performed 105 times between 1733 and 1746, with 78 of these productions mounted before 1738, when Mrs Clive quit the role.

⁵ Topical references abounded: the anti-heroine, named 'Moll Hackabout' in the print series stood for Kate Hackabout, a notorious prostitute whose arraignment and gruesome death at the pillory made front-page news in the *Grub-Street Journal*, 6 Aug 1730. Mother Needham, the procuress depicted in the first print, ran one of London's largest brothels. The debauchment of Colonel Charteris, whose portrait also appears in the first print, was so notorious that, despite his station, he was sentenced to the stocks, where he was killed by assailants. In describing Hogarth's prints, Nichols implied that contemporary viewers were familiar with the public figures to whom Hogarth was alluding. Nichols, *Anecdotes of Mr Hogarth*, 49.

Fig. 5.1: Anon, *Cibber in the Character of Antient Pistol*, 1733. Engraved frontispiece [in *The Harlot's Progress*].



Theophilus Cibber, *The Harlot's Progress, or The Ridotto al'Fresco*, 1733. Title page.

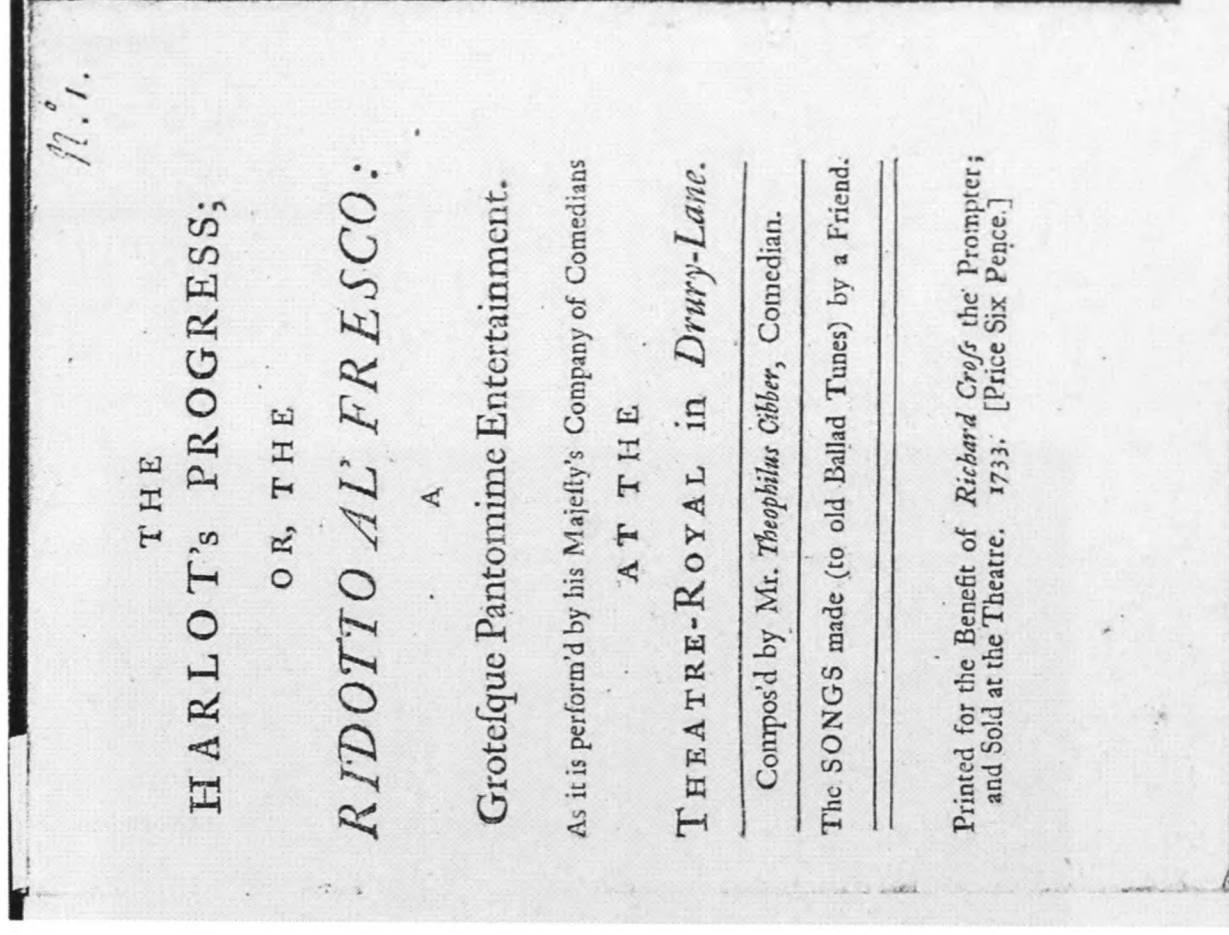


Fig. 5.2:

Fig. 5.3: Anon, *Mr William Hogarth*, 1733. Engraved frontispiece [in *The Harlot's Progress*].



Mr. William Hogarth.

Fig. 5.4: William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress, I*, 1733. Engraving [in *The Lure of Venus, or A Harlot's Progress*].



Fig. 5.5: William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress, II*, 1733. Engraving [in *The Lure of Venus, or A Harlot's Progress*].

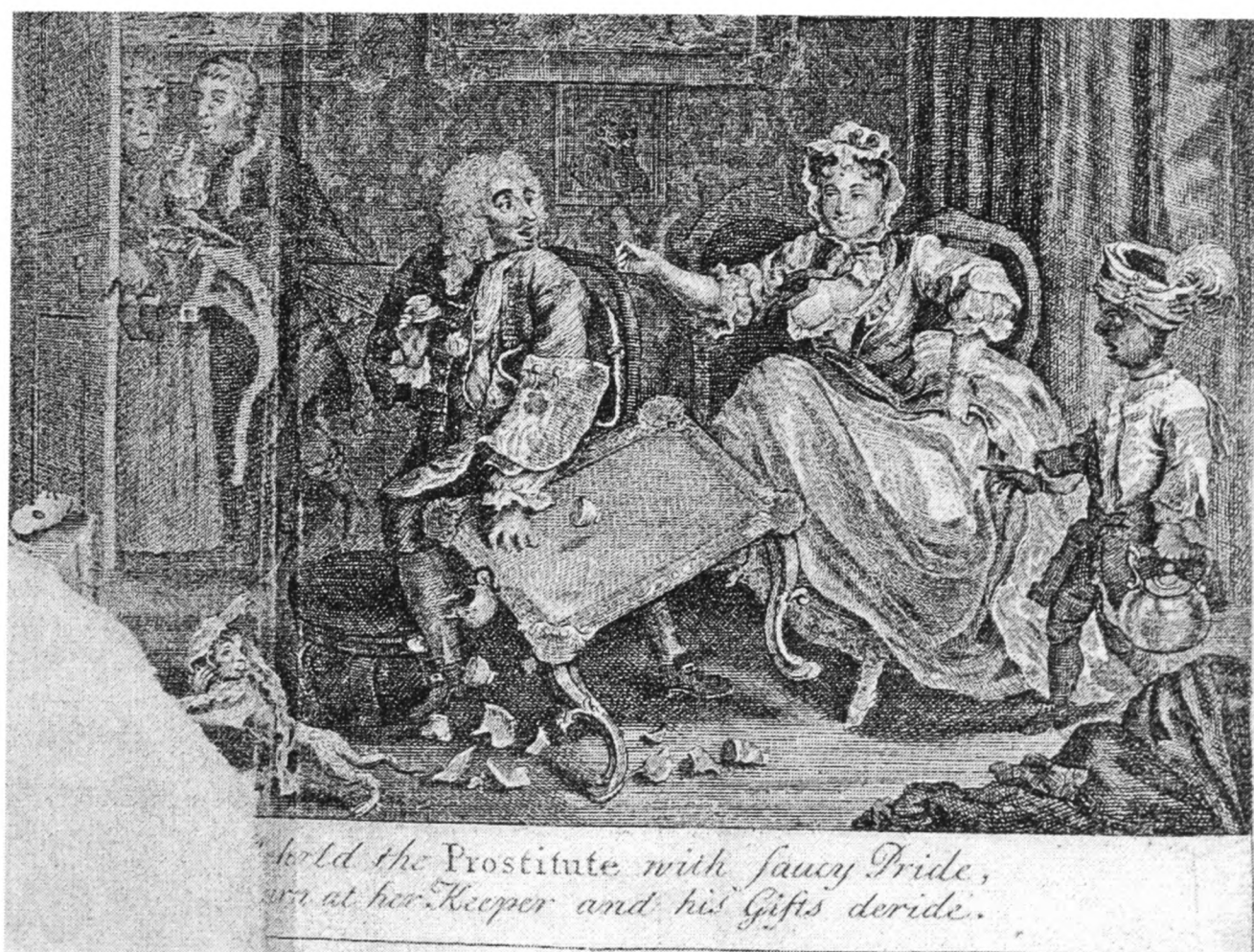


Fig. 5.6: William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, III, 1733. Engraving [in *The Lure of Venus, or A Harlot's Progress*].



first three prints of the series. His production thereby shed any moralizing pretence: instead of depicting the whore's horrific fate, 'Miss Kitty' triumphed over her adversaries in a finale featuring a masquerade that allowed her to elude prosecution. Such a modification inverted Hogarth's apparent didactic purpose; the retained scenes glorified Miss Kitty's violations of moral order, and the finale's jubilation (in lieu of retribution) vindicated her defiance⁶. This re-writing of Hogarth was occasioned by both the appearance of Mrs Clive as Miss Kitty and the dramatic exigencies of pantomime.

Pantomime, as conceived by its founder John Weaver, revolved around a masque-like representation of a serious subject (often from classical mythology) that intermixed dialogue and 'high style' music'. This was fragmented and subverted by a mimed harlequinade accompanied by 'Comic tunes'. Typically one scene melted into another, with harlequin either upsetting the story's logical progression or representing a grotesque version of the serious narrative; in effect, harlequinade scrambled the narrative, and scenic transformations dissolved it⁷. Modern social historians recognize that the *commedia dell'arte* was one of the few eighteenth-century dramatic forms to preserve a link to medieval carnival festivities: behind the mask of harlequinade lurked the collective desires of the Pit, Box and Gallery⁸. Stage

⁶ According to the playbook, after Miss Kitty escapes with Harlequin, a 'Variety of People appear in Masquerade, and a grand Comic Ballad is perform'd by different Characters to English, Scotch, Irish, and French Tunes, which concludes the whole'. Theophilus Cibber, *The Harlot's Progress, or The Ridotto al Fresco. A Grotesque Pantomime Entertainment* (London, 1733), 12.

⁷ Only two monographs on English pantomime have appeared: Clive G. Chapman, 'English Pantomime and its Music' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1981) and Viola Papetti, *Arlecchino a Londra: la pantomima inglese, 1700-1728* (Naples, 1977). Although excellent, both examine the genre's development only until the mid-1720s. Other articles on pantomime traditions include Emmet L. Avery, 'Dancing and Pantomime on the English Stage, 1700-1737', *Studies in Philology*, 31 (1934) and Mitchell P. Wells, 'Spectacular Scenic Effects of the Eighteenth-Century Pantomime', *Philological Quarterly*, 16 (1937).

⁸ 'There was [after the Renaissance] a formalization of carnival-grotesque images ... its artistic, heuristic, and unifying forces were preserved in all essential manifestations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the *commedia dell'arte* (which kept a close link with its carnival origin)'. Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Introduction', *Rabelais and his World* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 34-5. According to Bakhtin, the subversive role of Harlequin was first analysed in Justus Möser's *Harlekin, oder die Verteidigung des Grotesk-Komischen* (1761). Guy Callan, who both studies and performs Harlequin, describes harlequinade scenes, or *lazzi*, thus: 'This combination of deep conceptual meditation [*concezione*] and highly evolved figural language [*figura*] made it [harlequinade] as suitable a vehicle as any other Baroque form for the articulation of desire and instinctual drives (I am using these

theorists railed against pantomime, sensing that behind its extravagant productions, harlequin's enactment of taboos – and the efflux of his transformations – tapped into a suppressed communal desire to see established power relationships and sexual mores crumble. Critics' protests went unheeded: audience fascination with concupiscence and defiance translated into an unquenchable thirst for *lazzi*⁹.

Cibber merged this promiscuous musical form with the ballad opera for which Miss Kitty was celebrated¹⁰. Both in plot development and music, his pantomime was more unified and tightly structured than its forerunners in this genre. Necessarily confined to the storyline of just three Hogarth prints, the action was entirely enacted through dumb-show, with

terms in the Freudian sense) bypassing or transforming language as precise, socially communicating and integrating'. Guy Callan, 'The *commedia dell'arte* as Baroque Culture: Concezione e Figura', *Leading Notes*, no. 13 (1997), 10.

⁹ In pantomime criticism, three main objections surfaced: the 'monstrosity' (i.e. fluidity) of form; its sensual rather than rational appeal (in the context of this critique, writers often equated pantomime with *dramma per musica*); and Harlequin's transgressions of social codes. Papetti offers some insights into the harlequinade's subversive pleasures which continued to attract audiences of the mid-eighteenth century: 'Il lazzo, secondo la definizione prucciana "un certo scherzo, arguzia o metafora in parole o in fatti"... era il luogo del mondo all rovescia, ove la fame, il sesso e la paura facevano teatro contro lo psicologismi dei personaggi nobili e borghesi'. ('The lazzo, according to Prucci's definition, [is] "a certain joke, witticism or metaphor in words and deeds"... [it] was the site of an inverted world where appetites, sex, and anxiety opposed the personal psychology of nobility or bourgeois characters'.) Papetti, *Arlecchino a Londra: la pantomima inglese, 1700-1728*, 17. She also reprints key sections from Weaver's treatise on pantomime (*A History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*, 1728). Mrs Clive's post-1734 writer James Miller authored the most celebrated attack on pantomime, *Harlequin Horace* (1731), despite Mrs Clive's heavy involvement with this genre. The best modern review of pantomime criticism is provided in ch. 3 of Paula O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1979). See also Emmet L. Avery, 'The Defence and Criticism of Pantomimic Entertainments in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of English Literary History*, 5 (1938). Caricature prints such as 'The Stage's Glory' (c1731), 'Harlequin helping Punch to Kick Apollo' (1735) [frontispiece to *Harlequin Horace*, third edition], and Hogarth's 'A Just View of the British Stage' complemented written commentary. Extracts from anti-pantomime criticism, together with the two last prints, are reprinted in Arnold Hare and David Thomas, eds, *Theatre in Europe: a Documentary History. Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1778* (Cambridge, 1989), 115-20.

¹⁰ At least two earlier pantomimes had featured occasional ballads: 'Thomas I cannot' in Weaver's *Perseus and Andromeda* (1728) and John Gay's parody of Packington's Pound ('Newgate's Garland .. to the tune of Cutpurse') in *Harlequin Sheppard* (1724). Cibber was the first author to use ballads exclusively in a pantomime. He divided the airs amongst the cast as follows: Air 1 'What tho I am a Country Lass' (the Bawd [Mother Needham]); air 2 'Brisk Tom and Jolly Kate' (the Debauchee [Col. Chateris]); air 3 'Maggy Lawther' (the Pimp); 'O! What Pleasures will abound' (Miss Kitty); air 5 'The Lad's a Dunce' (Miss Kitty); air 6 'Maidens as fresh as Rose' (Miss Kitty/Jew). Although the playbook does not include notated tunes, the music can be reconstructed as follows: air 1 (under 'Stingo') in Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), 687-92. Air 3 is the melody of air 17 in Joseph Mitchell, *The Highland Fair, or The Union of the Clans* (London, 1731). Air 4 is the tune of air 5 published in L.J. Morrissey, ed., *Henry Fielding: The Grub-Street Opera* (Edinburgh, 1973). The melody of air 6 is printed in William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, ii (London, 1965), 792.

Harlequin tripping in to participate playfully in the plot progression. Six ballads, performed by comedians otherwise communicating through mime, broke up the scenes. In three airs, Miss Kitty celebrated the new economies (sexual and financial) she enjoyed through her abuse of her Jewish lover¹¹. Cibber slipped in a musical reference to the Clive-Fielding line by including as the fourth air one of her songs from *The Lottery* ('O What Pleasures will abound', Ex. 4.1, ch. 4), linking the country innocent of Fielding's vehicle to the maiden of Hogarth's first print (Fig. 5.3). The drama culminated in a 'Grand Masked Assembly' or the 'Ridotto al'Fresco', where disguise and riotous behaviour prevent law officers from capturing Miss Kitty and her partner Harlequin, with whom she makes her escape¹².

Cibber's hybrid pantomime/ballad farce for Miss Kitty was an overnight sensation, enjoying almost 100 performances over the next five years. How did Mrs Clive's reputation weather an *in propria persona* role equating her with a prostitute? In fact, it left no blemish at all: critics never came to associate her with whores, nor did they associate her with pantomime, despite her frequent subsequent appearances in this genre¹³. Influence seems rather to have run in the opposite direction. Re-invented as Miss Kitty, Hogarth's 'Harlot' assumed the contours of the Clive persona articulated in her Fielding plays: the coquette

¹¹ The lyrics of Miss Kitty were vigorously anti-Semitic: 'Farewell, good Mr Jew;/Now I hate your tawny Face;/I'll have no more to do/With you or any of your Race'. Cibber, *The Harlot's Progress, or The Ridotto al Fresco. A Grottesque Pantomime Entertainment*, 10. This prejudice became integrated into her line. Apart from her later pantomimes (see below), Fielding and Miller respectively re-staged her humiliation of a Jewish admirer in *Miss Lucy in Town* (written 1737, performed 1742) and *The Coffee House* (1739).

¹² According to Ronald Paulson, Hogarth introduced the *ridotto al'fresco* – a masked assembly with music and dancing – to London in 1733 by suggesting to Jonathan Tyers, the director of Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, that he organize such an entertainment. A 'successful hit', the *ridotto* allegedly saved Tyers from bankruptcy. The *Ridotto* was yet another fresh fashion into which Cibber integrated his pantomime. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: his Life, Art and Times*, ii (London and New Haven, 1977), 70-72.

¹³ Thus far only one report linking Mrs Clive to pantomime has surfaced. Mrs Clive was held up as one of several 'excellent Actors' whose talents this 'Theatrick Monster' threatens to swallow up, Anon, *The Daily Journal*, 29 Dec 1736. As discussed earlier, her erstwhile friend Fielding lambasted her for participating in the hit pantomime, *The Fall of Phaeton*, depicting her ('Clymene') as a hypocrite. Henry Fielding, *Tumble-down Dick, or Phaeton in the Suds* (London, 1736). Mrs Clive sang many of Drury Lane's most popular pantomime roles. These ranged from classical or emblematic figures in masque sections in traditional pantomimes (*Perseus and Andromeda, with the Rape of Colombine; Harlequin Dr Faustus*) to modernized comic characters of the 1730s (such as in *Merlin and the Devil of Stone-Henge*). See Appendix 2.

whose duplicity towards suitors was a ploy to amuse and educate the viewer. As shown in the preceding chapter, Fielding himself came to promote, and make use of, Clive's ability to turn prostitutes into objects of audience sympathy with the 'Miss Lucy' character of *The Virgin Unmask'd* (1735) and *Miss Lucy in Town* (1742). Cibber's *The Harlot's Progress* suggests that the player-personality was the basic syntactic tool dominating the cognitive process of 'coordination': the spectator construed the fictional character's meaning primarily in relation to the actor's identity¹⁴.

Miss Kitty established a Clive line in pantomimes: *Cupid and Psyche, or the Colombine Courtezan* (1734) was virtually a *Harlot's Progress* re-write¹⁵. Like its antecedent, the *Colombine Courtezan* was a hybrid pantomime/ballad opera, with the 'serious story' (Cupid and Psyche) alternating with Harlequin's comic scenes and ballads. Besides reappearing as a comic whore, Mrs Clive again sang meretricious ballads relishing her sexual empowerment¹⁶. Her relentless abuse of an exotic lover, the humiliation of *primi uomi*, and a

¹⁴ The means of conjuring up Miss Kitty were primitive – ballads, popular prejudices, slapstick humour. They were obviously effective, but semiotic accounts of theatre audience cognition have frustratingly little to say about the contribution of players. Vastly simplified, the standard argument such as it is runs as follows: understanding is genre-bound (Eric Hirsch); it evolves through audiences comparing expected 'textual systems' (*Erwartungshorizont*) with presented ones. Semioticians divide these systems into co-textual (those which share themes and semantic features) and contextual (shared codes of performance). The audience member assembles a 'textual structure' out of this series of codes (Christian Metz); live interpretation invites a restructuring of these systems. Marco De Marinis, *The Semiotics of Performance*, trans. Aine O'Healy, 2nd edn (Bloomington, IN, 1992), 177-88.

¹⁵ The pantomime was one of the rare successes at Drury Lane during the actors' 1733-4 rebellion, with 25 performances during its first season. Dennis Martin notes that John F. Lampe is 'generally credited with having written the comic tunes and at least one single extant song'. Besides Mrs Clive, the presence of a seven-foot tall giant attracted audiences. Martin's statement that 'without Lampe's popular music [in *Colombine Courtezan* and the *Fatal Falsehood*] ... Highmore's theatrical fortunes probably would have sunk even more rapidly than they did' typically overlooks the impact of the performer. Mrs Clive led the casts in both works. Dennis R. Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe* (Detroit, 1985), 34-5.

¹⁶ Apart from Carey's air (Ex. 5.1) and one air for Mr Salway, the tunes survive as a keyboard arrangement only, in John Frederick Lampe, *A Collection of Aires, Pastorells, Chacoons ... in Colombine Courtezan ... to which is Prefix'd the Original Medley Overture* (London, [1740]). Mr Salway's air, preserved in a songsheet, is reprinted in Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe*, 37. Lampe's ear for the idioms of the popular ballad is evident, although he does not directly quote any extant tunes from *The Harlot's Progress*. For textual congruencies between Mrs Clive's ballads in *The Harlot's Progress* and *Colombine Courtezan*, compare her first songs in both Cibber's pantomime (air 4, to the tune 'O what Pleasures will abound') and Lampe's. The lyrics of the former are: 'Who wou'd not a Mistress be/Kept in Splendour thus like me?/Deckt in golden rich Array,/Sparkling at each Ball and Play! ...'. In the latter they read: 'How happy's the Woman of Pleasure,/that

prison escape through Harlequin's necromancy replayed the motifs of Cibber's pantomime and Fielding's concurrent Clive publicity¹⁷. Henry Carey was enlisted to compose her motto song, a minuet titled 'Crowds of Coxcombs', which sentimentalised the Courtezan by suggesting she manipulated men to save her affections for a true lover ('Fancies feeding, still untouched I keep my heart'; Ex. 5.1). One should note that Lampe's medley overture, with its plethora of Handel opera quotations in counterpoint, was considerably more sophisticated than Richard Charke's earlier effort for *Harlequin Restor'd*, which Roger Fiske considers the first medley overture¹⁸. Possibly the presence of the Courtezan/Miss Kitty encouraged Lampe, who was an intimate friend of Carey's, to imitate her Carey-esque 'high style' repertory in the introduction¹⁹.

Over a decade later, producers tried to revive the Miss Kitty persona in *Harlequin Incendiary* (1746). In this plot, the Pope sends the Devil disguised as Harlequin to seduce Colombine into cheating mankind on the Devil's behalf. Colombine agrees and extracts payment from a Beau, a Scotch Laird, a Justice of the Peace, and a Miser for promised sexual

frolicks at will in her Prime/That riots in Joy above Measure,/And employs ev'ry Inch of her Time ...'. Anon, *Cupid and Psyche, or Colombine-Courtezan. A Dramatic Pantomime Entertainment interspers'd with Ballad Tunes* (London, 1734), 8. Compare also her derision of men in the *Harlot's Progress* (air 4, 'The Lad's a Dunce') and the *Colombine Courtezan* ('Crowds of Coxcombs thus deluding', Ex. 5.1). Cibber, *The Harlot's Progress, or The Ridotto al Fresco. A Grotesque Pantomime Entertainment*, 8 and Henry Carey, *The Musical Century*, i (London, 1737), 13.

¹⁷ Her third scene included the humiliation of the opera singers 'Mynheer Bassoon and Signior Trebolino'; they vie for approval from a 'Doctor of Music' (Harlequin), who to their shock metamorphoses into an 'Old Lady'. Anon, *Cupid and Psyche, or Colombine-Courtezan. A Dramatic Pantomime Entertainment interspers'd with Ballad Tunes*, 8-9.

¹⁸ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 160-62. While Charke quoted only ballad tunes, Lampe used three popular airs ('O what pain it is to part', 'Butter'd Pease', and 'Over the Hills and Far Away') in elegant counterpoint with music from Handel. Quotes from Handel included: 'Lusinghe piu care' (*Scipio*, 1726); 'Si caro' (*Admeto*, 1727); 'Se il caro figlio' (*Siroe*, 1728); 'Alla fama' (*Ottone*, 1722); the menuet in the overture to *Rodelinda* (1725); 'Caro vieni' (*Poro*, 1731); and 'Sgombra del anima' (*Siroe*, 1728). Lampe, *A Collection of Aires, Pastorells, Chacoons ... in Colombine Courtezan ... to which is Prefix'd the Original Medley Overture*, 1-3.

¹⁹ Martin notes Carey's formative influence on Lampe during the latter's early career. The two composers collaborated on several productions, including the English opera *Amelia* and the burlesque opera, *The Dragon of Wantley*. Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe*, 14-38.

Ex. 5.1: Henry Carey, 'Crowds of Coxcombs', *The Musical Century*, i (1737), 13.

13

Sung by M^{rs} Clive in Colombine Courtezan.

Crowds of Coxcombs, thus deluding, cringing chatt'ring

Ogling flatt'ring by coquetting, and by pruding all are

Victims to my Art. While at Will y' Fools I'm leading,

they for Favours in-ter-ceed-ing, with vain Hopes their

Fancies feeding, still untouch'd I keep my Heart, - - -

still untouch'd I keep my Heart.

Each imagines he shall gain me.
Thinks I prize him,
Who despise him,
All their Wiles shall neer obtain me,
Born to baffle all Mankind.

Like y' Winds & Waves still changing,
Never constant, ever ranging,
Lupid from my Heart estranging,
That's as cold as he is blind.
That's &c.

Flute

D

favours²⁰. These she circumvents through Harlequin's scenic transformations. The pantomime awkwardly wedded anti-Jacobite propaganda and line: the Pretender successfully woos Colombine, but is defeated by Harlequin's magic transformation. Colombine disappears, and allegorical figures (Britannia, Fame and Victory) rejoice. Not surprisingly, this amalgam of patriot rhetoric, diverse musical forms (masque, ballad, and pastoral) and a then-obsolete *in propria persona* representation failed to win audiences²¹.

The Rival Queens of Drury Lane: Checkmating Theophilus Cibber

Theophilus Cibber's interest in advancing Mrs Clive waned after she sided with Highmore in the rebellion of 1733-4. He had also discovered a rival talent: his second wife Susanna Arne, sister to Thomas, whom he married on 21 April 1734. She had debuted as a soprano in Lampe's *Amelia* in 1732, and sang the female roles in *Acis and Galatea* (Haymarket, 17 May 1732) and her brother's *Rosamond* (LIF 7 March 1733) during attempts by English composers to mount their own operas between 1732 and 1734. She also sang in Handel's *Deborah* at the King's Theatre in on 17 March 1733²². She was a promising actress, and Cibber was determined to profit from both her vocal and dramatic prowess. He featured her regularly as a singer-actress in his rebel player company from the autumn of 1733, and continued to do so once back at Drury Lane. Her career differed fundamentally from that of Mrs Clive: Mrs Cibber 'started at the top', appearing infrequently in select stage works for a relatively high salary (£100 per annum)²³. As described earlier, Aaron Hill, in his preface to

²⁰ Arne's music is lost; the libretto lists 14 numbers. Anon, *Harlequin Incendiary, or Colombine Cameron. A Musical Pantomime ... Musick compos'd by Mr. Arne* (London, 1746), 13, 16-18.

²¹ After ten performances during the 1745-6 season, Drury Lane dropped the pantomime.

²² The English operas mounted by Arne, Lampe and Carey between 1732-3 were independently produced and not part of an organized 'English opera company', as past scholars have assumed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'J.F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket in 1732-3', *ML*, 88 (1997).

²³ *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Cibber, Susanna', ii (1975), 262-4.

Zara (1736), touted her as the chief exponent of the new acting technique he was launching with that play. Following the *Zara* premiere, journalists immediately celebrated Mrs Cibber's 'natural Genius' in tragedy. But tragedy contained one drawback: tragediennes rarely sang. And singing, as Mrs Clive was showing, could be very effective in popularising an actress.

Audiences anticipated a skirmish between Mrs Cibber and Mrs Clive over sung comic roles. Prior to *Zara*, managers had tested the waters, casting Mrs Cibber as Chloe in *The Lottery*, in which she debuted on 12 November 1735; this was followed by a promotional campaign for Mrs Cibber so aggressive that it provoked protests in the *Daily Journal*²⁴. Rumours circulated that the managers planned to bring on Mrs Cibber as Polly in *The Beggar's Opera*²⁵. This was borne out when theatre manager Charles Fleetwood, presumably caving into pressure from his deputy manager Cibber, put *The Beggar's Opera* into rehearsal in early November 1736 with Mrs Cibber in the lead female role.

Modern theatre historians decry the pettiness of the ensuing battle, and yet it was front-page news for months, spawned two stage entertainments, and provoked satiric banter in two plays²⁶. The prejudices it aired reveal much about period star production, and it appears to have been the first time that an actress (and her supporters) harnessed the press to

²⁴ Laudatory verses appeared in the *London Daily Post*, 15 Jan 1736. Journalists puffed her appearances (in the *Daily Journal*, 9 Feb 1736 and the *London Daily Post*, 25 Feb 1736) and in an ode published in the *Grub-Street Journal* 19 Feb 1736. A review of Mrs Cibber as Indiana in *The Conscious Lovers* in the *London Daily Post*, 10 Feb 1736 was equally fawning. Resentment against this campaign on her behalf was expressed in the *Daily Journal*, 4 Feb 1736. Crean notes: 'Appearing as it does on the eve of the famous Cibber-Clive controversy ... reveals forces were already mustering for the conflict and that Clive's friends – none of whom was stauncher than the *Daily Journal* – were preparing to defend their favourite to the bitter end'. Crean (1933), 146.

²⁵ Anon, *Daily Journal*, 8 Dec 1736.

²⁶ 'All this might have occurred without creating a disturbance, but Fleetwood was something of a theatrical blockhead...'. *Dictionary*, 'Cibber, Susanna', 265. 'Fleetwood created an astonishing amount of fuss by proposing to replace the popular Kitty Clive with Theophilus Cibber's second wife, Susanna, as Polly in the *Beggar's Opera*'. Hume (1988), 235. In the *London Stage Calendar*, the quarrel is passed over as an anomaly to the players' 'usually harmonious' behaviour. Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1968), p. cxxvii. The Polly scandal spawned at least 36 press articles from Nov 1736 to Jan 1737, most of which were front page items. The majority are listed in Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737*, ii (Carbondale, IL, 1991), 883-92. Less well-documented is the on-stage commentary, which is discussed below.

countermand a manager's casting decision. Rather than deploring the subject of this quarrel as trivial, one should ask why it was *not* trivial to period actors, readers and theatregoers.

Generally, what seems to have transfixed the public is the challenge it posed to managerial power.

The clash was not (as most historians describe) over which actress was the superior Polly, but over who was to blame for provoking the quarrel in the first place. The pro-Clive story ran thus: Cibber had bribed Fleetwood to replace Mrs Clive with Mrs Cibber as Polly, a role for which Mrs Clive was celebrated. Cibber's ploy was part of a plot to deprive Mrs Clive of her lead roles, which would result in Fleetwood lowering her salary. Mrs Cibber supported this move because she was over-confident and ambitious. The anti-Clive version countered these claims: Fleetwood had chosen independently to replace Mrs Clive with Mrs Cibber. Mrs Clive had rudely opposed him with threats to quit Drury Lane should he proceed and had refused to barter despite Fleetwood's efforts to make peace. Witnessing Mrs Clive's wrath, Mrs Cibber had tried to dissuade Fleetwood from casting her as Polly. Finally, Clive's critics said that the casting decision was justified because she had had never been popular as Polly.

Mrs Clive's lack of appearances as Polly since her 1732 debut in *The Beggar's Opera* supports the last point. Despite Mrs Clive's fame as a ballad singer, Gay's *Opera* did not migrate from its traditional home in Lincoln's Inn Fields to Drury Lane²⁷. Later anecdotal evidence and private testimony about her character also lend credence to Cibber's account of her altercation with Fleetwood, and after 1750 stories of her professional jealousy, her obsession with money, and her abusiveness towards colleagues began circulating²⁸. But in

²⁷ After a flurry of performances during her launch as Polly in the summer of 1732, Drury Lane virtually ceased mounting *Beggar's Opera* productions until 1736. Lincoln's Inn Fields-Covent Garden continued with its standard number of performances which fluctuated between 25 during the 1732-3 season to six performances the following season. Rival theatres also mounted the *Beggar's Opera* during this period.

²⁸ I discuss these changes to her image in the last chapter of this thesis.

1736, Mrs Clive and her supporters succeeded in establishing their version of events in the public mind. To do so, they employed means of publicity not dissimilar to those used by the modern film industry: they flooded the press, issued leaks from behind the scenes, and broadcast reports of her spontaneous goodwill and of her fans' enthusiasm. They also stressed that her nature conformed to conservative notions of gender²⁹. By manipulating commonly accepted ideas about theatrical tradition and propitious female conduct, Mrs Clive and her sponsors persuaded audiences of the justice of their cause.

As discussed in the opening chapter, one 'empirical' means of measuring a player's superiority was thought to be the fit between their 'natural temper' and that of the comic characterization. This theory posed a problem to Clive supporters: Miss Fenton, as the first Polly, had highlighted the heroine's tenderness and pathos, affects in which Mrs Cibber excelled. To assert Mrs Clive's right to the role, her agents therefore had to argue that Miss Fenton had misrepresented Polly, whom they alleged Gay had intended to be a jilt of 'spirit', 'passion' and 'je ne scais quoy' – qualities Mrs Clive owned, and not Mrs Cibber. This revisionist textual analysis of Gay was twice printed; Clive supporters further claimed that audiences had welcomed this alternative interpretation³⁰. The argument suggests the extent to which an initial interpretation of a character on the stage constituted an *Urtext* that had to be deconstructed; it also shows how the critic, as John Hill had insisted, looked for a confluence of 'temper' between comedian and fictional character.

Mrs Clive and her supporters were also confronted by a prejudice against women obstructing male superiors. This objection was raised in a letter by 'A.Z', who led the attack

²⁹ For comparison, take David Selznick's publicity campaign (1938-44) for Ingrid Bergman traced in Joseph Garnarcz, 'Die Schauspielerin wird Star: Ingrid Bergman - eine öffentliche Kunstfigur', *Die Schauspielerin: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst*, ed. Renate Möhrmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1989).

³⁰ The Clive defence was launched with the argument that Mrs Clive interpreted Polly according to Gay's original conception. Anon, *Daily Gazetteer*, 4 Nov 1736 and Aequuus, *Daily Journal*, 6 Dec 1736. This analysis was challenged in A.Z., *London Daily Post*, 13 Nov 1736.

on her character that was to follow. Dismissing the notion that Mrs Clive's 'Polly' was popular, 'A.Z' charged her with 'vanity', 'peevisishness' and 'irrationality' in opposing the manager, and insinuated that her reaction was due to jealousy at Mrs Cibber's success in *The Conscious Lovers*. Included in this gossip-column diatribe was an account of Mrs Cibber's yielding and supportive nature³¹. Cornered by these accusations, Mrs Clive elected to address the reader for the first time in her own voice:

I am extremely sorry any Consideration should induce the Author of it to make publick a Dispute which has happened behind the scenes, and put me under the Necessity of appearing in Print. The Injuries I have receiv'd at the Playhouse ... I determin'd patiently to submit to, well knowing, that by the Tenour of the Articles which I have *unfortunately* sign'd with Mr Fleetwood, I could not possibly receive any Redress until the Time for which I am engaged by those Articles is expir'd ...

As to my having obstinately refus'd the Part of Lucy, I can only say in Answer, that by my Articles *it is not in my Power to refuse that or any other Part*: But that I have shewn an Unwillingness to surrender my own Part of Polly ... I confess is true ... This Unwillingness did not proceed from my Jealousy of Mrs Cibber ... the only true Reason is this: Not only the Part of Polly, but likewise other Parts (as could be made appear) have been demanded of me for Mrs Cibber, which made me conclude...that there was a Design form'd against me, to deprive me by degrees of every Part in which I have had the Happiness to appear with any Reputation ... to obviate this Design, which I apprehended contrary to a receiv'd Maxim of the Theatre, *That no Actor or Actress shall be depriv'd of a Part in which they have been well receiv'd, until they are render'd incapable of performing it either by Age or Sickness* ...

If I thought it would in any Manner entertain or oblige the Publick, to whose kind indulgence *alone* I stand indebted for all my Success as an Actress, I would not only most cheerfully perform the part of Lucy, but any other inferior to that, either in the *Beggar's Opera*, or in any other Play or Entertainment whatsoever.

As to the ill Qualities of Envy, Malice &c with which I am charged, (as I doubt not but every one who reads that Letter [by A.Z.] must conclude *who was the Author of it* [Theophilus Cibber]) 'tis not necessary for me at present to say any thing in Justification of myself.

And now ... I beg the Favour of those Gentleman who have wrote upon this Occasion, to forbear publishing any more Letters ... which I am certain must appear extremely insignificant and contemptible to the Town ... Your very humble Servant, Cath. Clive³².

Her defence skilfully negotiated eighteenth-century notions on gender, award through merit, and the sanctity of legal systems and of private property. She offset suspected temerity with expressions of a reluctance to speak out, of humility, and of her sense of duty. She portrayed herself as a victim being robbed of a role that theatrical tradition dictated was hers. She established moral and intellectual superiority by abjuring from the mud-slinging to which

³¹A.Z., *London Daily Post*, 13 Nov 1736. Mourning how the supposed false accusation of insubordination was endangering her reputation, one writer recalled that 'once it was plainly said: *Mrs Clive has always behaved well*'. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 8 Dec 1736.

³²Catherine Clive, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 19 Nov 1736.

Theophilus Cibber ['A.Z'] had sunk. Her posture of meekness, objectivity, and indignation blended the decorous female with the capitalist, law-abiding Briton.

Cibber countered her 'true life' account with his, but to no avail. Both his reputation as an obstreperous troublemaker and his power over her as deputy-manager militated against his credibility. Taboos against men attacking female colleagues put Cibber at a tactical disadvantage. The pomposity of his writing style also undermined the sincerity of his tone. Realizing that he would alienate his readership if he appeared to be slandering a fellow actor, Cibber apologized for replying and claimed to stick to 'facts' in order to rescue the reputation of Mrs Cibber, whom he depicted as innocent and deferential. He insisted that the clash was between '*Mrs Clive's Will and Manager's Right*' and reported her obdurate refusals to negotiate with Fleetwood³³. Clive supporters successfully defeated this argument in the court of public opinion, arguing that the personal malice of Cibber's commentary – including the 'A.Z.' article he denied writing – laid bare his intention to foist an inferior Polly onto a gullible public and deny Mrs Clive her rights³⁴. This opinion chimed with the earlier allegations that Mrs Cibber had achieved success through vigorous promotion rather than through merit.

The attention lavished on the Polly debate embarrassed everyone³⁵. Generally speaking, mid-eighteenth century newspapers dedicated their pages to 'hard news', with theatrical criticism relegated to *feuilleton*-style inserts devoted largely to measuring the work's

³³ Theophilus Cibber, *Grub-Street Journal*, 9 Dec 1736.

³⁴ Anon, *Daily Journal*, 14 Dec 1736. While insinuating that Cibber was a manipulative braggart masterminding his new wife's career, this author substantiated Mrs Clive's claim that her success was due purely to her talent: '[she has] acquired ... through *sole force of merit* the character of being EXCELLENT in a greater variety of Walks than any Actress, perhaps that ever lived; nor has she ever behaved with Insolence to the Town or neglected her Duty to them ... Mrs Cibber is right to decline taking over her parts'.

³⁵ Practically every article of length apologized for, or complained about, the 'inconsequentiality' of its subject matter.

aesthetic or didactic value³⁶. The subject matter of the Polly debate violated these norms, leading journalists to repeatedly censure each other for exposing readers to dross from the private sphere, castigated as ‘girlie-type’ discourse³⁷. To justify its coverage, the *Daily Journal* began publishing the ‘Occasional Prompter’, an insert disguised as the intellectual heir to Aaron Hill’s earlier high-minded ‘Prompter’ essays³⁸. In fact, the ‘Occasional Prompter’ used a supposedly ‘impartial examen’ of theatrical casting precedent to vindicate Mrs Clive. In this pursuit, the ‘Occasional Prompter’ argued that a manager lost his entitlement to *Suprema Lex* if he violated actors’ traditional rights, or lacked expertise; and that public favour (which was ‘clearly’ on Mrs Clive’s side) should determine casting; that tradition dictated that new players (such as Mrs Cibber) be relegated to appearing in new or revived plays³⁹. In sum, the *Journal* cleverly re-situated the debate within abstract analyses. This move provided a rational basis for Mrs Clive’s defiance, while legitimising the *Journal*’s own coverage and camouflaging its partisanship⁴⁰.

The topos of ‘Rival Queens’ became the leitmotif of this furore in the popular press, despite efforts to raise the struggle to a level of abstract theorizing. The imagery of a cat-fight

³⁶ Dominant topics in newspapers were foreign news, domestic politics, and commercial information, ‘with infinite variations in the proportions given these departments’. Charles H. Gray, *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795* (New York, 1931), 29. Normative guidelines for theatrical criticism during this period are discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, and in Charles H. Gray, *op. cit.*, 74.

³⁷ In her defence quoted above Mrs Clive apologized for airing private (feminine) conflicts in public (male) forums. As ‘Coke upon Littleton’ acidly remarked, ‘What is the Quarrel of these *Dramatick Ladies* to the *Publick*?’. Coke upon Littleton, *London Daily Post*, 4 Dec 1736.

³⁸ ‘The original Author, or Authors [Aaron Hill, William Pople, James Ralph (?)] of *The Prompter* having publicly declined all further Continuance ... I have taken it up ... with the *same* [views] that actuated my predecessors; *The Good of the Stage*’. Aequuus, *Daily Journal*, 6 Dec 1736. Exhuming Hill’s *Prompter* also signalled a return to the long-running feud between *Grub-Street Journal* and *The Prompter*. The *Grub-Street Journal* attacks against Hill’s publication are summarized in the annotated bibliography to James T. Hillhouse, *The Grub-Street Journal* (Durham, NC, 1928).

³⁹ Anon, *Daily Journal*, 3 Jan 1737.

⁴⁰ I disagree with Gray’s statement that the *Occasional Prompter* series arose from a desire to ‘work for the good of the stage’. Gray, *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795*, 82-3. According to its contributors, Mrs Clive’s defence was the *raison d’être* of the *Occasional Prompter*: ‘I determined when I first undertook this work ... to appear on behalf of any wronged Actor or Actress’. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 25 Dec 1736. In a subsequent article, the author stated baldly: ‘The Dispute about the Part of Polly occasioned the Revival of the *Prompter*’. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 27 Dec 1736.

was introduced by linking the Polly controversy with a recent set-to between two French female dancers:

Last week at the Opera House in Paris, the two famous Rival Dancers Mesdemoiselles Petit and St Germain had some Words behind the Scenes; from Words they fell to Blows, and their Fury hurried them to the Stage, where they fairly box'd it before the Audience, who were much better diverted by that Scene, than they could have been by the Piece itself. –*It's hoped the Dispute between the two RIVAL LADIES here, about the Part of POLLY, will not be brought in such a Manner on our Stage*⁴¹.

The next issue of the *London Evening Post* featured an epigram on this subject; the poem was later expanded in two other papers:

An EPIGRAM on the late Battle of the Female Dancers at Paris, and on the Rival Ladies (for the Part of Polly) here

Two RIVALS in Theatrick Fame,
Fell out in France – and fight;
Two Nymphs in England did the same,
But cooler, chose to write ...

Our Courage oft to France we've shown;
As oft our Folly in our Writing:
But your Examples prove, we're grown,
In Wit superior, as in Fighting⁴².

The chance to smirk at women losing emotional control constituted a prime attraction of the Polly conflict. In vain did Cibber, addressing a male readership, try to replace the image of 'Rivals' with one of Mrs Clive, the Greenroom Scold (the *Journal* countered Cibber's picture with Mrs Cibber, the Shrew)⁴³. Writers fanned interest by evoking female bodies, especially those flailing in combat. This indulgence in the piquancy of female intemperance seemed to construct a world opposite to that of ladies' conduct manuals. Terry Castle has drawn attention to the importance of the weatherglass as an eighteenth-century paradigm for

⁴¹ Anon, *London Evening Post*, 18-20 Nov 1736.

⁴² Anon, *London Daily Post*, 27 Nov 1736. Shorter versions of this poem had appeared in the *London Evening Post*, 20-23 Nov 1736 and the *Grub-Street Journal*, 15 Nov 1736.

⁴³ 'And here I must humbly intreat any Gentleman ... *no more to call this a Contest between two rival Actresses ... this neither is nor ever was, a contest between Mrs CLIVE and Mrs CIBBER, but indeed, rather a dispute between MRS CLIVE's Will and the MANAGER's Right*'. Theophilus Cibber, *Grub-Street Journal*, 9 Dec 1736. The 'Finder of Expedients' countered this picture of Mrs Clive by slandering her rival: 'I shall propose ... for Mrs Cibber to play the part of *Lucy ... a certain Narrowness between her Brows, together with a Sharpness of Face that will hit to Admiration THAT ANGRY RESENTMENT OF WRONGS so strong in the Character of Lucy*'. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 10 Dec 1736.

female sexual desire. Period writers and artists harped on women sliding from ‘inviolable MODESTY’ into ‘Abandoned IMPUDENCE’, and the notion of *prime donne* yielding publicly to jealous rage belonged to the same canon of male fantasy. The parallels drawn between the two Mademoiselles and the two Pollys teasingly conjured up two pairs of warring females, even as the superior rationale of the Britons was celebrated.

Rival theatres sought to profit from the Drury Lane scandal. The actor Henry Woodward whipped together a pantomime ‘to introduce upon the stage’ a conflict which had until this point unfolded only in print⁴⁴. An immediate hit, *The Beggar’s Pantomime* ran two months, spawned three editions, and was updated to reflect current developments; it also provoked a counter-burlesque at Drury Lane⁴⁵. Like Phillips’ *Stage Mutineers* about the 1733 rebellion, Woodward’s plot interwove projected personalities (for instance, the meek Mrs Cibber, the wrathful Mrs Clive) and live incidents within a musical form. But unlike *The Mutineers*, Woodward’s burlesque sought to act as a true chronicle, faithfully transmitting the players’ and managers’ reported quarrels. This effort – enhanced by expert mimicry of those involved – infuriated those managers and critics who found themselves exposed to this very public washing of dirty laundry⁴⁶. Woodward also indulged the evident audience craving for

⁴⁴ ‘The Paper War making such Bustle about Town ... I thought it no bad scheme ... to introduce something, like your *contention*, upon our Stage’. Henry Woodward, *The Beggar’s Pantomime or, The Contending Colombines*, 2nd edn (London, 1736), 3.

⁴⁵ In the first version of the Woodward burlesque, Cibber triumphs over Mrs Clive thanks to his *Grub-Street Journal* publications; in the updated version, the ‘authenticity’ of Mrs Clive’s Polly interpretation, lauded by Gay’s ghost, wins her the battle. Compare *ibid.* with Henry Woodward, *The Beggar’s Pantomime or, The Contending Colombines ... with New Songs and Several Alterations*, 3rd edn (London, 1736). Drury Lane countered Woodward’s initial burlesque with a ‘New Burlesque Tragi-Comic-Farcical Interlude’ in *Harlequin Restor’d* (DL 20 Dec 1736). This was never published. Other playwrights commented on the scandal, such as Henry Fielding in *The Historical Register* (1736) and Robert Baker in the ‘New Ballad-Opera Burlesque’ *The Mad House* (1737). Dane Farnsworth Smith, *Plays about the Theatre in England, from The Rehearsal in 1671 to the Licensing Act in 1737* (London, 1936), 184-5, 94-201. The ‘Polly joke’ in *The Historical Register* was originally lengthy, but once the furore subsided, Fielding reduced this scene. Hume (1988), 235.

⁴⁶ ‘Philo-Comicus’ described how the actor William Giffard duplicated the ‘exact gait’ of Fleetwood [‘Tiridol’], whom he also ridiculed in song. Drury Lane used mimicry, and parodied the same ballad tune to humiliate Giffard [‘Tiddidoll’] in their burlesque. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 25 Dec 1736. In a follow-up article, the *Daily Journal* attacked Giffard for ‘introducing the personal Characters of the Actors, and of Gentlemen [theatre

female wrestling. The centrepiece of his work, a warring duet between the two Pollys, parodied the duet in the *Beggar's Opera* satirizing the 1727 on-stage combat between Faustina and Cuzzoni in *Astianatte*⁴⁷. Woodward also wrote a Prologue replacing the English Nymphs' 'superior Wit' with a pitched battle:

With that she to the Green-room flew,
Where [Dame] Cibber meek she found;
And sure if Friends had not been by,
She had fell'd her to the Ground.

O had these Rival Nymphs engag'd.
How scratch'd had been each Face;
What Slaughter there had been to see.
Of Silks and eke Bone-Lace⁴⁸.

Ultimately, Mrs Clive's projection of herself – the dutiful actress whose success arose from merit, the powerless female prey to managerial whims, and the defender of property and liberty – triumphed over Cibber's profile of her⁴⁹. A torrent of publicity items certified the veracity of her self-portrait. While both parties swore they were 'impartial', the *Daily Journal*, through the sheer volume of its pro-Clive coverage, achieved precisely that manipulation of audience reception of which it had accused Cibber. Although other Pollies had eclipsed Mrs

managers]' on stage. The writer also accused Giffard of organizing audience protests against the Drury Lane burlesque. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 27 Dec 1736. The nick-names referred to 'Tiddy Doll, the well-known vender of gingerbread', and implied that theatre managers supplied the public with empty confections. 'Tiddy Doll' is mentioned in Nichols, *Anecdotes of Mr Hogarth*, 53.

⁴⁷ The duet was the first musical number in both versions of Woodward's burlesque. The tune was taken from the scene in the *Beggar's Opera* in which the *prime donne* were lampooned (Act II, air 28 'Gossip Joan'). Woodward paraphrased Gay's original lyrics ('Why how now Madam Flirt ...').

⁴⁸ Preface to Woodward, *The Beggar's Pantomime or, The Contending Colombines ... with New Songs and Several Alterations*.

⁴⁹ Her supporters used demagoguery to arouse indignation at the injustices she allegedly suffered: 'To Mrs CLIVE, on the ungenerous Treatment she has lately met with/Take Courage, CLIVE! The Tyrant of the Stage./ Shall never crush the Darling of the Age;/Two other Houses would be glad to court Thee:/Leave Him – the Town will follow and support Thee:/Despise his Threats, the destin'd Forfeit pay:/Thy Friends will make Amends another Way/And, to his Sorrow, it will soon be found,/For ev'ry Doit Thou pay'st, He'll lose a Pound'. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 14 Dec 1736. Four days later, 'Littleton upon Coke' raged that 'the Manager has formed a COUNCIL, to suppress an Actress, WHOM THE TOWN WILL NEVER SUFFER TO BE SUPPRESSED'. Anon, *Daily Journal*, 18 Dec 1736. There were personal testimonies about her sterling character: 'a Lady in the Pit had the Misfortune to faint away. Mrs Clive, who was at that time in the Middle of a Song, immediately perceived it, and in great concern ran off the Stage for a Glass of Water and procured it to be delivered to the poor Lady who, by this means, recovered ... it was impossible to reconcile such a benevolent and humane act with the allegation of malice and ill-nature which her opponents had leveled at Mrs Clive'. Z.A., *London Daily Post*, 14 Dec 1736.

Clive since her 1732 premier, Mrs Clive's ownership of the role was undisputed after 1736. The bookseller John Watts, in his fourth edition (1735) of *The Beggar's Opera*, had vainly sought to legitimise Mrs Clive's Polly by printing the Drury Lane cast beside the original – an apparently unique step in his output. Much later he bulwarked Mrs Clive's fame in Polly by commissioning Francis Hayman to design a frontispiece for his 1754 edition of Gay's work (Fig. 5.7). Hayman or Watts here elected to depict the same scene shown in a celebrated oil of *The Beggar's Opera*. In this painting by Hogarth, Miss Fenton's aristocratic lover, who is an on-stage audience member, stares transfixed by London's 1728 stage sensation; in Hayman's 1754 frontispiece, Mrs Clive enacts the same moment, without, of course, any fawning audience members being portrayed⁵⁰.

Mrs Clive's victory was also due in part to her cool handling of her detractors at the opening post-bellum performance of *The Beggar's Opera*. According to *The Grub Street Journal*, audiences had originally expected her to appear as Lucy, but Fleetwood, whom journalists now depicted as a spineless dabbler in theatrics, reinstated her role at the last minute⁵¹. On 30 Dec 1736, pro-Cibber fans gathered to obstruct the production. Their din forced the performance to halt, whereby she improvised a speech:

When Mrs Clive came on, there was an attempt to disturb her playing, which was for some time disputed by a much superior Number in the House, who very loudly encouraged her to proceed. On having desired to be heard, she told them, She hoped she had disoblged none in the House; that she had received the Part of *Lucy* from Mr Fleetwood, and had studied it, and was perfect in it, and ready to play it, if it was their Will: That Mr Fleetwood had since that sent her the part of *Polly*, and that she now appeared in it *by his Order*, in following which she hoped she had not incurred their Displeasure⁵².

⁵⁰ John Rich bought the first oil, and others commissioned Hogarth to repaint the same scene. Five versions of this painting have survived. The larger version showing the Duke of Bolton staring fixedly at Miss Fenton with a statue of a satyr mocking him, probably hung in the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre. David Bindman, *Hogarth* (London, 1981), 33-6.

⁵¹ 'I at that time [23 Dec 1736] thought she was to have acted Lucy.' Anon, *Grub-Street Journal*, 30 Dec 1736.

⁵² Anon, *Daily Journal*, 3 Jan 1737.

Fig. 5.7: Charles Grignion after Francis Hayman, *The Beggar's Opera*, 1754. Engraved frontispiece.



Act II, scene 15: Left to right: Lucy (Mrs Roberts), Macheath (Mr Beard), Lockit (Mr Turbut), Polly Peachum (Mrs Clive), Mr Peachum (Mr Macklin).

That was from the pro-Clive *Daily Journal*. An author from the Cibber camp reported a more melodramatic, less rhetorically clever address:

Last night the Beggar's Opera (about the Playing of which, as much Noise has been made, as about several of our modern Treaties) was perform'd ... to a crowded Audience; the House being full by Four. There was a prodigious uproar, with Clapping, Hissing, Catcalls &c. Mrs Clive, who play'd the part of Polly, when she came forward, address'd herself to the House, saying Gentlemen, I am very sorry it should be thought I have in any Manner been the Occasion of the least Disturbance; and then cry'd in so moving Manner, that even Butchers wept. Then she told them, She was almost ready with her Part of Lucy, and at all Times shou'd be willing to play such Parts as the Town should direct, and desir'd to know if they were willing she should go on with the part of Polly; she behaving in so humble a Manner, the House approv'd of her Behaviour by a general Clap⁵³.

Mrs Clive clearly understood media management. Later, when leading the 1743-5 Drury Lane actors' rebellion, she would leak a lengthy report of the manager's exploitation of players. She would repeat this strategy in 1761 to offset criticism for her appearance in a French comedy⁵⁴. Once retired, she would advise her protégée Miss Jane Pope to make use of the press⁵⁵.

'Brimful of Nothing': James Miller as Spin Doctor

James Miller (1704-1744) may have seemed an unpromising candidate to fill Fielding's shoes as the writer of Clive vehicles at Drury Lane. He was young, impecunious

⁵³ Anon, *London Evening Post*, 30 Dec - 1 Jan 1736-7.

⁵⁴ In this dispute, Mrs Clive fiercely defended herself against the insinuation that choosing the newly-translated *Island of Slaves* by Marivaux for her benefit evidenced her wavering patriotism. Her fury was fuelled not only by an allegation timed to undermine her financial gain, but also by the threat it posed to her dramatic line based on French plays. The charge was levelled against Mrs Clive in the *Daily Gazetteer*, [1 April?] 1761 and her rebuttal appeared in the *London Chronicle*, 2-4 April 1761. Ned Shuter, the actor whom she accused of planting the accusation, denied any involvement, and published his response ('To the Author of the London Chronicle') that month in the *Daily Gazetteer*. The correspondence from both parties was reprinted in the *Monthly Mirror*, no.14, 1761 and is transcribed in Crean (1933), 320-33.

⁵⁵ In a letter to Miss Pope, Mrs Clive recounted that when Garrick omitted her from the bills she swore 'positively' she would 'not come to the house and let the public know the reason'. (This letter is reprinted in 'Source-readings' at the end of this thesis). In another letter, Mrs Clive counselled Miss Pope that 'four lines in the papers properly put it & signed by the actors would ruin one part of his [the manager's] business [organizing benefits]'. Letter of 11 Dec 1777 [no.18] and 26 Feb 1779 [no. 24] in Catherine Clive, *US-Ws* W.b.73, 'Collection of Letters to Jane Pope'.

and a clergyman, and seemed to have a talent for making powerful enemies⁵⁶. But three qualifications recommended him highly as a dramatist for her line: he translated and adapted French comedy superbly, he could enhance a line according to a principal player's wishes, and he was adept at writing lyrics for songs and integrating these airs into the drama. Miller was a leading contributor to the *Grub-Street Journal*, and was appointed its editor in 1736⁵⁷. He also had a powerful backer in the publisher John Watts, who had hired him to head the editorial team of a luxurious new Molière collected edition⁵⁸.

Of the three talents listed above, Miller's experience translating French comedies was the qualification that may have clinched his election as Fielding's successor. Mrs Clive's most beloved Fielding vehicles – *The Miser*, *The Mock Doctor*, *The Intriguing Chambermaid* – were all translated comedies which fortuitously combined slick prose, song, farcical characterization and the polish of French theatre. Miller had already unwittingly contributed to *The Miser* by providing the translation upon which Fielding drew for his stage version⁵⁹. Indeed, Miller and Fielding were 'if not friends, at least acquaintances' who collaborated on Drury Lane comedy *The Modish Couple* in 1732, and their contact to each other may have

⁵⁶ *The Humours of Oxford* (DL 9 Jan 1730) earned him the life-long enmity of powerful ex-university colleagues, including Joseph Trapp, friend of the *Grub-Street Journal* founder-editor William Russel, and Lord John Lloyd, Minister of Gildon Sutton. Miller's detractors organized riots against *The Humours of Oxford* and Miller's subsequent plays. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 22-3. William Russel [Bavius] condemned the comedy in two lengthy articles; later, however, he found the politics of Miller – who was a non-Juror and an outspoken Opposition supporter – sympathetic to his own. Bavius, *Grub-Street Journal*, 12 Feb 1730. Despite opposition to Miller in 1729, Drury Lane mounted his comedy ten times. Miller complained of being sabotaged throughout his stage career by various enemies. Preface to James Miller, *Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose* (London, 1741).

⁵⁷ According to James Hillhouse, Miller was appointed editor of the *Grub-Street Journal* sometime in 1736; he had been identified with the paper and its Opposition politics from 1733. Hillhouse, *The Grub-Street Journal*, 12-13 and O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 39-41.

⁵⁸ In 1753 Theophilus Cibber stated that Miller was 'principally concerned with the translation'. Theophilus Cibber, *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland. By Mr Cibber and other Hands*, v (London, 1753), 334. Joseph Tucker shows that Miller together with Henry Baker prepared most of the Molière edition (Miller wrote the preface) and debunks Wilbur Cross's theory that Fielding was involved. Joseph E. Tucker, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Translations of Molière', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3 (1942). When purchasing the copyright to his Clive vehicles, Watts was astonishingly generous to Miller, frequently paying up to £80. Arthur S. Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson: being a Study of the Relation between Author, Patron, Publisher and Public, 1726-1780* (London, 1927), 262. Cited in O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 22.

⁵⁹ Cibber, *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland. By Mr Cibber and other Hands*, 334.

continued through the 1730s⁶⁰. Once Drury Lane cold-shouldered Fielding in 1734, Miller was ideally positioned to pick up Clive marketing where Fielding had left off.⁶¹

Beside his ease with translating, Miller had, in *The Humours of Oxford* (1730), shown an aptitude for satisfying the theatre's then-current principal comedienne, Mrs Oldfield. After reading the manuscript of this, Miller's first comedy, Mrs Oldfield had instantly 'insisted on it being immediately put upon the stage', then 'pressed him to set about a Comedy upon a Subject' she chose⁶². Miller hurried to fulfill her order, but she died before he had finished. The 'great Alacrity' with which he had subordinated his authorial interests to those of the actress made him ideal for dealing with Mrs Clive, whose desire to control her vehicles was eventually to spur her to write her own during an era almost devoid of female playwrights⁶³.

Mrs Clive had played a secondary character in *The Humours of Oxford*, but despite her inferior status, Miller had already then tended to her evolving line. 'Kitty, the Oxford Jilt' was her first spoken character of any weight. Through 'Kitty', Miller enriched the 'Phillida' stereotype, re-casting her as a clever laundress who manoeuvres a (despised) social superior into marrying her, and who mocks the male classical education of Oxford University. Writing farces for herself decades later, Mrs Clive continued to deride such learning, which she held to

⁶⁰ Fielding wrote the epilogue to Miller's *Modish Couple* that was put out as the work of Captain Charles Boden. Fielding's numerous references to Miller are chronicled in Martin C. Battestin, *A Henry Fielding Companion* (Westport, CT and London, 2000), 100-01.

⁶¹ Nearly all of Miller's Drury Lane comedies featured Mrs Clive, as had been the case with Fielding. Following his predecessor, Miller based these works on French *comédies*: the *Mother-in-Law* combined *La malade imaginaire*, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* with 'echoes of *Tartuffe* and *La Critique de l'Ecole des femmes*'; the *Man of Taste* was after *Les précieuses ridicules*; the Shakespeare adaptation, *The Universal Passion* (1737) drew also from *Princesse d'Elide*; *Art and Nature* (1738) combined Lisle de la Drévetière's *L'Arlequin Sauvage* and Jean B. Rousseau's *Le Flatteur*; and Miller based his Clive *in propria persona* vehicle, *The Coffee House* on Jean B. Rousseau's *Le Caffé*. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 201-81.

⁶² Mrs Oldfield charged Miller to 'take the several Characters of the Sir Roger de Coverly, the Widow, Honeycomb, &c [from *The Spectator's Club*] ... and furnish Theatrical Business for them'. Preface to Miller, *Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose*.

⁶³ Mrs Clive wrote four farces, all for her benefits. Only the earliest, which featured a burletta by William Boyce, was published. Catherine Clive, *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (London, 1753). Her other farces were written in 1760 and 1763 respectively, Catherine Clive, *US-SM LA 174*, 'Every Woman in her Humour' and Catherine Clive, *US-SM LA 220*, 'Sketch of a Fine Lady's Return from a Rout'. The first included a 'Mimic Italian song' in a performance of 17 Jan 1763. Her fourth farce was a 1765 revision of 'Sketch of a Fine Lady', Catherine Clive, *US-SM LA 247*, 'The Faithful Irish Woman'.

undermine common sense⁶⁴. Once Miller was installed as Clive's writer in 1734, his work on her public image began in earnest. He revised the *Mother-in-Law* to include a scene in which she debunked a doctor's erudition, and in the *Man of Taste* he wrote her first 'Fine Lady' role, a topos which in Fielding's plays had only fleetingly been applied to her. Miller continued to stage her hostility to Italian opera, adding sardonic commentaries on Farinelli to the *Man of Taste*, the *Hospital of Fools*, and the *Universal Passion*⁶⁵. He departed from Fielding, however, in assuring readers of the propriety of his stage works, thereby bolstering her blameless private reputation⁶⁶.

Miller was also a skilled writer of ballads. From the *Humours of Oxford* onward, he continued to broaden the scope for Mrs Clive's singing within a drama. Her 'advice' ballad in *Humours of Oxford* resonated strongly enough with her line to be adopted as her first 'signature tune'. It was added to her 1732 dramatic sensation, *The Miser*, and from 1738 to another Miller vehicle, *Man of Taste* (Ex. 5.2; see also Appendix 2). Composed in the idiom of her then-dominant popular ballads – a Mixolydian mode, wide leaps and typical closing cadence – the ballad invited the audience to laugh with Clive over her rule-breaking and her skill at manipulating male admirers⁶⁷. In the *Universal Passion* (1737) and the *Hospital of*

⁶⁴ Mrs Clive later criticized Oxford University by imagining its effect on a woman: 'Miss Gibberish, I have not seen you since you came from Oxford. How do you find yourself after having been at that frightfull ridiculous place?/Miss Gibberish: For shame, for shame, Lady Di. How can you betray such an imbecility in the judicial faculty of your intellects as to rail at and depreciate that celestial nursery of literature from whence, I may say, are transplanted those divine luminaries that irradiate our hemisphere.' Clive, 'Every Woman in her Humour'. Transcribed in Crean (1933), 506. This scene is quoted at length at the conclusion of this thesis.

⁶⁵ 'Oh Ravishing [Farinelli]! Transporting! Killing ... Dying is too little. He does more than kill one ...'. James Miller, *The Man of Taste. A Comedy* (London, 1735), 60. (He included a similar jibe for her in his *An Hospital for Fools*, discussed in the ch. 7.) Her epilogue reverted to the imagery of her 1733 support of Highmore: 'Then with this Standard boldly thus advance,/And rout the squeaking, skipping Troops of Italy and France'. Epilogue to James Miller, *Universal Passion. A Comedy* (London, 1737). In an earlier dedication, Miller himself had railed against 'the French Harlequin and an Italian Eunuch'. See James Miller, *The Mother-in-Law, or The Doctor the Disease. A Comedy* (London, 1734).

⁶⁶ Miller assured his audiences in his dedication that he sought to 'Entertain the Town, without giving Offence, either to Virtue, Decency, or Good Manners'. See Miller, *The Man of Taste. A Comedy*. Such sentiments echoed those of the dedications in his *Mother-in-Law* (1734) and his *Universal Passion* (1737).

⁶⁷ The song, 'The Provident Damsel' by Richard Charke was issued as a songsheet (Ex. 5.2). Her performance of this air in *The Miser* was advertised opposite the 'Dramatis Personae' in Henry Fielding, *The Miser. A Comedy*,

Ex. 5.2: Richard Charke, 'The Provident Damsel', GB-Lbl G306.(28.).

The Provident Damsel, Sung by Miss Raftor in the Comedy call'd the Humours of Oxford by M^r. Charke. 17

As Fiddlers and Archers who cunningly know The way to pro-
 cure themselves Merit, Will always provide them two Strings to their
 Bow, and mannage their Business with Spir- - - - it, and
 mannage their Business with Spirit.

2
 So likewise the provident Damsel should do,
 Who wou'd make the best use of her Beauty:
 If the mark she would hit, or her Lesson play through,
 Two Lovers must still be on Duty.
 Two Lovers &c. 3

Thus arm'd against Chance, and secure of supply,
 Thus far our revenge we may carry:
 One Spark for our sport we may Gilt and set by,
 And t'other poor Soul we may Marry.
 And t'other &c.

Fools (1739) Miller at once cleverly detailed her persona in lyrics and respected Drury Lane's concurrent efforts to promote her as a soprano specializing in Handel's music⁶⁸.

Despite persistent attacks on Miller's plays, Fleetwood entrusted the playwright with the first new afterpiece mounted after strict censorship was enforced in London theatres in 1737. To de-politicize a premiere which some critics had hoped might challenge the hated law, Drury Lane focused on marketing two top stars, Theophilus Cibber and Kitty Clive (Fig. 5.8). The vehicle for this, a double *in propria persona* comedy called *The Coffee House* (1738), was optimized for Mrs Clive by the re-hiring of her songwriter Henry Carey, who since 1734 had been estranged from Drury Lane. Although the afterpiece flopped, it provided what became her most sensational hit song, 'How brimful of Nothing is the Life of a Beau'⁶⁹.

Many of Miller's tactics were reminiscent of Fielding: above all, he camouflaged an erotically charged setting with a (French) literary source⁷⁰. The respectability of London coffee houses was hotly contested at the time: Steele and Addison had fixed the coffee house as the locus of an ideal sociability proselytized by the *Spectator*⁷¹. Other writers, however,

4th edn (London, 1761). See ch. 4 four, n. 42. Her performance of the song in *Man of Taste* was billed on 13 May 1738 thus: 'Singing: In Mainpiece: the usual songs by Mrs Clive and Beard, particularly *The Life of a Beau*, *The Beaux Lamentation for the Loss of Farinelli*, and *The Provident Damsel*'. See under this date in *The London Stage*.

⁶⁸ This aspect of Miller's output is examined in ch. 7.

⁶⁹ The comedy was whisked off the boards after only one performance (17 Jan 1738). One critic praised the actors' punctilious duplication of their public personae: 'Altho' *Mr Cibber* and *Mrs Clive*, (as the *Irishman* says) *play'd their own Dear Shelves in Person*, and did it to so great a Charm that they resembled the Characters to the nicest Exactness, yet the Audience were so displeas'd that they would not let them go on this Night, or suffer it to be play'd again; which brought the following Saying from a worthy Gentleman, *Arra Faith now dear Honey, is't not a shame that a Man can't have the Liberty to personate himself without Affronting another*'. Anon, *The Usefulness of the Stage ... with Reflections on the Taste of the Times* (London, 1738), 59.

⁷⁰ Watts had earlier issued Miller's source play, Rousseau's *Le caffé*, in *Les oeuvres diverses de Mr Rousseau* (London: John Watts, 1723).

⁷¹ Jürgen Habermas has built his assertion that coffee houses were instrumental in shaping English Enlightenment discourse by relying heavily on Steele's writings. Habermas describes the coffee house as an intermediary space between public and private spheres that allowed visitors to exchange views freely on the 'common good' regardless of their status. Women, by contrast, were confined to the 'private sphere' of the home. Markman Ellis correctly points out that because Habermas confined his research to secondary sources and to reprints of *The Spectator*, his interpretation of the coffee house's social significance fails to account for testimony, including evidence about coffee women, which contradicts Steele. Markman Ellis, 'Coffee-women, *The Spectator* and the Public Sphere in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830*, ed.

Fig. 5.8: Anon, *The Coffee-House*, 1738. Engraved frontispiece.



Scene [14]: Left to right: Harpy (Mr Griffin), Mrs Notable (Mrs Grace), Miss Kitty (Mrs Clive), Hartly (Mr Harvard), Cibber (Mr Cibber Jr).

described coffee houses as forums for sexual trafficking, fights, gambling and carousing. Central to the *Spectator*'s model was the exclusion of women – in 'this Rendezvous to all', [male] visitors diverted themselves 'rather from Reason than Imagination ... without desiring to Quicken it by gratifying any Passion'. Significantly absent from Steele's account were the ubiquitous coffee women, who often owned the shop, and female Bar-Keepers, who 'invite[d] ... by their amorous Glances into their smoaky Territories, to the loss of your Sight'. In stark contrast to Steele's accounts, biographies of London's two most infamous coffee women described a venue where the steamy offerings of the 'Phyllis' at the Bar went well beyond beverages. In a separate essay, Steele himself attacked these coffee-house 'Idols' who 'sit and receive all day long the Adoration of Youth'⁷².

Miller's Miss Kitty, whom he admitted had no precedent in his French source, referred to local coffee house women made infamous in the London press⁷³. Miss Kitty recalled coffee house owner and prostitute Anne Rochford, who 'loved to associate chiefly with Rakes and affected Masculine Pleasures'. More generally, Miss Kitty was designed after the 'pretty young Hussies' placed behind the Bar to 'steal away hearts', as well as the professional women who penetrated the 'homosocial' London coffee house⁷⁴. This reading is substantiated by the comedy's reception: the Templars howled it down, because they believed the racy Miss Kitty to be a distorted reference to two respected London coffee house women. In Miller's

Elizabeth Eger, et al. (Cambridge, 2001). Habermas's account of public versus private spheres is further critiqued in Laurence E. Klein, 'Gender and the Public: Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 (1995).

⁷² In *The Spectator*, no. 87 (1711); cited in Ellis, 'Coffee-women, *The Spectator* and the Public Sphere in the Early Eighteenth Century', 33.

⁷³ Miller's comments on his 'additions' to Miss Kitty are quoted below. Comparing the plays of Rousseau and Miller, O'Brien concludes that in Miss Kitty, Miller 'invented' a daring and emancipated character unlike the Rousseau original. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 228-32.

⁷⁴ Ann Rochford's biography appeared as *The Velvet Coffee-Woman* (1728); another popular account was *The Life and Character of Moll King, Late Mistress of King's Coffee-House in Covent-Garden* (n.d.). Other comments on coffee women surfaced in publications such as *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1702) by Tom Brown and *The Case between the Proprietors of the News-Papers and the Coffee-Men* (1729). Cited in Ellis, 'Coffee-women, *The Spectator* and the Public Sphere in the Early Eighteenth Century'.

words, 'it is commonly said that he [Miller] hath represented the Characters of a particular Family who keep a considerable *Coffee-House*'. The location was Dick's Coffee House, a Templar resort, and Miss Kitty's combination of racy 'barmaid' stereotypes had incensed those loyal to Dick's manageress and daughter⁷⁵:

Kitty: Ha, ha, ha! What charming merry Lives these Men live. By the Stars! I should like such Doings myself; gallant all the Day, drink all the Evening, scour the Streets at Night, break Lamps, knock down Watchmen, and make the Constable drunk; rare, by the Stars! This is what they call Raking, isn't it Captain?

Gay: Yes Child.

Kitty: Well, 'tis charming being a Rake. ---- And is Mr. Hartly a Rake, Captain?

Gay: Now and then, Kitty as the soberest of us are.

Kitty: I am glad of it; I shall like him ten thousand and then thousand Times the better for it: And, by the Stars, I'll rake with him; and we'll play the Duce and all, once we're got together.

Spectators did not believe the 'real' Mrs Clive to be 'like' the London coffee women she enacted (this scene was preceded by her granting her many admirers a kiss each). Rather, the actress held up for display temptations which she would be the first to condemn. This provocative staging of Miss Kitty built on her successes with such roles in the past, and fortified certain accepted facets of her public personality: merriment, penetration of male circles, and the defiance of rules obstructing her ambitions. Songs both signalled and summed up the narrative fragments dramatizing the star, as in her final scene:

Kitty: And I'll tell you what, Mr Hartly, we'll have a Room for the Women too, if you will.

Hartly: Yes, yes Kitty when we keep a Coffee-House.

Kitty: By the Stars! and so we will; for 'tis an unreasonable Thing that a Women should not come to the Coffee-House; I'm sure if they did, there would be more News stirring there in a Week, than there is now in six Months.

Song:

What Pleasures a Coffee-House daily bestows!

To read and hear how the World merrily goes;

To laugh, sing and prattle of This, That and T'other;

*And be flatter'd, and ogl'd and kis'd too, like Mother*⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Miller protested that his inclusion of a mother and a daughter in the dramatis personae stemmed from Rousseau: 'But why is it a *Widow* and a *Daughter* that keeps this *Coffee-House* if no body particularly is meant? ... Because the *French* Author makes it a *Widow* and her *Daughter*'. Although he denied causing offence, he admitted that Miss Kitty diverged from the original: 'Those Additions and Alterations ... are Parts ... not being thought to contain any particular Reflexions on that Family ... [such as] the Scene of Miss *Kitty* in the Bar and all the Songs'. Preface to James Miller, *The Coffee-House. A Dramatick Piece* (London, 1737 [1738]).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

During the course of the Clive-Miller collaboration, the relationship between Mrs Clive and her ballad lyrics changed. Miller transmitted public perception of the actress, rather than seeking, as Fielding and Carey had done, to project a specific image and to manage it. Fielding had broadened his mandate to conduct both promotion and publicity, and at each stage of their partnership he had sought to construct a ‘personality’ whose authenticity was verifiable through his writings about her elsewhere. Miller, in contrast, withdrew from her publicity: her persona after the 1736 Polly scandal was too complex, too porous and too public for any one author to manage. He simply re-formulated in dialogue, monologues and ballad lyrics received notions about the singer-actress, stretching her line in directions established by her on- and off-stage history. After 1736, the Clive personality ceased to originate from one author, and was nourished instead by this general audience fantasy to which Miller responded.

This switch – from lyrics mediated by a promoter to those aiming to reflect audience knowledge of the actress – crystallized in her celebrated hit song, ‘The Life of a Beau’, first performed in *The Coffee House*. The air sprang from a scene in which Miss Kitty humiliated two fops. Traditionally fops represented deviant social attitudes, yet Miller, through a startling double entendre, depicted their misconduct also as sexual: Bawble observes to Butterfly ‘Women hate us, Man, only because we’ll have nothing to say to ‘em. For my Part, I make no other use of the Fools than to gallant their Fans and play with their Snuff-Boxes’⁷⁷.

The fops’ duet (Ex. 5.3) refined their portrait as opera queens. Both lyrics and music articulated the degeneration critics typically accused *dramma per musica* of engendering.

Lamenting like lovers the loss of Senesino and Farinelli, their music projected artificiality

⁷⁷ Ibid., 31. Philip Carter argues convincingly that by the late 1730s, the beau’s preoccupation with fashion demonstrated the effects of luxury on ideal male discourse – formality blocked sincerity, self-display replaced communication, and superficiality choked mental rigour. Such behaviour, labelled ‘effeminate’, did not necessarily construct homosexuality for the viewer; indeed, fops often preyed upon women. Philip Carter, ‘Men about Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in early Eighteenth-Century Urban Society’, *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London and New York, 1997).

(high tessitura, ornamented melody), irrationality (convoluted melodic line), illogicality (asymmetrical phrasing; unprepared shift to the dominant and the relative minor at the end of the second and fourth stave respectively), and slipperiness (varied rhythmic gestures). Carey designed Mrs Clive's 'Life of a Beau' to cleanse the public's ears with native values: the composition was natural (mid-range, unadorned melody), rational (triadic, periodic), logical (clear tonic-to-dominant progressions) and law-abiding (the minuet's metre and structure). Mrs Clive heightened the paradox by transmitting a 'masculine' music, in contrast to the 'feminine' music of the male duo (Exx. 5.4 to 5.6).

Although the *Coffee House*, like most of Miller's Clive vehicles, quickly disappeared⁷⁸, 'The Life of a Beau' endured. She introduced it into four spoken roles, including the spectacularly successful Lappet, thereby ensuring hundreds of performances. Publishers paid tribute to her success by issuing no fewer than three lavishly engraved prints of the song, in addition to multiple songsheets (see Exx. 5.4 to 5.6)⁷⁹. The song was successful because it was a platform for Mrs Clive's self-representation: while the source comedy disappeared, the *in propria persona* delivery clung, transforming Carey's tune into a song performed 'in Mrs Clive's Character' regardless of the dramatic context.

In fabricating the first *in propria persona* role for 'Miss Kitty', Cibber had cleaved to Fielding's model for the early Clive persona, flirting with the notion of an off-stage sexual permissiveness implied by her first epilogues and mezzotint. In the 1738 'Miss Kitty', Miller re-integrated traits ascribed to her since her Carey collaborations. Patriotism, emancipation,

⁷⁸ Only the *Mother-in-Law* was successful: performed 22 times in its first season, and 25 the next, this play became fixed in Mrs Clive's repertory until 1740.

⁷⁹ She introduced the air into *The Man of Taste* (13 May 1738); *The Miser* (15 Sept 1739); *Lethe* (as 'The Life of a Belle', 15 April 1740); and *The City Wives' Confederacy* ('The Life of a Belle', 10 Dec 1744). *The London Stage* records two performances of 'The Life of a Beau' as an interlude song on 14 and 29 May 1740. The British Library alone owns six single sheet copies of Carey's song; not all are listed in RISM. 'The Life of a Beau' from the *Agreeable Amusement* (Ex. 5.5) was issued as a song sheet with a red ink engraving. An apparently unique copy is held at the Garrick Club.

Ex. 5.3: [Henry Burgess], 'What dire Misfortune hath befell', GB-Lbl G.316.f.(89).

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89

England's Lamentation for the loss of Farinelli.
set for the German Flute.

What dire Mis-
fortune hath befell each Quar-ring Beau & Tune-full Bell, lost Fa-ri-nel-li
kil-ling Note, for Spain has caught him by the Throat. Far far a-way
he's forc'd to stay. kil-ling thrilling. thrilling. kil-ling
Ruin'd lost, & quite undone, Charming Farinelli's gene.

<p>2 Our Tears had scarcely ceas'd to flow, That Senesino needs wou'd go, When straight a heavier Loss we knew, Dear Farinelli's Kidnap't too.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Farinelli, Senesino, Senesino, Farinelli.</p> <p>Ruin'd, lost, and quite undone, Both the Warblers, both are flown.</p>	<p>3 O Cruel Spain, will nought suffice, Will nought redeem the lovely Prize, Take all our Ships, take all our Men, So we enjoy but him again.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O send him straight, Our Nobles wait, O send him quick, We all are sick.</p> <p>Ruin'd Lords and Commons all, From St. James's to Guildhall,</p>
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FLUTE

Ex. 5.4: Henry Carey, 'The Beau', *Bickham's Musical Entertainer*, ii ([1738]), 50 [Mrs Clive shown in background].



THE BEAU.

Sung by Mrs Clive.

How brimful of Nothings y^e Life of a Beau, they've Nothing to think of they've Nothing to do, Nor they've Nothing to talk of for Nothing they know, Such such is the Life of a Beau, a Beau a Beau, Such such is the Life of a Beau.

For Nothing they rise but to draw y^e fresh Air,
Spend y^e Morning in Nothing but curling their Hair,
And do Nothing all Day but sing santer & stare,
Such, such is y^e Life of a Beau.

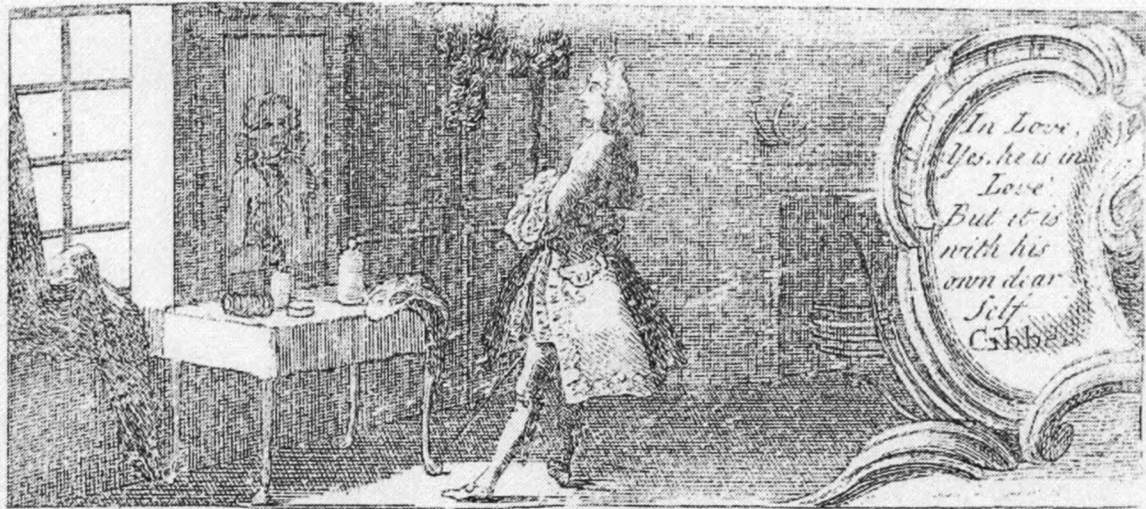
For Nothing they run to th^e Assembly & Ball,
And for Nothing at Cards a fair Partner call:
For they still must be beasted who've Nothing at all,
Such, such is y^e Life of a Beau.

For Nothing at Night to y^e Playhouse they croud,
For to mind Nothing done there they always are proud,
But to bow; & to grin, & talk - Nothing aloud,
Such, such is y^e Life of a Beau.

For Nothing on Sundays at Church they appear,
For they've Nothing to hope nor they've Nothing to fear,
They can be Nothing no where who Nothing are here,
Such, such is y^e Life of a Beau.

Song.

Ex. 5.5: Henry Carey, 'The Life of a Beau', *The Agreeable Amusement, a Collection of Ancient & Modern Songs* ([1743-4]), 46.



Published by Act of Parliament, 1744

The Agreeable Amusement. Plate XLVI
THE LIFE OF A BEAU. Sung by Mrs Clive.

How brim-full of nothing's the
 Life of a Beau, they've nothing to think of. They've nothing to do. Nor they've nothing to talk of. For nothing they know.
 Such, such is the Life of a Beau. a Beau. a Beau, Such Such is the Life of a Beau.

For nothing they Rise, but to draw the fresh Air,
 Spend the Morning in nothing but curling their Hair
 And do nothing all Day but Sing, Sante and Stare,
 Such, Such is the Life of a Beau.

For nothing at Night to the Playhouse they crowd,
 For to mind nothing done there they always are proud,
 But to Bow, and to Grim, and talk - nothing aloud.
 Such, Such is the Life of a Beau.

For nothing they run to the Assembly and Ball,
 And for nothing at Cards a fair Partner call,
 For they still must be boasted who've - Nothing at all,
 Such Such is the Life of a Beau.

For nothing on Sundays at Church they appear,
 For they've nothing to Hope, nor they've nothing to Fear,
 They can be nothing no where who - nothing are here
 Such Such is the Life of a Beau.

FLUTE.

Ex. 5.6: Henry Carey, 'The Life of a Belle', *The Agreeable Amusement, a Collection of Ancient & Modern Songs* ([1743-4]), 47.



*You are Fictitious
out of Doors, Bells
in your Parlour, Will
Lais in your Kitchens,
Scares in your Injuries,
Devils being Offended,
Pleasure in your
Husbandry,
and Humours in
your Beds,
That's great.*

Published According to Act of Parliament 1744

The Agreeable Amusement.
THE LIFE OF A BELLE. *Sung by M^{rs} Clive. Set to Musick by M^r Carey* Plate XLVIII

*What Wives are so happy as those of the Year Who
scarcely one moment from Pleasure can spare. But leave to their Husbands Reflection and Care. Such
the Life of a Belle, a Belle a Belle Such such is the Life of a Belle*

*1 All Morning when others are up and employ'd,
She's dreaming of Pleasures the last Night enjoy'd,
Whistle Betty for Orders attends at her side.
Such such &c.*

*2 She seldom attends either high Church or low
But never is absent when other Belles go.
Nor scruples to pray, if the Fashion be so.
Such such &c.*

*3 Her Dinner and dressing employ her till 5
Some troublesome Tradesman in sic her bell
But the Coach at the door soon procures her
Such such &c.*

*4 Then trips up the Mall and soon joins with y^e rest
Of each awkward Creature she meets makes a jest
Kills two or three Beaus, and away to be dress'd.
Such such &c.*

*5 All Evening she visits, drinks Tea, plays her E
Collects all the News, and what Chat Chat she
And wonders her Sex can be fond of a Man.
Such such &c.*

*6 Plays Balls, and Ridons, each Night she attends,
And sometimes Quadrille with her five female Friends,
And sometimes in Secret - But here my Song ends.
Such such is the Life of a Belle.*

FLUTE.

capriciousness, self-confidence, and wit were dramatized in dialogue, and recapitulated in music. Her success in this relied on her respecting decorum but not scrupling to pander to populist biases (for instance, against Italian singers, Jews, or homosexuals)⁸⁰. Such boundaries were, however, elastic: Mrs Clive appealed by alternately promulgating and interrogating received notions, particularly on female conduct. After 1738, her persona had its source not only in one producer alone, but in the fantasy of audiences whom she could now address directly.

⁸⁰ From 1738 authors furnished Mrs Clive with repeated musical animadversions against 'unsexed' men; one song (with the words, 'Poor Knight! thy Sex is gone') she performed in another *in propria persona* vehicle, Robert Dodsley, *Sir John Cockle at Court. Being the Sequel of the King and the Miller of Mansfield* (Dublin, 1738), 98-9. Similar scenes recurred in Moses Mendez, *Robin Hood. A New Musical Entertainment* (London, 1751), 8-9 and Robert Lloyd, *The Capricious Lovers. A comic Opera ... based on Mr. Favart's Caprices D'Amour ou Ninette a la Cour* (London, 1764), 26. In the last, Mrs Clive prefaced her song by describing fops as 'pretty little creatures with high heels to their shoes, and solitaires around their necks, that look so lady like, you would think they were women with swords by their sides'.

SIX

THE MUSICAL THEATRE OF NOSTALGIA: MYTHOLOGIZING THE NATION IN SONG

Introduction

After 1737 Drury Lane expended unprecedented energy on re-inventing its English musical theatre heritage. Although earlier musical theatre productions had frequently appealed to pride in indigenous culture, from this date Drury Lane began reviving obsolete musical stage works and creating musical theatre based on folk tales as well as canonized literature¹. Desire to invigorate English traditions – stage, literary or folk – through musical dramatization was tied to a burgeoning British nationalism². This drive gained momentum at Drury Lane once Prime Minister Walpole pushed through the Licensing Act of 1737. Censorship blocked managers from the formerly lucrative business of staging government criticism. Mounting musical productions which mythologized the nation allowed managers to indulge audience passion for political allusions while avoiding upsetting the authorities³.

Within this dynamic, Mrs Clive's image in musical theatre flattened. During the 1740s she played a series of emblematic figures which picked out a specific aspect of her persona while preserving the work's earlier source. For instance, the 'pert shepherdess' became the Shepherdess in Thomas Arne's setting of the historical legend *Alfred* (1740)

¹ Fiske observes that 'there was a vogue for looking back in this period and it was more pronounced in Britain than in other countries'. He attributes this fashion to the 'inadequacy of the present', a conclusion with which I do not agree. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 180. For a discussion of the 'nostalgia for Stuart court masques' during the period (manifested by productions of *Comus*, 1738, *Oberon*, 1771 and *The Druids*, 1774), see Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 338-9.

² Suzanne Aspden, 'Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of "English" Opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120 (1997). Aspden argues that a desire to define national culture prompted managers and writers to appropriate national myths for their musical theatre productions. She shows how English stage music and its related literature and iconography complied and interacted with a nationalist discourse insisting upon the cohesiveness of the body politic it sought to articulate.

³ In her introduction, Ruth Smith describes the extent to which period audiences were obsessed with politics. How contemporary politics – both governmental and religious – influenced the creation and reception of Handel's oratorio librettos is the subject of her seminal book on this composer. See Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 1995).

that articulated the Patriot cause⁴. This role was followed by other 'shepherdesses', 'chaste goddesses' or 'English folk heroines'⁵. In short, musical theatre authors substituted her complex persona with a label for which she was celebrated. Branding could, however, function in reverse: producers cast her in such 'musical theatre of nostalgia' more consistently than any other singer-actor surely because of the links with native music traditions and patriotism previously fostered in her line.

The works in which she appeared fell into three categories, which could overlap: fresh settings of past English librettos; dramatizations of popular fables (folk ballads, stories or poems); and compositions based on a respected English literature⁶. The Clive line could of course infiltrate the original story. The *in propria persona* 'Miss Kitty' in *Sir*

⁴ *Alfred* was a masque based on the tale of King Alfred who, after taking refuge with English peasants from invading Danes, returns to the throne with the assistance of the Earl of Devon. Modern historians acknowledge that Prince Frederick commissioned the work to publicise the aims of the Patriot opposition that he supported. King Alfred stood for the Prince, who, although beleaguered by his enemies (i.e. the Walpole administration), promises to restore dignity to an office whose glory is revealed in a series of visions. The context of *Alfred*'s original production, and its Patriot allegories, are outlined in Michael Burden, 'A Mask for Politics: the Masque of Alfred', *The Music Review*, 48, no. 1 (1988). Mrs Clive performed both in the public rehearsal of this work on 28 July at Drury Lane, and at the Cliveden performance on 1 August. She also performed the same role in Drury Lane's 1751 version of the masque composed by Dr Charles Burney. Burden points out that the 1751 libretto differed little from preceding versions. He also describes Mrs Clive's new 1751 epilogue that comprised a 'small masque' in itself. Michael Burden, *Garrick, Arne, and the Masque of 'Alfred': a Case Study on National Theatrical, and Musical Politics* (Lewiston, NY and Lampeter, 1994), 46-58.

⁵ She played the Shepherdess at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Willem De Fesch's 'new pastoral opera', *Love and Friendship* (21 March 1744) and in Arne's masque *The Triumph of Peace* (1749). She performed the bellicose Pallas in Thomas Arne's *Judgment of Paris* (1742), the faithful Thetis who rebuffs Jupiter in Boyce's *Peleus and Thetis* (1749), and the virgin goddess Diana in William Boyce's *The Secular Masque* (1750). Besides the shepherdess Emma who succours King Alfred, her 'folk heroine' roles included 'Cicely' in the ballad farce *Wat Tyler, or the State Menders* (1733, presumably after the broadside ballad of that title), Rosamond in the 1740 Drury Lane version of Arne's opera *Rosamond* (after the ballad 'The Life and Death of Fair Rosamond'); 'Miss Kitty' in the sequel to the 'Patriot' folk tale *The Miller of Mansfield* (titled *Sir John Cockle at Court*, 1738); 'Bessy' in Arne's version of the folk tale *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (1741); a maid in Charles Burney's 'musical entertainment' *Robin Hood* (1750, after the broadside ballad 'Robin Hood and Alin of Dale'); Princes Thoraz in De Fesch's 'new operetta' *London Prentice* (1753, presumably after the broadside ballad 'Famous History of the Valiant London 'Prentice'). Musical burlesques based on ballads were a separate branch of 'folk heroines' played by Mrs Clive, for instance in the Drury Lane version of Lampe's *The Opera of Operas* (1733, after the broadside ballad 'The famous History of Tom Thumb'), and *The Dragon of Wantley* (1748, after the homonymous 'Old Ballad' as advertised in the libretto). For the suggestion that the dramatized folktale *Miller of Mansfield* was popular because it articulated Patriot 'honesty' in the face of corruption, see John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (Oxford, 1963), 116-17.

⁶ New productions based on past librettos were: *Rosamond* after Joseph Addison (first set by Thomas Clayton, 1708), *The Judgement of Paris* after William Congreve (thrice set in a competition between Daniel Purcell, John Weldon, and John Eccles, 1700), *Peleus and Thetis* after George Granville (first set by John Eccles? 1701), and *The Secular Masque* after John Dryden (first set by Daniel Purcell and Gottfried Finger, 1700). Mrs Clive's roles based on folk tales are listed above. Her performance of compositions based on Milton (*Comus*, *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso*, and *Samson*) and her Shakespeare songs are discussed below. Seventeenth-century masques with their eighteenth-century versions are compared in Michael Burden, 'The British Masque, 1690-1800' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Edinburgh, 1991), 70-111.

John Cockle at Court or the chambermaid in *Robin Hood* were, like Lappet in Fielding's *Miser*, free inventions after the Clive persona⁷. Her 'Margerina in [Italian] burlesque manner' in the *Dragon of Wantley* attested to her continued participation in her own image production. Entr'acte numbers and epilogues offered alternative means of animating aspects of her personality – particularly those touching on her valuation of men – which did not mesh with the profile of a patriotic Briton.

The interaction between the Clive persona and musical theatre of this period was most powerfully illustrated in *Comus* (1738), Drury Lane's adaptation of a masque by Milton. This production, through its modifications to the original 1634 version, appealed to audience interest in seeing Milton as a symbol of patriotism, in defining female decorum, and in the masque's feisty star soprano, Kitty Clive. The drastic lengthening of the musical scenes allowed the representation of taboos and the exposition of Mrs Clive to eclipse the glorification of the poet.

'His Spirit is in Action seen': Milton, Mrs Clive and the Simulacra of the Pastoral in *Comus*

Comus, a 1738 adaptation of a pre-Restoration masque, was one of Drury Lane's most successful musical entertainments of the century⁸. The work invited not only spectatorship but participation, the latter crystallizing as a 'Comus' environment in London's heavily-trafficked Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens. The transition from stage to gardens, from a passive to active entertainment, suggests that the masque resonated

⁷ Both Clive roles in *Sir John Cockle* and *Robin Hood* made no concession to the folk tale that spawned the stage production. *Sir John Cockle*, which 'should' have featured the honest Miller of the source play, centred on 'Miss Kitty' playing a country naïf enraptured by a foppish 'Sir Flash'; in *Robin Hood*, she played the witty chambermaid 'Primrose' who finds herself in Sherwood Forest. Robert Dodsley, *Sir John Cockle at Court. Being the Sequel of the King and the Miller of Mansfield* (Dublin, 1738) and Moses Mendez, *Robin Hood. A New Musical Entertainment* (London, 1751).

⁸ Roger Fiske characterizes the success of *Comus* as 'enormous', with 11 performances in its first season, and 60 performances at Drury Lane alone by 1760, of which 43 took place between the work's premiere on 4 March 1738 and the end of the 1743-4 season. As Burden points out, *Comus* was the only masque composed as a full-length entertainment and the only masque to achieve box-office success during the eighteenth century. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 180-81 and Burden, 'The British Masque, 1690-1800', 74.

uniquely with audiences. What did *Comus* contain that proved so appealing? By what means did it capture audiences' imaginations? And did the owner of Vauxhall Gardens, John Tyers, deploy either the content or the procedures of Drury Lane's *Comus* in his re-invention of this entertainment as an interactive landscape? Addressing these questions gives us insight into both the fashions – political, theatrical and literary – which shaped *Comus*, and the viewing and listening practices of the period. Like so much musical theatre of the eighteenth-century London stage, *Comus* fascinates not through its formal structure, but through its revelatory interface with Europe's most frenetic and technologically advanced urban centre.

The genre under which *Comus* was classified unwittingly suggests the marketing strategy of its eighteenth-century producers: in the 1738 version of *Comus. A Mask*, the pedigree of both its librettist Milton and its pastoral setting 'masked' the risqué elements of the production. Drury Lane projected Milton as the embodiment of British values and achievements, and this profiling – together with the Arcadian conceits inserted into the adaptation – sanctioned extended musical scenes in which social conventions were flouted. While the libretto reflected and re-inscribed a politicized Milton reception, independent musical scenes showed Nymphs and their lovers engaging in revels and celebrations of love against a pastoral backdrop⁹. The relationship of the songs to the drama followed the discursive traditions of ballad opera; that is, they side-stepped the dramatic action to instruct the audience directly¹⁰. Thomas Arne's music, however, rather than probing the

⁹ Noting the disjunction between Drury Lane's alleged goals (i.e. the aggrandizement of the poet and the instruction of the viewer) and the theatre's display of forbidden fruits, one critic observed, 'To convey Instruction with Delight is certainly the noblest Aim of a Poet, and it must be confessed this great Author has extremely well hit the Mark, as the Musick, Songs and Dance charm the Senses and keep that Attention away ...'. Anon, *A Companion to the Theatre, or A View of our most celebrated Dramatick Pieces* (Dublin, 1751), 55. The success of *Comus* surprised some critics, who thought that audiences forced to 'hear only fine poetical sentiments & moral instructions' would be bored; *The Universal Spectator*, no. 454, quoted in Francis Peck, *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr John Milton* (London, 1740), and cited in Ruth Smith, 'Handel, Milton, and a New Document from their English Audience', *The Handel Institute Newsletter*, 14, no. 2 (2003), [3]. As described below, it was not necessarily Milton's libretto that occupied spectator attention.

¹⁰ See ch. 2, 'The Function of Ballads in Ballad Opera', 39-43.

moral dilemmas explicated by Milton, indulged the viewer in brief tableaux of Arcadian licence, whose ‘moral’ was largely the delights of breaking social taboos.

The strategy proved a particularly efficient device for framing Mrs Clive. Her meteoric rise to fame had initially been driven by her singing, which in ballad operas and ‘additional songs’ in plays allowed her to step out outside the character of the relentlessly formulaic heroines she played and deliver musical pronouncements on social issues. As shown in the preceding chapters, some of these ‘opinions’ became integrated into her public image, and the iteration of her public persona in song evolved into her most characteristic method of (self-)representation.

In *Comus*, Arne and his librettist John Dalton were therefore juggling competing trends in contemporary theatre: the propagation of ‘British’ cultural values, the savouring of erotic encounters, and the articulation of a public personality through song. In the original production, entitled simply *A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle*, Milton and William Lawes had pitted Vice against Virtue to celebrate Puritan values through Virtue’s triumph. In Arne’s version, by contrast, Vice was transmogrified into a familiar Pleasure (Mrs Clive), who had the last word. At Vauxhall, the pleasure principle overwrote the image of the poet: the former patriotic icon was refashioned as master of pastoral ceremonies whose effigy, in the form of an illuminated, life-size statue, presided over the amorous intrigues of the Gardens’ visitors. Tyers deployed the myth of Comus rather differently than had Arne: he replaced educational tableaux with a pastoral playground which might allow visitors to escape social norms. The plot of *Comus*, in which the wine god tries to force the protagonists to give themselves over to sensual fulfilment, complemented Tyers’ vision¹¹. While the Drury Lane *Comus* had used ‘interspersed songs’

¹¹ The story runs as follows: Three siblings, two Brothers and a Lady, become separated as they travel through woods to attend their Father’s court. To protect them against Comus (son of Bacchus) Jove sends two Spirits who reveal how Comus tricks mortals: with his ‘Liquor’ he turns his victims into beasts; he then transforms these ‘followers’ back into human revellers whose seeming enjoyment ensnares other unwary travellers. The Lady meets Comus before the first Spirit can intervene, and Comus persuades her to follow him by pretending that he will lead her to her Brothers. The lost Brothers meet the second Spirit who tells

in the pastoral masque to cordon off the dramatization of social transgressions from the plot, Vauxhall allowed the pastoral myth to engulf the observer and re-invented the poet as an exponent of Arcadian delights. Milton's Puritan cautionary tale had become a popular trope encouraging erotic adventure.

This chapter examines two distinct, though sometimes overlapping, fashions which helped determine how Milton's libretto was altered for production at Drury Lane. The 1738 producers of *Comus* pandered to two trends: first, the desire to represent Milton as a patriotic hero and second, the eagerness for access to the public personality of Mrs Clive. While the aggrandizing of Milton resulted in only superficial changes to the poet's original libretto, the explication of Mrs Clive's persona forced the adaptors of *Comus* to insert stage action, lyrics and a musical style for which she was renowned. The last section of the chapter examines how Tyers relied on *Comus* to articulate a simulated Arcadian idyll where Drury Lane spectators could participate directly in a pastoral fantasy divorced from moral convention.

Appealing to 'Ye patriot Crouds': Milton in Nationalist Costume

Nationalist discourse was introduced into Drury Lane's *Comus* ostensibly to explain the significance of this work to its audiences. The producers of *Comus* suggested through their packaging that *Comus* exemplified Britain's sophisticated literary heritage and its moral superiority over other nations. Drury Lane infused *Comus* with patriotic sentiment by glorifying the original 1634 masque, by celebrating Milton as a national hero in the prologue, and by weaving additional poetry by Milton into the original libretto. From its opening lines, *Comus* sought to transport Drury Lane audiences back to the

them of their sister's peril. After rebuffing Comus's followers, they set out to save her. The last Act opens in the court of Comus, who stages entertainments (which feature the new character Euphrosyne) to seduce the Lady. The second Spirit, descending in a machine, emboldens the Lady to resist. The Brothers arrive and drive off Comus's followers. To release the spell-bound Sister, the Spirit invokes the goddess of Virgins, Sabrina, who rescues the Lady and banishes Comus.

storied days of the pre-Restoration production¹². This approach contrasted with that at the King's Theatre, where the opera *Sabrina*, based on the same source, had flopped a year earlier (26 April 1737). Although the librettist of *Sabrina*, Paulo Rolli, eventually pioneered Milton's reception in Italy (on the Prince of Wales's payroll)¹³, the Italian poet's homage to Milton at London's opera house had omitted a strategy fundamental to the Drury Lane production: preservation of, and elaborate praise for, the original. Rolli transformed the plot, adding lovers, 'amorous intentions', mixed identities, and lament arias. With Farinelli and Marchesini performing in Italian, the opera was seemingly too Italianized to appeal to its intended audience¹⁴.

By contrast, in 1738 Drury Lane marketed its *Comus* as a reconstituted Miltonic *Urtext*. The title page of the libretto cleaved to the 1637 format, leaving out the names of its eighteenth-century adaptors (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2)¹⁵. Librettist John Dalton effectively erased most of his authorial presence by leaving the spoken dialogue largely intact¹⁶. Some lines originally spoken became sung, and Arne reset four songs from the original¹⁷.

Dalton's camouflage effected his disappearance from theatrical annals: by 1764, a theatre historian could declare that 'the additional Songs, [were] most of them Milton's own, or

¹² 'Our stedfast Bard, to his own Genius true, Still bade his Muse, fit Audience find, tho' few...'. Prologue to John Milton, *Comus, a Mask ... as alter'd from Milton's Mask*, 2nd edn (London, 1738).

¹³ Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford, 1994), 61.

¹⁴ Paulo Rolli, *Sabrina. An Opera for the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket* (London, 1737). Although in his preface Rolli called Milton an 'English Homer', he did not shrink from radically altering his text. According to Julian Herbage, *Sabrina* was probably a pasticcio. Despite running to 11 performances, period historian Charles Burney noted that 'it was found necessary to tack an intermezzo constantly to the performance of this opera ... it was at this that Farinelli sometimes sung to an audience of five and thirty pounds'. Cited in Julian Herbage, ed., *Comus* (London, 1951), p. x.

¹⁵ Publishers retained this format in all five librettos issued by Robert Dodsley 1738-40, and Millar re-used Dodsley's imprint in three editions 1750-64. The publication details of these editions are listed in the on-line *English Short Title Catalogue*, all *Comus* librettos issued 1738-91, in Burden, 'The British Masque, 1690-1800', 75. The six music editions of *Comus* 1737-65 (all listed in RISM) did name Arne but not Dalton.

¹⁶ Herbage and Burden have summarized the variants between the 1637 and the 1738 libretto. Besides his song lyrics (his only notable contribution as an author), Dalton divided the First Spirit's long passages (originally performed by the composer William Lawes) between two Spirits and added individual lines in Acts II and III. Details of Dalton's deletions of, and additions to, Milton's text are listed in Herbage, ed., *Comus*, p. xi and Burden, 'The British Masque, 1690-1800', 76.

¹⁷ The spoken lines set by Arne are cited in Herbage, ed., *Comus*, p. xi. The four songs in the 1637 libretto taken up by Arne were: 'By dimpled brook and fountain' (1637, p. 5); 'Sweet Echo' (1637, p. 8); 'Sabrina Fair' (1637, p. 29); 'By the rusted fringy bank' (1637, p. 30). John Milton, *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (London, 1637). Unlike the 1637 version, Arne merged the last two numbers into an *accompagnato* recitative and air.

Fig. 6.1: John Milton [and John Dalton], *Comus, A Mask*, 1738. Title page.

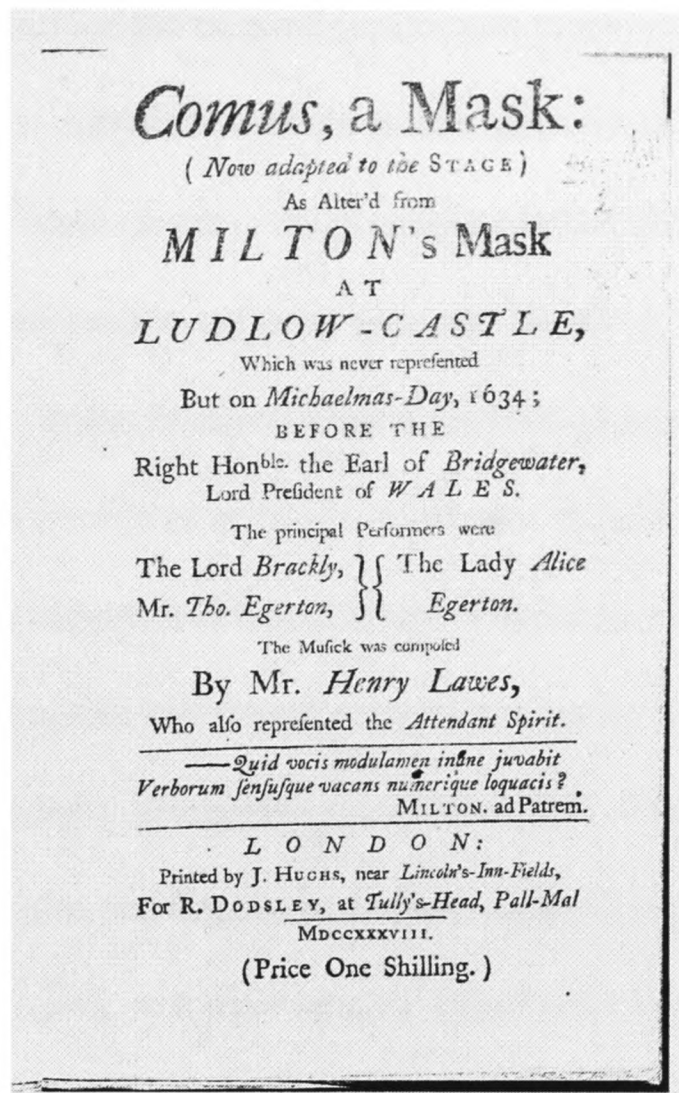
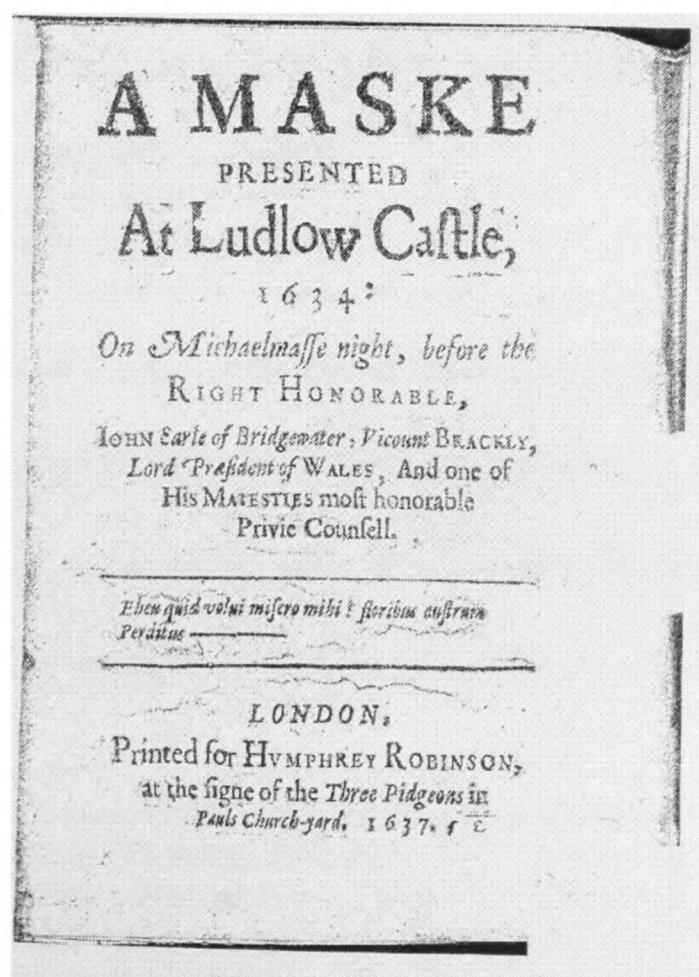


Fig. 6.2: [John Milton], *A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1637. Title page.



Part of the *Allegro* of the same Author, and other Passages from his different Works, so that he [Dalton] has rather restor'd Milton to himself than alter'd him'¹⁸.

Nostalgia and respect for the original production were linked to Drury Lane's praise for its author, Milton. Admiration of the poet's genius had animated English *literati* since the end of the seventeenth century; the prologue marketed *Comus* as yet another Milton product worthy of veneration on these grounds. By 1738, Milton had acquired the status of a literary grandee: in the words of Dustin Griffin, Milton was for men of letters 'a central and dominating figure' whom critics revered as a 'classical' poet of merit equal to the ancients. The *Comus* prologue reaffirmed many of the characteristics ascribed to Milton in the course of his earlier eighteenth-century reception: his ignored genius, his originality and his moral insight through his Christian faith¹⁹. But Drury Lane broke from traditional literary reception in one important respect: whereas writers perceived Milton as belonging to a 'world one could no longer inhabit' (Griffin), the prologue promised to conjure Milton up for the spectator. ('Like some bless'd Spirit he to Night descends, Mankind he visits, and their Step befriends'). Through *Comus*, Milton's spirit would materialize, or be 'brought forth', in as pure a form as possible:

Excuse what we with trembling Hand supply,
To give his Beauties to the publick Eye;
His the pure Essence, Ours the grosser Mean,
Thro' which his Spirit is in Action seen²⁰.

Revivifying Milton at Drury Lane also involved tapping into a rich vein of Milton iconography: images of the poet had proliferated in frontispieces, prints, medallions and monuments since the end of the seventeenth century. Once adorned with celebratory epigrams, such iconographic representations allowed Milton's reputation for literary

¹⁸ David E. Baker, 'Comus', *The Companion to the Playhouse*, i (London, 1764).

¹⁹ Dustin Griffin, *Regaining Paradise: Milton and the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 33-44. The prologue says of Milton that: 'He too was scorn'd ... to Britannia's shame' but 'to his own Genius true [was] ... like some bless'd Spirit'. When *L'Allegro* was adapted for the stage, it inspired the same veneration. James Harris, who prepared a preliminary libretto for Charles Jennens and Handel to turn into a musical setting, begged Jennens in a letter of 6 Jan 1740 to 'prevent any of Handel's minor poets ... by presumptuous additions to marr Milton'. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, eds, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: the Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford and New York, 2002).

²⁰ Prologue to Milton, *Comus, a Mask ... as alter'd from Milton's Mask*.

greatness to overshadow his anti-Royalist background²¹. During the early 1730s the Patriot opposition had seized upon Milton's image for their platform: they proclaimed that the poet now symbolized the incorruptibility and love of liberty which Walpole and his followers had compromised. To impress this equation upon the public, Viscount Cobham erected a bust of Milton in his celebrated 'Temple of British Worthies' on his estate, Stowe Gardens (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4). Cobham, whose opposition to Walpole's Excise Bill of 1733 had resulted in his dismissal from government, organized the major party against Walpole (the 'Cobhamites') and attempted to bring down the government. At Stowe, Cobham pressed Milton and other well-known British historical figures into service as Patriot heroes. Cobham encouraged public interest in, and access to, his gardens, whose architecture and iconography were generally devoted to representing allegorically the devolution of Britain under Walpole and the nation's potential for reconstitution²². Besides hosting large Opposition gatherings (for example, 'the grand meeting' of 1735²³), Cobham opened his estate to visitors (presumably only from the upper social strata), commissioned guidebooks to explain his Patriot landscape and disseminated the inscriptions to his busts via popular travel literature²⁴.

²¹ Griffin identifies four political profiles ascribed to Milton during the eighteenth century: the 'notorious Traytor', an opinion famously supported by Samuel Johnson in his *Lives of Poets* (1779); the misguided defender of liberty (the most common view); a republican in the tradition of Greece and Rome; and a radical visionary. Griffin, *Regaining Paradise: Milton and the Eighteenth Century*, 11-21. The history of Milton iconography is complex, with over 180 portraits listed by G.C. Williamson in his *Milton Tercentenary Collection* (1908). The early engravings of Milton and their subsequent dissemination are catalogued in John Rupert Martin, *The Portraits of John Milton at Princeton* (Princeton, NJ, 1961), 1-21.

²² 'Nowhere was the garden programme more elaborate and detailed than at Stowe', notes the National Trust guide to this estate. Once Cobham officially broke from Walpole in 1733, he erected the British Worthies in the Elysian Fields, where they functioned as a 'key piece in the iconographical theme'. Scholars attribute the essential features in Cobham's estate (the Great Cross Walk, and the Temples of Ancient Virtue, Worthies and Modern Virtue) to an allegorical dream related by Joseph Addison (*The Tatler*, no. 123, 21 Jan 1710). Roughly speaking, statuary embodied Patriot ideals, allegorical illustrations showed Walpole's deleterious effect on the nation, and the architecture alluded to Patriot virtues, such as Gothic representing the vigour and love of freedom of the Goths. National Trust, *Stowe Landscape Gardens* (Lingfield, Surrey, 1997), 6-7.

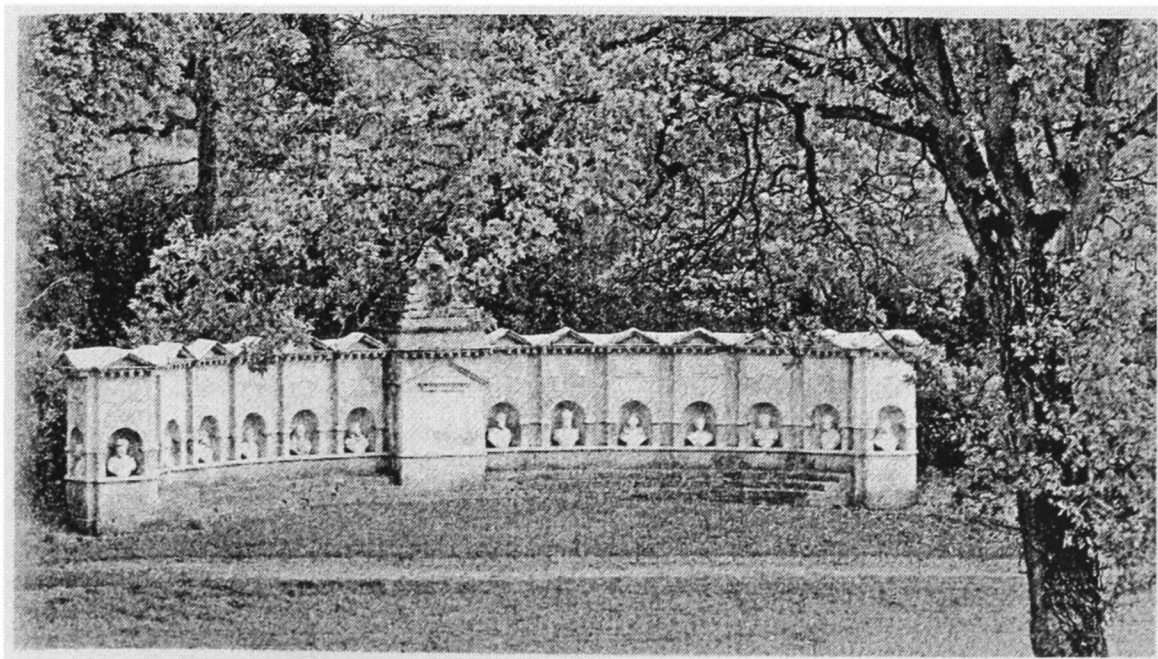
²³ Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742*, 35-7.

²⁴ William Gilpin's guidebook emphasized that public access was essential to Cobham's conception: 'I would have our country Squires flock hither two or three times in a Year ... and return Home with new Notions'; or, 'A Place like this is a kind of keeping open House, there is a Repast at all times ready for the Entertainment of Strangers ... A Sunday Evening spent here adds new Relish to the Day of the Rest'. William Gilpin, *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (London, 1748), 48-50. Given the conventions of the period, it is unlikely that Cobham admitted those from the 'lower orders', who in any case could hardly afford to travel to his estate. Oddly, I

Fig. 6.3: J. Michael Rysbrack, *John Milton* [1729-30]. Stone bust. Reproduced in National Trust, *Stowe Landscape Gardens* (1997).



Fig. 6.4: J. Michael Rysbrack, Peter Scheemakers and Anon, *The Temple of British Worthies* [1729-63]. Stone busts. Reproduced in National Trust, *Stowe Landscape Gardens* (1997).



This co-opting of Milton did not go unchallenged: Walpole's ally William Benson tried to reclaim the poet as a Hanoverian icon of British achievement. Benson financed a bust of Milton in 1737 for the Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey, but the Opposition seized on the bust's tablet advertising Benson's patronage as further evidence of the purported Whig propensity for plundering national treasures (Figs. 6.5 and 6.6)²⁵. Still, the trend was established: Milton's effigy, like Handel's in Westminster Abbey, now became currency in the discursive exchange over 'undying truths' of national identity.

The *Comus* prologue appealed to this fashion, framing a then-evolving national figurehead in patriotic terms on the Drury Lane stage and promising to make concrete his 'Spirit'.

Unlike the competing Milton busts at Stowe and Westminster Abbey, the prologue smoothed over political ruptures, inviting any declared Briton to glory in the poet's achievements²⁶. It projected the artist as a national hero: first, imagining Milton's physical presence; second, reminding audiences of the aptitudes or values he represented; and third, insisting that the significance of *Comus* lay in its clear mediation of the values ascribed to the hero²⁷. This proved a tenacious marketing scheme. On 10 April 1750, when he produced the masque in a benefit performance for Milton's granddaughter Elizabeth Foster, David Garrick spoke a new self-authored prologue that reduced the poet to a metonym for native Genius:

have found no modern discussion of Stowe as a public garden; in fact, the gardens are characterized as 'private' in 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), 24. Other eighteenth-century guidebooks included Gilbert West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham. Address'd to Mr. Pope* (London, 1732) and Anon, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (Northampton, 1744). See also J. d. C., *The Charms of Stow; or, a Description of the Pleasant Seat of the Right Honourable my Lord Cobham* (London, 1749) and George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow: or, a Description of the Pleasant Seat, and Noble Gardens, of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cobham* (London, 1750). These all ran to several editions. The National Trust guidebook records that 'the message of the Temple of British Worthies received much wider currency when the inscriptions were published in full in the *London Magazine* of July 1740 and again in the 1742 edition of Defoe's *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*'. National Trust, *Stowe Landscape Gardens*, 30.

²⁵ Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769* (Oxford, 1992), 134-9.

²⁶ 'To choicer Spirits he bequeath'd his Page./He too was scorn'd, and to Britannia's Shame./She scarce for half an Age knew Milton's Name./But now, his Fame by every Trumpet blown./We on his deathless Trophies raise our own'. Prologue to Milton, *Comus, a Mask ... as alter'd from Milton's Mask*.

²⁷ For a discussion of the methods by which Handel's effigy was subject to a similar process, see Suzanne Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' transformed to Stone": the Composer as Monument', *JAMS*, 55, no. 1 (2002).

Fig. 6.5: J. Hamilton after J. Michael Rysbrack, *The Monument of the celebrated John Milton* [1740]. Engraving. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.

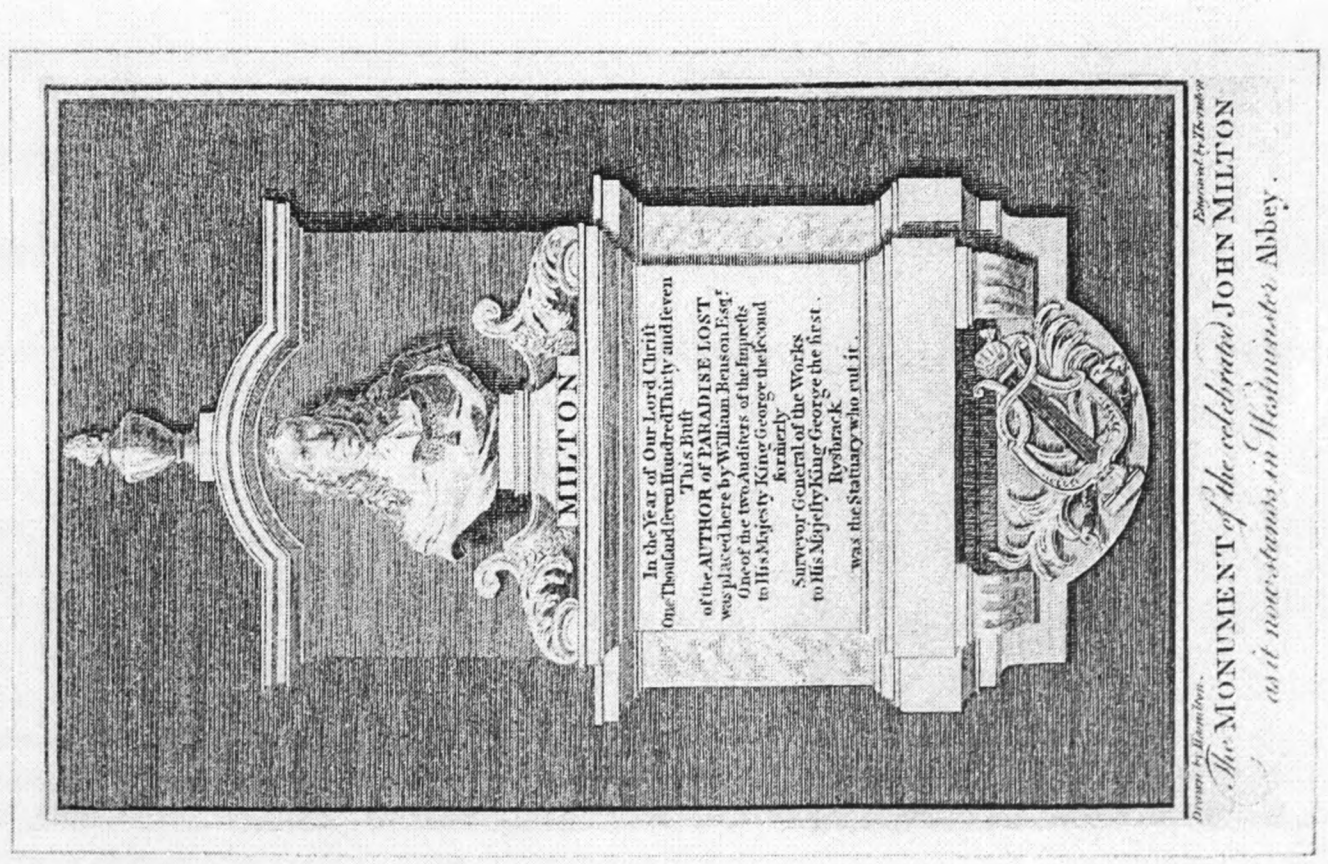
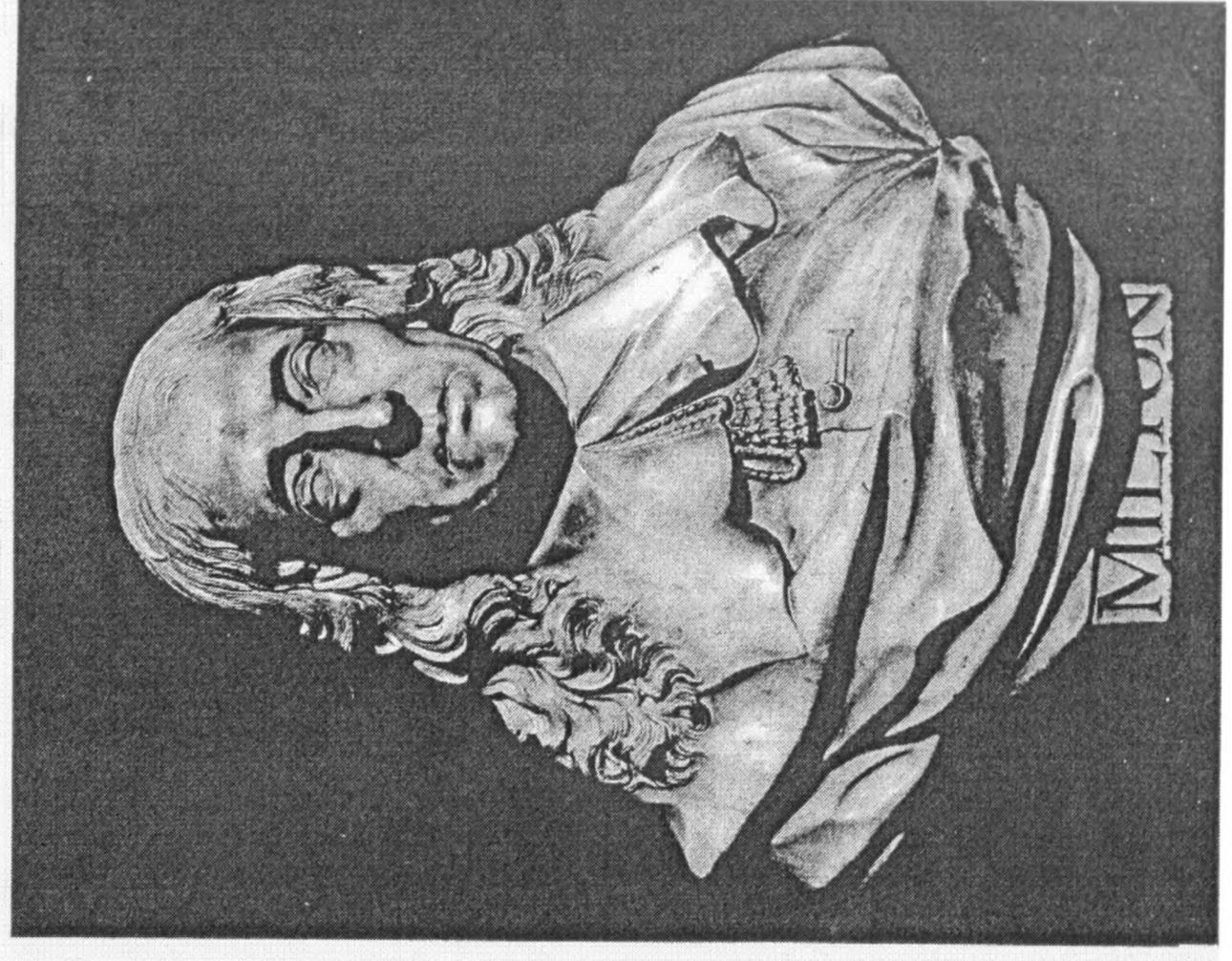


Fig. 6.6: J. Michael Rysbrack, *John Milton*, 1737. Marble bust. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.



Ye patriot Crouds, who burn for England's Fame,
 Ye Nymphs, whose Bosoms beat at MILTON's Name,
 Whose gen'rous Zeal, unbought by flatt'ring Rhimes,
 Shames the mean Pensions of Augustan Times ...²⁸

Milton versus Mrs Clive: the Contest of 'Beauties' in the 'Publick Eye'

In the actual production of *Comus*, Milton's nationalist profile dissolved within Drury Lane's strange cocktail of star production and pastoral libertinism. Dalton may have safeguarded Milton's verses, but the expansion of the musical portions – from five songs to roughly an hour of vocal music – tipped the balance in the drama away from a 'moral pastoral' to focus instead on the 'nocturnal Sport' of the wine god Comus. Such slippage can be detected in the re-naming of the masque: as E.H. Visiak points out, Milton entitled his poems only after virtuous characters; dubbing the Drury Lane version *Comus* was therefore itself at odds with authorial intent²⁹. This deviation from the 1637 libretto trained the spotlight on, as it were, the figure of Vice, whom Milton and Lawes had originally omitted from the title page.

Identifying Comus as the dominant dramatic figure allowed producers of the masque to both modernize and enrich the plot's central issue: the temptation for women to lose their virginity. During the mid-eighteenth century, as feminist historians have observed, notions about what constituted femininity were increasingly prescribed in theory while being broken down in practice³⁰. Earlier ballad operas and musical farces had relied

²⁸ David Garrick, *A New Prologue spoken by Mr. Garrick ... at the Representation of Comus* (London, 1750). Garrick portrayed Milton's legacy as a national heritage; Milton's heiress he confined to the private sphere: 'Hers the mild Merits of domestic Life,/The patient Sufferer, and the faithful Wife./Thus grac'd with humble Virtue's native Charms,/Her Grandsire leaves her in Britannia's Arms'.

²⁹ Introduction to E.H. Visiak and H.J. Foss, eds, *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634* (London, 1937).

³⁰ Many scholars have charted the prescriptions for women in period educational literature, and the varying responses of educated women to these restrictions. 'Advice' to women inevitably focused on sexual conduct; in the words of Vivien Jones, 'the concern of all eighteenth century "conduct manuals" is how women might create themselves as objects of male desire, but in terms which will contain that desire'. Models interrogating proper female conduct came from various sources, most notably in popular fiction by writers such as Daniel Defoe (*Moll Flanders*, 1722) and Samuel Richardson (*Pamela*, 1740), as well as in the works of female writers such as Eliza Hayman and Charlotte Charke, who were roundly condemned. Period writings both prescribing and challenging models of female sexuality, together with a selected modern bibliography, are found in Vivien Jones, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (London, 1990). The interplay between female iconography, conduct manuals and musical performance is analysed in Richard

upon this dichotomy to entertain audiences: part of their attraction lay in dramatizing its tension by inserting songs about female misconduct which had nothing to do with a work's sentimental plot³¹. John Gay had established this dramatic syntax in *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), as, for instance, in Polly's disquisition on sluts during the scene in which she reveals her marriage to Macheath³². In *Comus*, Arne and Dalton drew on the same practice, using musical sections to interpolate cavorting Nymphs and lovers into Milton's plot. While the libretto extolled virgins and denounced fallen women, the songs and dances did the opposite. Not surprisingly, the producers selected their most popular rebel, Mrs Clive, to envoice Arne and Dalton's central *provocateuse*. But *Comus* departed from the tradition of ballad opera because it split this disorderly Other into two separate musical characters: a 'Woman' in *Comus's* Crew and the Goddess of Mirth, 'Euphrosyne'.

This curious casting reflects the complexity that Mrs Clive had acquired as a signifier. The unruliness she communicated in her *Comus* songs for the most part diverged sharply from that called for by the libidinous female of Milton's Bacchanal scenes. Instead of extolling love's virtues, she described in song her personal style of emancipation: a scorn of romance, an unshakeable self-confidence, and the jettisoning of rules inhibiting the realization of her ambition. In *Comus*, Mrs Clive's musical character unfolded in a manner that curiously mirrored the evolution of her own public persona since her debut.

Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1988).

³¹ The most notable musicals belonging to this category were Henry Fielding's popular musical farces written for Mrs Clive, such as *The Lottery* (1732) and *An Old Man taught Wisdom, or The Virgin Unmask'd* (1735). Other ballad operas using musical musings on female wantonness to spice up a plot expurgating its heroine include: *The Country Wedding and Skimmington* (1729), *The Stage Coach Opera* (1730), *The Wanton Jesuit: or Innocence Seduced* (1731), *The Boarding School Romps* (1733), *Livery Rake and the Country Lass* (1733), and *The Wanton Countess: or Ten Thousand Pounds for a Pregnancy* (1733).

³² Gay's social satire functions partly by deflating the exalted sentiments of pastoral courtships, in which lovers, because they are divorced from social constraints, revel in emotions untarnished by material concerns. William Empson, 'The Beggar's Opera: Mock-Pastoral as the Cult of Independence', *Modern Critical Interpretations: John Gay's The Beggar's Opera*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York, New Haven, CT and Philadelphia, 1988). In Act I, air 6, Polly devalues her attachment to Macheath, and by mentioning specific London brothels, invokes scenes of promiscuity intimately familiar to many male audience members. Dorcas, in air 6 of *The Mock Doctor*, does the same. John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, 3rd edn (London, 1733), 9-11 and Henry Fielding, *The Mock Doctor, or The Dumb Lady Cur'd* (London, 1732), 14.

As discussed in ch. 2, Mrs Clive was until 1732 celebrated as a rustic shepherdess, yet her on-stage success in such roles was a fabrication. Ironically, Arne's role for her as 'Woman' in Milton's masque constituted her first successful casting in a pastoral – nearly a decade after she had entered the viewer's fantasy in this setting. Her Act I songs in *Comus* circulated time-worn tropes about the sexual license enjoyed by Arcadian inhabitants: 'Decked in Daises', she attempted to 'waken love' in the spectators both on stage (the Brothers) and off (Drury Lane audiences/readers of the *Comus* playbook). After this song, her duet with John Beard ('From tyrant laws and customs free') celebrated the irresistibility of her siren call. To set the lyrics of her first air, Arne selected a dance type and key (gavotte in G major) to reinforce pastoral associations. The Beard-Clive duet relied on other pastoral signifiers – e.g. a siciliano in C major – to enhance the idyllic tone. A second gavotte, sung by Beard, and a danced siciliano closed the first musical section. Here Arne deployed normative musical procedures to create a 'high style' Baroque pastoral representation by alternating appropriate dance types: siciliano (the first tenor air) – gavotte (Mrs Clive) – siciliano (duet) – gavotte (tenor) – siciliano (dance).

In Mrs Clive's Act II *Comus* music, Arne switched from generic, mood-setting compositions to airs whose lyrics and discursive approach were intimately bound up with Mrs Clive's 1730s history. Her initial Act II air, 'Fame's an Eccho', warned listeners of the vagaries of popular favour. Within the context of Milton's libretto, the song was a nonsequitur: her air should have supplemented the 'poison'd sweets' from Comus's Cup, proffered by one of Comus's wanton female followers, which would transform the Brothers into Bacchanals³³. Yet the song failed to deliver any erotic charge; instead it re-interpreted the current understanding of the notion of 'fame'. During this period, 'fame' referred to one's reputation, which in the case of women was defined chiefly by their sexual conduct. Rather than warning how fame might impinge upon virtue, the lyrics

³³ The Brothers angrily reject the drink and the female who offers it to them: 'Forbear, nor offer us the poison'd sweets,/That thus have render'd thee thy sex's shame,/All sense of honour banish'd from thy breast'. Herbage, ed., *Comus*, 62.

described the main properties of fame according to contemporary stardom: its fickleness, its fragility, and, most importantly, its openness to manipulation. Here Arne broke up the pastoral idyll: a g minor key darkened the song's siciliano landscape, and the echo-interpolations, redolent of grotto scenes, fragmented the periodicity of the dance. Phrases assumed independent tonal centres (relative major, bars 10-12; dominant minor, bars 13-19; relative major, bars 21-24) to depict harmonically the shifting sands of public taste (Ex. 6.1).

Through its disjunction with Milton's libretto and its unusual interpretation of fame, the air assumed an extra-narrative function. Its didacticism, typical of the lyrics in the ballad farces she had popularized, allowed Mrs Clive to extract herself from the role of temptress in order to sermonize on celebrity status. The inclusion of these lyrics in *Comus* only makes sense in the context of Mrs Clive's much-publicized 1736 battle with the Drury Lane management to retain the leading role in the *Beggar's Opera*. The song echoed the *leitmotif* of her 1736 press campaign: that popular support does not necessarily indicate merit ('To the best she's oft unkind/And the worst her Favour find')³⁴. Arne suitably mottled her pastoral music to communicate this dark warning. The lyrics recalled Mrs Clive's public image, overwriting the libretto's notion that fulfilling female desire destroyed moral rectitude: Mrs Clive, as a 'shameless Advocate of Shame', stood not for lubricity but publicity. (By this date, Mrs Clive was in any case renowned for her chastity, which was key to her popular appeal³⁵. In other words, Arne's song, because it related to Mrs Clive's trials in theatrical politics, transformed Milton's seventeenth-century *angst* over the loss of one's maidenhead into a warning against the potential perfidy of stardom³⁶).

³⁴ Compare this usage of the word 'fame' to that in the epigram printed three times during Mrs Clive's 1736 battle to retain the lead role in *The Beggar's Opera*: 'Two RIVALS in Theatrick Fame/Fell out in France – and fight;/Two Nymphs in England did the same,/But cooler, chose to write'. Cited in ch. 5, p. 175.

³⁵ The means by which Mrs Clive cultivated her reputation for sexual correctness – through alliances, press reports and epilogues – are documented in 'Catherine Clive: an Actress Secure from Sexual Scandal', Kimberly Crouch, 'Attitudes towards Actresses in Eighteenth-Century Britain' (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1995), 198-227.

³⁶ While the lyrics might be read as a traditional eighteenth-century warning against women entering public life, acting was during this time becoming a socially acceptable activity. Kimberly Crouch, 'The Public Life

Ex. 6.1: Thomas Arne, 'Fame's an Eccho', *The Musick in the Masque of Comus* ([1740]), 21-2.

Sung by Mrs Clive in Comus 21

Traverla

Vio I.

Vio 2.

Fame's an Eccho *Prattling double*

an Empty airy glittering Bubble *& Breath can swell a Breath can sink it* *The*

wife not worth their keeping think it *Why then why such Toil and Pain Fames un-*

22
23

certain smiles to gain. *Like her Sister Fortune blind,* *to the best she's*

32

oft unkind. *and the worst her Favour find and the worst her Favour find.*

41

For.
Ada!
Ada!
and the worst her Favour find.

In Act III, Mrs Clive metamorphosed into Euphrosyne, the ‘Goddess of Mirth’ found in Milton’s *L’Allegro* (from the paired evening poems *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*). The joining of *Comus* with *L’Allegro* reflected a parallel strategy: first, to bolster the ‘presence’ of Milton in Drury Lane’s *Comus*; and second, to equip Mrs Clive with a role more in keeping with her star status at Drury Lane. Contextualized within Mrs Clive’s career, the emblematic figure of Euphrosyne would surely have crystallized into an *in propria persona* role celebrating Drury Lane’s ‘Muse with Justice’³⁷. The nomenclature of her new *dramatis persona* in *Comus* signified her transcendence over the other ‘additional characters’ in the 1738 adaptation. In librettos of the period, Euphrosyne was the only new character listed in the *Dramatis Personae* (the Second Spirit being a clone of the Attendant Spirit), the only member of Comus’s Crew identified by name, and the only Bacchanal who both spoke and sang. (Comus, performed by the great tragic actor John Quin, was a non-musical role.) Euphrosyne also enjoyed a unique literary pedigree amongst the ‘additional characters’: *L’Allegro* was seminal to Milton’s eighteenth-century reception and spawned a fashion for similar ‘evening poems’ from around 1720³⁸.

I would argue that Dalton introduced Mrs Clive/Euphrosyne to counterbalance the figure of Milton invoked in the prologue. This pairing, as we shall see, eventually filtered down to the Vauxhall Gardens, where Milton’s effigy in the ‘attitude of *Il Penseroso*’ presided over the gardens behind the ‘Temple of Comus’, a pavilion adjacent to a sweep of supperboxes, one of which contained an image of the actress mid-scene. Euphrosyne complicated what had originally been a straightforward Puritanical argument for Virtue’s triumph over sensuality by mixing together the cult of the dead poet with that of a live

of Female Actresses: Prostitutes or Ladies?’ *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalais (London and New York, 1997), 220-27.

³⁷ Anon, *The Theatre turned upside down, or The Mutineers. A Dialogue. Occasioned by a Pamphlet, called The Theatric Squabble* (London, 1733), 7.

³⁸ Poets imitated Milton’s paired poems, both in form and content, from the turn of the century until at least 1761. The flourishing of this poetic genre after Milton, called ‘evening poems’, is described in Griffin, *Regaining Paradise: Milton and the Eighteenth Century*, 72-82. ‘Evening poems’ combined Milton’s structure (tetrametre couplets, addressed to an emblematic figure) with related themes (pleasure, rural settings) and delicate rhythms.

actress. The *L'Allegro* verses which Dalton added to *Comus* to herald Mrs Clive's Act III entry outlined the profile her producers had toiled to establish. She was 'the Goddess fair and free', i.e. the emancipated female cultivated by her first promoter and song-writer Henry Carey; the 'nymph' of 'youthful jollity' (Phillida) tinged with 'quips and cranks' (the defiant rebel of 1736); she elicited 'laughter, holding both his sides' in accordance with her celebrated 'Comic Genius'³⁹.

Most importantly, Milton's Euphrosyne underlined Mrs Clive's function as a performer: to banish Melancholy through illusion. The *L'Allegro* verses announcing Euphrosyne were in essence a mini-prologue for Drury Lane's Goddess of Mirth, just as the opening prologue had praised Milton, the English literary hero. Dalton's merging of Mrs Clive with Euphrosyne proved enduring: in 1761, Benjamin Victor eulogized the actress with the same verses used to describe her in *Comus*⁴⁰. The performance history of *Comus* indicates that Mrs Clive 'owned' not only the Woman/Euphrosyne lead soprano role(s), but the production itself: besides being the only singer-actress to perform Woman/Euphrosyne until 1744, she took the masque with her on tour for its debut in Dublin, where she sang all three main soprano roles (Sabrina and Woman/Euphrosyne) to great acclaim; similarly, when she absconded to Covent Garden during her 1744 dispute with Drury Lane, she transported *Comus* for its first production at the rival theatre⁴¹. As

³⁹ To announce Euphrosyne, Dalton wove together the three stanzas from *L'Allegro*: 'Hence loathed Melancholy ... In heaven ycleasped Euphrosyne,/And by men, heart-easing Mirth;/Whom lovely Venus, at a birth,/ With two Sister Graces more,/To Ivy-crowned Bacchus bore./Haste thee Nymph and bring with thee,/Jest and youthful Jollity,/Quips, and Cranks, and wanton Wiles,/Nodes, and Becks, and wreathed with Smiles./Such as hang on Hebe's Cheek,/And love to live in dimple sleek;/Sport that wrinkled Care derides,/And Laughter holding both his Sides./Come and trip it as you go,/On the light fantastick Toe'. Herbage, ed., *Comus*, 96. In Milton's poem, Euphrosyne was, like Comus, an offspring of Bacchus. Unlike Comus, however, she was also one of the Graces, having been born of Venus.

⁴⁰ 'I cannot better introduce this Lady, than by the following Lines from MILTON. "Haste thee Nymph ... both his Sides" [see note above]. As strong Humour is the great characteristic Mark of an English Comedy, so was this laughter-loving, Joy-exciting actress! – To enumerate the different Parts in which she excelled, would be feebly describing, what the Audiences have felt so powerfully'. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London, from the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London, 1771), 141-2.

⁴¹ According to *The London Stage*, the masque was performed with its original cast over 60 times exclusively at Drury Lane until Mrs Clive departed in 1744. Herbage also notes that she selected the masque for her 1743 benefit before she brought it with her to Covent Garden. Herbage, ed., *Comus*, p. xi. Her 1741 Dublin performances in *Comus* moved one critic to comment: 'The Sublimity of the great Milton, the Eloquence of Mr Quin and the Harmony of Mrs Clive delighted and charmed everyone'. Printed in *Faulkner's Dublin*

crowning testimony to Mrs Clive's identification with the singing Euphrosyne, her most elaborate oil portrait, painted by William Verelst in 1740, portrayed her holding an aria from Handel's setting of *L'Allegro*⁴².

Arne subordinated his musical scenes for Euphrosyne/Mrs Clive to the reinforcement of Mrs Clive's image. Her opening song 'Come bid Adieu to Fear', a light-hearted gavotte, restated the actress's power to summon an imaginary empire of 'love and harmony' free from social constraints. Thereafter Comus ordered his followers to depict a lament scene designed to move the Lady, the virgin heroine of the masque, to 'pangs of Love'. Although Euphrosyne did not sing at this juncture – such lachrymations ill-befit a Comic Muse – she mediated the recitative/aria section through mime. The stage directions read:

After this Dance [a minuet performed by Naiades] the Pastoral Nymph advances slowly, with a melancholy and desponding Air, to the side of the Stage, and repeats by way of Soliloquy the first six lines [the recitative], and then starts the Ballad [a minuet]. In the mean Time she is observed by Euphrosyne, who by her Gesture expresses to the Audience her different Sentiments of the Subject of her Complaint, suitably to the Character of their several Songs⁴³.

How did this translate into stage action? It appears that the Pastoral Nymph (Cecilia Arne) sang from stage right or left, while Euphrosyne, who had been left standing beside the Lady and Comus after her last air, performed the choreographed gesture. Functioning as a dramatic conduit, Mrs Clive thereby maintained her 'Muse' authority, remaining centre stage to interpret the air for the public. She then rebutted the Nymph's self-pity with a stereotypical representation that she had popularized from 1732 – the narcissistic 'Fine Lady' of the Town:

[recitative] Love the greatest Bliss below,
How to taste few Women know,

Journal, 4-8 Aug 1741; cited in Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar* (Dublin, 1988), 73. After 6 Aug she apparently played Woman/Euphrosyne and Sabrina for another four performances. Crean (1933), 234.

⁴² The aria was 'Sweet Bird'. The music she held symbolized Mrs Clive's reputation as Drury Lane's pre-eminent soprano. Although she sang in Handel's *L'Allegro*, there is no record that she ever sang this aria, which was unsuited to her voice type. James S. Hall and Martin V. Hall, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato: Kritischer Bericht*, 1/16 (Kassel, 1969), 7-43, 59-74. The portrait now hangs in the Garrick Club of London, and is reproduced in Geoffrey Ashton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture* (London, 1997), 70.

⁴³ Milton, *Comus, a Mask ... as alter'd from Milton's Mask*, 36.

Fewer still the Way have hit,
 How a fickle Swain to quit.
 Simple Nymph, then learn of me,
 How to treat Inconstancy.
 [air]
 The wanton God, that pierces Hearts,
 Dips in Gall his pointed Darts,
 But the Nymph disdains to pine,
 Who bathes the Wound with rosy Wine.

Farewell Lovers, when they're cloyed;
 When I am scorn'd, because enjoy'd,
 Sure the squeamish Fops are free,
 To rid me of dull company⁴⁴.

Again, the foibles alluded to in the air diverged sharply from those required by the libretto (the dialogue calls for a 'culling' of 'Nature's sweets' in music). Despite the gigue-like tempo, Arne eschewed periodicity for what Fiske terms a 'sublimated ballad style'. Norman Gillespie has shown that Henry Carey, not Arne, had pioneered this strain of song composition, and that Mrs Clive was its chief exponent⁴⁵. Carey-esque features typical of this style – the upsetting of antecedent/consequent structure through repetition of the final phrase, word-painting through unprepared harmonic shift – resurface in this song (Ex. 6.2). Arne's reliance on a musical vocabulary identified with Mrs Clive helped the myth of the actress to overshadow that of the fictional Euphrosyne. Her subsequent air, 'Preach not me your musty rules' drew likewise on a Clive-style line of songs expressing an independence that sat uneasily with Milton's verses⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Herbage, ed., *Comus*, 106-9. Mrs Clive's initial burlesque of the Fine Lady – the spoiled female who indulges her every whim and enjoys the company of fops – emerged as the misguided Lucy in Henry Fielding, *The Lottery* (London, 1732). This stereotype became central to her repertory after 1745.

⁴⁵ One of Gillespie's principal aims in his research on Carey is to show that the composer, 'by fusing the popular ballad with the sophistication of the modern Italian style ... established the characteristics of that mid-century "English style" identified principally with Thomas Arne'. Gillespie (1982), i, 2. His research discounts Fiske's assertion that a 'sublimated ballad style' was 'invented' by Arne. See Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 179-88. Gillespie consistently notes that Carey designed his most popular and demanding works for his star pupil, Mrs Clive.

⁴⁶ The dialogue preceding 'Preach not me' demands a song celebrating carnal pleasures; Mrs Clive's air instead broadcasts her indomitable will ('Preach not me your musty rules/ye Drones that mould in idle Cell'). Lyrics and music poke fun at stylistic conventions: the drone over the dominant apes the lyrics ('Ye drones that mould in idle Cell', bars 25-7), the main rhythmic motif teases through its persistence, and the *repetitio* phrase rises to deliver the triumphant message, 'They only live who life enjoy'. Note that Arne emphasized the word 'me' by placing it on the downbeat, a detail lost in the *Musica Britannica* edition, in which the editor chose to place 'me' on the second beat. Compare Thomas Arne, *The Musick in the Masque of Comus* (London, [1740]), 36 and Herbage, ed., *Comus*, 121-4.

Ex. 6.2: Thomas Arne, 'The wanton God', *The Musick in the Masque of Comus* ([1740]), 32-3.

Sung by Mrs Clive in Comus

Allegro Pia.

The wanton God who

pierces Hearts, Dips in Gall his pointed Darts, But the Nymph disdain's to pierce who bath's his wound with

rosy wine, rosy wine, rosy wine, who bath's the wound with rosy wine.

Farewell Farewell Lovers when they're cloy'd, if I am scorn'd because enjoy'd sure tis my gain.

Fops are free to rid me of dull Company, sure they refuse, sure they refuse to rid me of dull Company.

Euphrosyne's appearance concluded with a dervish-like pastoral tableau: a sung minuet ('Ye Fawns and Dryads') whose accelerating B section segued into a presto bourrée. This melted into two contrasting sections, a Largo (recitative *accompagnato*) and an Allegro (air)⁴⁷. Throughout this musical scene, Euphrosyne literally called the tune: stage directions indicated that for the bourrée, dancers should appear to react to her directions. The alternating triple and duple metre segments in her recitative *accompagnato* hovered above the constraints of a time signature or a tonal centre, with the orchestral responses to her vocalizations growing increasingly wayward. Euphrosyne asserted control over her accompaniment by shifting abruptly to the closing Allegro air in 3/8 (Ex. 6.3).

To imagine how a contemporary audience member might have heard Mrs Clive's music – the 'sublimated ballad style', the sly joking, the extra-narrative allusions to fame, the authority over her followers (dancers or instrumentalists) – one must grasp the genesis not of the work, but of the star performer for whom it was constructed. The composer and lyricist were in this sense amanuenses for the player's persona, whose patterns of representation selected specific components recognizable to audiences. Anticipating that Drury Lane audiences would filter any Clive representation through her reputation, Arne and Dalton created compositions to be decoded by referring to her public personality – her performance history, her iconography and her mimetic skills.

The Epilogue completed the Milton-Euphrosyne counterbalance. It toyed with the semiotics of Comus's costume (Fig. 6.7): speaking 'in the character of Euphrosyne', Mrs Clive brandished Comus's Wand and Cup, Miltonic symbols for the god's power to effect transformations (and thereby mask evil with the appearance of innocence). What had been

⁴⁷ This scene did not appear in the earliest printed music edition, which typically included only the overture, songs, duet, trio and dances (as an appendix, 'The Dances in Comus'), and excluded choruses, recitatives and instrumental interludes. To fit the recitative *accompagnato* into Mrs Clive's solo air ('Ye fawns and ye dryads'), the 1740 editors reduced this section to two-bar echoes after lines one, two and seven. Arne, *The Musick in the Masque of Comus*, 37-8. This scene survived in the c1785 manuscript GB-Lbl Add. MS 11518 that was copied from theatrical material. See 'List of Sources' in Herbage, ed., *Comus*, p. xii. As Fiske notes, the manuscript and printed source together make *Comus* the 'only major theatrical work' by Arne to have survived 'virtually complete'. The stage directions for the dancers to 'attend to the following directions [of Euphrosyne]' appeared in the first printed libretto, but are omitted from the modern edition. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 186-7.

Ex. 6.3: Thomas Arne, 'Now cold and denying', *Comus*, ed. Julian Herbage (1951), 128-32.

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Now cold and denying' by Thomas Arne. The score is arranged in three systems, each containing staves for Violins (Vln. 1 and 2), Bass, Harpsichord (Hpd.), and Soprano (Sop.).

- System 1:** Features Violins 1 and 2, Bass, and Harpsichord. The key signature is two sharps (D major). The time signature is 4/4. The music includes various ornaments such as *tr* (trills) and *tu* (trills) and includes figured bass notation (e.g., 6, 6, #6, 4/2, 6, 6, 6, 6).
- System 2:** Continues the instrumental parts. The key signature changes to one sharp (E major). The time signature changes to 3/4. It includes more trills (*tr*) and figured bass notation (e.g., 6, 5, 6, 7, 8, 6).
- System 3:** Introduces the vocal parts. The tempo is marked *Largo so*. The key signature is one sharp (E major) and the time signature is 3/4. The Soprano part begins with the lyrics "Now cold and de - ny - ing,". The Bass and Harpsichord parts are marked *Largo* and *(p)* (piano).

1
2
Vln.
Sop.
Bass
Hpd.

90

Now kind and com - ply - ing,

1
2
Vln.
Sop.
Bass
Hpd.

1
2
Vln.
Sop.
Bass
Hpd.

100

Con - sent - ing, re -

1
Vln

2

Sop.

Bass

Hpd.

-pent-ing, Dis-dain-ing,

110

1
Vln.

2

Sop.

Bass

Hpd.

com.

1
Vln.

2

Sop.

Bass

Hpd.

-plain-ing,

120

1
Vln.
2

Sop.
In - diff - rence now feign - ing

Bass
b6 4 3 6 b 6 # #6 6 6

Hpd.

1
Vln.
2

Sop.

Bass
#6 6 6 #6 6 6 # #

Hpd.

1
Vln.
2

Sop.
A - gain with quick Feet the Ground beat beat beat. A -

Bass
7 # 6 4 # p 6 6

Hpd.

1
Vin.
2
Sop.
Bass
Hp.d.

- gain with quick Feet the Ground beat beat beat. A - gain with quick

1
Vin.
2
Sop.
Bass
Hp.d.

150

Feet the Ground beat beat beat.

[Exeunt Dancers.]

Com.

List, Lady, be not coy, and be not cozen'd
 With that same vaunted name, *Virginity*.
 Beauty is Nature's Coin ; must not be hoarded,
 But must be current ; and the Good thereof
 Consists in mutual and partaken Bliss,
 Unsavoury in th' Enjoyment of itself.
 If you let slip Time, like a neglected Rose
 It withers on the Stalk with languish'd Head.
 Beauty is Nature's Brag, and must be shown
 In Courts, at Feasts, and high Solemnities,
 Where most may wonder at the Workmanship.
 It is for homely Features to keep Home ;
 They had their Name thence. Coarse Complexions
 And Cheeks of sorry Grain will serve to ply
 The Sampler, and to tease the Housewife's Wool.
 What need a Vermeil-tinctur'd Lip for that,
 Love-darting Eyes, or Tresses like the Morn ?
 There was another Meaning in these Gifts ;
 Think what, and be advis'd ; you are but young yet,
 This will inform you soon.

Lady.

To him that dares
 Arm his prophane Tongue with contemptuous Words

*"Repeat the Tambourine" in M.S

Fig. 6.7: Anon, *Habit of Comus in the Masque of Comus*, 1757. Engraving [in *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations*].



instruments of deception became, in her Epilogue, objects referring to the actress's own Thalian eminence. Her power to create stage caricatures – i.e. to change quotidian characters into absurd reflections – was perhaps her most celebrated talent, and the Wand and Cup, according to her closing monologue, now symbolized this gift⁴⁸. Ending the masque with this paean to her techniques in farce washed away any 'feminist' tinge her on-stage representation may have acquired. From the Restoration onwards, writers of comedy had excused the enactment of taboos in their plays by claiming to educate the viewer; the exaggerated manner of representation associated with farce allegedly protected audiences from empathizing with the dangerous characters represented. The epilogue reminded viewers that Mrs Clive's performance manifested her talent for burlesque, rather than unveiling her private personality; in other words, it assured viewers that her expressed desire for emancipation was merely a display designed for public opprobrium. *Comus* thereby joined the ranks of countless English farces of the period which justified their awkward shuttling between transgression and prescription by claiming to answer a didactic purpose⁴⁹.

How are we to characterize the difference between the two icons, Milton and Mrs Clive, who framed *Comus*? Suzanne Aspden postulates that mythologizing an established artist according to nationalist rhetoric allowed the eighteenth-century Briton to identify and organize patriotic principles; recognizing this process should help us understand why critics of the period pasted a specific reading onto a figure like Milton and his creative output. Theatre stars, however, even when symbolizing patriotic principles, occupied another realm of fantasy, distinct from the 'imagined community' implied by theories of

⁴⁸ 'Beyond all Bounds of Truth this Author shoots;/Can Wands or Cups transform Men into Brutes? ... One Stroke of * This [the wand], as sure as Cupid's Arrow,/Turns the warm Youth into a wanton Sparrow./Nay, the cold Prude becomes a Slave to Love,/Feels new Warmth, and coos a billing Dove...'. 'Epilogue. To be spoken by Mrs. Clive, in the Dress of Euphrosyne, with the Wand and Cup', in Milton, *Comus, a Mask ... as alter'd from Milton's Mask*.

⁴⁹ The critical apparatus used to justify the misconduct staged in farce is described in ch. 1, 'English Comedy Writing: Farce versus Sentiment', pp.16-19.

nationalism⁵⁰. Players were ideologically heterodox and alive, interceding constantly in the process of their own image production. Patent theatres marketed principal players as ‘knowable’ individuals: as today, star production simulated an intimacy, on stage and in print, between actor and devotee. Principal players therefore adopted, or were ascribed, views perceived as popular without regard to any ideological coherence. Rather than organizing ideologies, they scrambled them, presenting a disorderly clutch of perspectives within their own idiosyncratic personae.

The Signification of Baroque Dance

Despite recycling tested formulae of contemporary musical theatre, Drury Lane’s *Comus* was unique for the period in at least one respect: Arne patterned his compositions almost exclusively on Baroque dances. Except for three musical sections dramatizing the heroine’s situation, every air or dance scene in *Comus* used the meter, rhythmic patterns and binary structure of contemporary social dance⁵¹. Arne may have utilized the song-to-drama relationship of ballad opera to slip in scenes independent of Milton’s narrative, but the composer’s persistent reliance on *galante* dances lent his scenes a decorousness not shared by ballad opera or farce.

Using dance as an interpretive mold reflected, or perhaps refracted, the function of dance in the Milton/Lawes *Masque at Ludlow Castle*. Generally speaking, Stuart masques

⁵⁰ Aspden relies on Benedict Anderson’s theory of ‘imagined community’ to help explain the genesis of British ‘national identity’. Anderson conceives of ‘a nation’ primarily as a collective fantasy which citizens both consume and help generate. Suzanne Aspden, ‘Opera and Nationalism in mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain’ (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1999), 3-30.

⁵¹ In addition to the dance series in Act I described above, other *Comus* music based on dances include in Act I: the courante ‘Fly swiftly ye minutes’ (John Beard as ‘Man’) and the gigue-based ‘Come Away’ (Chorus) concluding the act; in Act II, the siciliano ‘Fame’s an Eccho’ (Mrs Clive), the double bourée ‘Would you Taste the Noontide Air’ (Mrs Arne as ‘Woman in Pastoral Habit’), and the gavotte-based trio ‘Live and Love’; and in Act III, Euphrosyne’s first musical scene (see above), the sarabande ‘Nor on Beds of Fading Flowers’ (John Beard as ‘Man’), the gigue ‘Preach not me’ (Mrs Clive), and the dance sequence beginning with the minuet ‘Ye Fawns and ye Dryads’ (see above). In his dance-based choruses and trios, Arne abandoned the binary form but retained characteristic meters and rhythms of the dance type. Instead of representing Comus’s Court, the masque’s three Italianate sections (the Da capo aria ‘Sweet Echo’, the recitative accompagnato ‘From the Realms of Peace above’, and the *scena* ‘Sabrina Fair/By the rushy fring’d Bank/Gentle Swain’ with concluding chorus) respond to the heroine’s plight. Arne’s reliance on dance forms contrasted with the preponderance of recitative/arias in other eighteenth-century masques. These are described in ‘The Masque 1690-1800: an Overall View’, Burden, ‘The British Masque, 1690-1800’, 221-33.

relied upon episodic, allegorical sequences to fulfill their main task: deploying ‘poetry, music and visual spectacle’ to project ‘a coherent ideology for the Stuart Court’⁵².

Milton’s reconfiguration of this pattern in his 1634 *Maske* has engendered much debate amongst scholars over whether the work actually belongs to the genre of the Stuart masque. It resists classification, because it was both a Court function (in which observers were also performers) and mimetic theatre (in which viewers remained in their seats)⁵³. To recast this argument, one can view the *Maske at Ludlow Castle* either as ritual or as artwork. Not surprisingly, the Arne/Dalton *Comus* was the only mid-eighteenth masque based on a pre-Restoration source; others from this period were either adaptations of earlier masques conceived for the London stage or newly-composed stage works celebrating official occasions⁵⁴. The unique selling proposition of the Drury Lane *Comus* was that it packaged this dual ritual/artwork for public consumption. By retaining dance as the dominant musical form, Arne could call forth a ritualized response in the viewer’s imagination.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social dance spoke to a bodily knowledge – dance training being seminal to a gentleperson’s education⁵⁵ – and Baroque dance hooked into specific dramatic associations (e.g. gavottes for merry shepherds, sarabandes for noble

⁵² In the words of Beaumont and Fletcher, masques must ‘commend their king, and speake in praise/Of the assembly, blesse the Bride and Bridegroom/In person of some god; they’re tied to rules/Of flatterie’. Cited in Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640*, 13. Peter Walls discusses the ideologies informing Stuart Court masques in his introduction to Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640*.

⁵³ Walls detects behind the work ‘a perfectly regular courtly masque’ despite its fluid narrative. Peter Walls, ‘*Comus: the Courtly Masque Questioned*’, *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of F.W. Sternfeld*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (Oxford, 1990). As Burden observes, Milton’s masque has prompted ‘more articles than history has provided beds slept in by Elizabeth I’. Many of these writings are listed in Walls, ‘*Comus: the Courtly Masque Questioned*’ and Michael Burden, ‘Britannia versus Virtue in the Harmony of the Spheres: Directions of Masque Writing in the Eighteenth Century’, *Miscellanea musicologica Australia*, 17 (1990).

⁵⁴ Earlier masques for the stage reset during the mid-eighteenth century include Congreve’s *Judgment of Paris* (reset by Arne 1742); Dryden’s *Secular Masque* (reset by Boyce in the early 1740s); and Granville’s *Peleus and Thetis* (reset by Boyce 1749). The other type of masque cultivated during this period was the ‘occasional masque’ marking festive occasions, such as royal birthdays or military triumphs. Examples include Carey’s *The Happy Nuptials* (1733), Lampe’s *Brittania* (1733) and Arne’s *Alfred* (1740). Burden, ‘The British Masque, 1690-1800’, 101-11, 69-211 and Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 171-204.

⁵⁵ Leppert emphasizes the importance of social dance in the education of eighteenth-century English upper-classes (or aspirants to this class). Richard Leppert, ‘Music and the Body: Dance, Power, Submission’, *Music and Image* (Cambridge, 1988). Attendees of dance masters also frequented London theatres, as William Pedicord has recorded. Harry W. Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick* (New York, 1954).

entries, etc.). During the mid-eighteenth century, the use of dance forms in stage spectacles ranging from Italian *dramma per musica* to English pantomime, and music critics' obsessive outlining of a dance's range of *Affekte*, attested to the power of each dance type to generate an aesthetic identity or sign⁵⁶. Baroque dance's signifying power appears to have rested on the listener's association of physical movement with narrative: audiences 'felt and 'read' the dance as an independent message that interacted with, and might overpower, other compositional elements.

Such a reading implies that Arne's *galante* dances, in a dynamic characteristic of ritual, forced corporeal knowledge to interact with narrative association. Ritual, however, is ideologically open-ended; anthropologists warn us that patterns of movement may be continually re-organized to articulate new meanings according to context (performed at a boisterous masquerade, a minuet might, for instance, invert its traditional *noblesse*)⁵⁷. As discussed above, the 1634 and 1738 masques called for a physical response from the spectator in a bid to anchor the meaning of scenes in coordinated movement. Ironically, while dance had been a medium for affirming Puritan values in 1634, in 1738 it apparently served instead to moderate Dalton's scandalous lyrics, which peaked in the music of Mrs Clive. With his *Comus* compositions, Arne balanced Arcadian libertinism with the gentility of social dance, grounding the listener's interpretation in socially acceptable aesthetic and physical patterns.

⁵⁶ Since the late 1980s, scholars such as Wendy Hilton and Meredith Little have reconstructed the choreographies and contemporary interpretations (by Georg Muffat, Johann Mattheson, et al) of the Baroque dance, in works such as Wendy Hilton, *Dance of the Court & Theatre: the French Noble Style, 1690-1725* (Princeton, NJ, 1981) and Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach* (Bloomington, 1991).

⁵⁷ Leppert argues for an 'ideology of the minuet', which when transferred from its place of origin (the court of Louis XIV) continued to lock participants into a ritual enacting social ideals, such as the primacy of the ruler, the need for social hierarchies and the benefits of cultivating contrived physical gestures. In anthropological studies, the relationship between ritual and ideology is hotly contested. There is a consensus, however, that ritual, in being performed, simultaneously relies on shared beliefs and interrogates these convictions. The result may be affirmation, redefinition or rejection of accepted belief systems. The anthropological debate over the interaction between ritual and ideology is reviewed in Martha Feldman, 'Magic Mirrors and the Seria Stage: Thoughts towards a Ritual View', *JAMS*, 48 (1995). Catherine Bell analyses the flexibility of symbolic meaning in ritual in Catherine Bell, 'Ritual, Belief and Ideology', *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York and Oxford, 1992).

‘To view the harmless Joys without’: *Comus* and the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens

Wherein lay the enduring appeal of *Comus*? The inclusion of a principal player, no matter how cleverly reconstructed in music or dialogue, did not guarantee a work’s success, as the many flops featuring Mrs Clive attest. Promoting Milton also did not ensure a box-office hit, as Rolli had experienced with *Sabrina*.

The manner in which John Tyers re-invented *Comus* at Vauxhall Gardens suggests which aspects of the masque he judged most alluring to his public, and the success of the gardens to some extent validated his assessment. The improved Vauxhall, reopened by Tyers in 1732, flourished as a venue where tensions between the desires for edification and self-gratification could play themselves out. After taking over the gardens in 1728, Tyers systematically re-designed every aspect – the landscaping, the entertainments, the entry system, the art and architecture – to transform the location’s reputation from one of infamy to one of polite taste. He offered a medley of delights: after paying admission, the visitor might consume an expensive dinner in the supperboxes, wander on tree-lined gravel paths or through sweeping colonnades, listen to an evening concert, dance in the Great Hall, admire the statuary and painting in the gardens and pavilions, wonder at the over 1,000 lamps illuminating nocturnal skies, or revel in the seclusion of the downs and woods⁵⁸.

Working against the gentility of Tyers’ environment was the lucrative, yet fraught, business of pleasure-seeking. One of Vauxhall’s chief attractions was its intermingling of social ranks; historians hold it up as one of the earliest public spaces where class distinctions were dissolved⁵⁹. On this democratized site, visitors could also feed less genteel appetites for promiscuity, drinking and dancing. Such a combined meltdown of

⁵⁸ Before Tyers bought the Gardens, they were renowned as a venue for sexual trafficking. The evolution of the gardens is vividly described in David Coke, *The Muse’s Bower, 1728-1786* (Sudbury, Suffolk, 1978).

⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, [9] and David Solkin, ‘Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure’, *Painting for Money: the Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1993), 106-7. See also Bindman, ‘Roubiliac’s Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century’, 23-6.

social hierarchy and abandonment to self-indulgence is generally associated by scholars with the notion of the 'carnavalesque' in London's urban life.

The prevailing paradigm amongst historians for Tyers' integration of the carnivalesque into Vauxhall suggests opposition and enforcement. David Solkin claims that Tyers constructed models, both in his gardens and his publicity, of 'polite subjectivity' in order to obscure, and eventually overcome, the baser pleasures available on his grounds⁶⁰. The theory suggests that Tyers was consciously acting to offset the libidinous impulses of his guests by imposing models of approved conduct. This chapter offers an alternative model. Rather than pitting order against disorder – which would inhibit the release of carnivalesque impulses – Tyers appears to have simulated a pastoral theatre where goings-on in the bushes conveniently removed themselves to an 'imaginary realm'. The simulacrum of Arcadia suspended social mores, allowing visitors to surrender to the carnival's promiscuous energies.

The ontology of the carnival speaks against the model proposed by Solkin. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, and more recently Terry Castle, the carnivalesque of the eighteenth century manifested itself in the exploration of alternative identities and taboo impulses. Such experimentation depended on scrambling the codes essential to ordered social conduct: cross-dressing, hiding one's identity, inverting social hierarchies, or shedding decorum opened doors to hitherto unexplored frontiers of the libido. The carnival erased social conventions by rendering them meaningless, and this 'decontextualization' relieved individuals from responsibility for their actions. Eighteenth-century masquerades,

⁶⁰ Solkin, 'Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure', 138. Solkin's interpretation is informed by descriptions of the gardens found in Teri J. Edelstein, 'The Gardens', *Vauxhall Gardens*, ed. Teri J. Edelstein (New Haven, 1983). Bindman backs Solkin's interpretation of Vauxhall as a forum where guests were invited to construct notions of civic virtue, as does Aspden. Bindman, 'Roubiliac's Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century' and Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' transformed to Stone": the Composer as Monument'.

through their disguises, extravagance, jumbling of social stations, and nocturnal timing, constituted an ideal forum in which carnivalesque behaviour could unfold⁶¹.

Yet the ‘heteroglot exuberance’ described by Castle was notably absent from Vauxhall masquerades because costumes, the principal means of releasing participants from social strictures, were largely omitted⁶². Participants in the heavily guarded 1732 *ridotto*, who were hand-picked by Tyers, limited their costumes to black dominoes and lawyers’ gowns. In 1760, one witness observed that amongst over 5,000 guests, only eight or ten conservative costumes surfaced. Writing in the same year, Horace Walpole complained that the masquerades were ‘nothing better than a common night’⁶³.

The persistence with which Tyers reminded Vauxhall visitors of conventions (the inscriptions on sculptures and structures, the rational layout of the walks) might also suggest an enforcement model⁶⁴. Yet contemporary reports make clear that integrating libidinous occasions into the Gardens was essential to Tyers’ business. Rather than seeking to quash misconduct with propriety, Tyers was intent on profiting from misconduct by giving it an Arcadian venue. He placed visitors in a make-believe idyll whose classical roots forgave any exploration of its erotic heritage. The Gardens, like the Disney World

⁶¹ ‘Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people’: Mikhail Bakhtin, ‘Introduction’, *Rabelais and his World* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 7. Castle writes, ‘the carnivalesque occasion intimates an alternative view of the “nature of the things”’. Terry Castle, ‘The Carnivalization of English Narrative’, *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (Oxford and New York, 1995), 103.

⁶² Describing the costume’s role in unleashing the carnivalesque, Castle notes that ‘travesty eroticized the world’ and analyses how disguise inserted the wearer into a ‘symbolic lexicon of libidinous possibility’. Terry Castle, ‘The Culture of Travesty’, *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (Oxford and New York, 1995), 87-91.

⁶³ The description of the 1732 *ridotto* states that ‘one hundred Soldiers were posted to prevent disturbances and the whole was conducted with good order’. Item 52/2 in Anon, *GB-Ob GA Surrey C21, ‘Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates’*. See also Item 139/2: ‘The Company was very genteel ... there were not more than eight or ten [costumes]: Among whom were a Lady in the Character of a pastoral Nymph, dressed in a Jacket and Coat of White Satin, trimmed with Green [and] a Lady in an old English Dress of chequered Silk, the Ground yellow trimmed with Gold. A Gentleman appeared in the Character of a Turk ... Another Gentleman assumed the Character of a Highlander ... There was also a young Gentleman habited like a Spaniard. Several Gentlemen appeared in the Character of Lord Foppington’. Anon, ‘Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates’. Walpole noted, ‘Nothing diverted me but a man in a Turk’s dress and two nymphs, in masquerade without masks, who ... seemed to surprise nobody’. Letter from Horace Walpole to George Montague 11 May 1769; cited in Teri J. Edelstein, ed., *Vauxhall Gardens* (New Haven, 1983), 13-14.

⁶⁴ ‘There were didactic inscriptions everywhere to inspire, as a satirist remarked with some irony, “a love of Wisdom and the Spirit of Bravery of the Old Romans”’. Bindman, ‘Roubiliac’s Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century’, 24.

hypostasized by Baudrillard, fabricated a live fantasy and invited individuals to consider this world a self-sufficient, independent empire⁶⁵. The Vauxhall pastoral world enveloped all of the visitor's senses, and in so doing freed (as did masquerades) the individual from quotidian strictures. The measure and types of indulgences belonging to the pastoral were more limited than those of the masquerade, but the pastoral had this crucial advantage: while masquerades exiled the very concept of 'polite' conduct, the cultural heritage of Arcadia allowed the 'polite' and 'impolite' to merge into a fuzzy propriety. Tyer's combined encouragement of Dionysian dalliances and homage to the antique world prompted one critic to protest:

Methinks I already see the *Votaries* of both Gender (after the *Moral Lecture* is over) ... taking in the luscious *Dainties* at their rosy Lips, and innocently drinking whole Rivulets of *Love* at their bright Eyes: whilst *Bacchus*, *Venus* and *Cupid* are peeping thro' the Sail-Cloth Canopy⁶⁶.

This reading is further borne out by the two main collections of Vauxhall ephemera, whose dominant motif (in puffs, ballads, poems, and iconography) was the location's power to transport visitors into a pastoral dreamscape⁶⁷. For his landscaping, Tyers turned to the English gentleman's garden that between 1700 and 1750 drew its primary inspiration from the Renaissance reconstructions of the classical Roman villa. The most sought-after designer of this school was William Kent, who aimed primarily to recreate the surroundings of the *beatus ille*, or 'happy man' of antique times whose contentment arose from his relationship to nature. Visual quotations from Italian

⁶⁵ Baudrillard's theories of simulacra are wedded to his conception of 'hyperreality', of which Disney World is one example. He postulates that in the modern world, representations of events, be they in theme parks, news broadcasts, films or interactive therapies, have displaced the 'real' with the 'unreal'. The Platonic division between essence and projection dissolves into reproductions of experiences whose meanings, because they are detached from any 'reality', are open to endless re-interpretations. These reproductions always seek to hide their own hollowness. I do not believe that simulacra, or simulated phenomena, functioned in this manner in eighteenth-century London, where technologies and living standards did not admit, or invite, reproductions of its grim cityscape. However, facets of Baudrillard's model for simulacrum – its envelopment of the participant, its reliance on phantasmagora and myth – are found in Tyers' pastoral fantasy at Vauxhall Gardens. Jean Baudrillard, 'The Precession of Simulacra', *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994).

⁶⁶ *The Universal Spectator*, 3 June 1732 in Anon, GB-Lbl Cup401k7, 'Vauxhall Gardens: a Collection of Tickets ... Engravings, and extracts and Cuttings ... relating to Vauxhall Gardens', 106.

⁶⁷ These are collections of newspaper cuttings, songs and engravings pasted into bound volumes titled 'Vauxhall Gardens'. One is at the British Library (shelfmark Cup.401.k.7); the other is at the Bodleian Library (shelfmark G.A. Surrey C.21). Both are cited in this article.

Renaissance villas and Roman ruins, secluded areas, and estate edges trailing off into ‘untouched’ Nature became the hallmarks of this fashion, into which Tyers tapped⁶⁸. At Vauxhall, painted constructions simulated antique ruins and arches, and an obligatory ‘ha-ha’ border marked the Garden’s southern boundary, exposing outlying fields. The cityscape was blocked by the other walls enclosing Vauxhall, and tree-lined avenues shielded those promenading. Seclusion also allowed for less rational pursuits: for instance, the fields bordering the South Walk accommodated ‘indecencies’ which were ‘so much complained of’ that magistrates eventually ordered Tyers to fence in the fields. The fields were also conveniently dark, and Tyers, when erecting the obligatory fence in 1763, elected also to illuminate the Walk for the first time. Both steps provoked the ire of ‘foolish Bucks’⁶⁹.

Vauxhall’s classically-based landscaping simultaneously made accessible to guests the ‘polite taste’ of landed gentry and supported Tyers’ pastoral project. To foster the latter, the proprietor added song in various guises, supplying for visitors what had been a key ingredient of pastoral literature from Theocritus’s seminal poem, the first *Idyll*, onward⁷⁰. Tyers’ ‘atmosphere enhancement’ through music was not unprecedented: nightingales had been a feature of the Gardens from the seventeenth century, and once the birds disappeared in 1730, Tyers hired individuals to imitate their calls from hidden perches⁷¹. Tyers invested heavily in improving the aural surround. He concealed

⁶⁸ The relationship between the landscaping at Vauxhall and William Kent’s garden designs is traced in Bindman, ‘Roubiliac’s Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century’. Kent’s devotion to the Italian country villa and its classical roots, as well as the architect’s indebtedness to French landscape painting and theatrical set designs, are described in John Dixon Hunt, *The Genius of the Place: the English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, rev. edn (Boston, 1988), 8-31.

⁶⁹ Coke, *The Muse’s Bower, 1728-1786*, [16].

⁷⁰ In each of the first two verses, Theocritus compares the herdsman’s music to that of nature. This poem is reprinted in Paul Alpers, ‘What is Pastoralism?’ *Critical Inquiry*, 8, no. 3 (1982), 448. Scholars of the pastoral consider Theocritus’s *Idyll* the primary impetus for Virgil’s *Eclogues*; Virgil’s model was taken up by Renaissance writers such as Sannazaro, whose imitation of Virgil (in *Arcadia*) was seminal. Two standard references on the literary traditions of the pastoral are W.W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (New York, 1959) and Frank Kermode, *English Pastoral Poetry from the Beginnings to Marvell* (New York, 1972).

⁷¹ ‘It was then call’d Spring Gds Vauxhall. The number of nightingales in the Trees having left their retreat persons were placed there to imitate their Notes. This was not discovered for some Years. The Birds it was thought was the original attraction to this Spot – this was Tyers time about 1730.’ Item 4/2 [MS note] in

instrumental bands in bushes and hollows to waft 'Fairy Music' into the fields behind the Chinese pavilion (see the quotation below); in 1735 he upgraded the orchestral stand from a raised platform to a cylindrical pavilion; in 1737 he added an organ, and in 1745 he expanded the evening entertainment to include English singer-actors. For his *ridottos*, he regularly installed extra bands on platforms throughout the Gardens⁷².

Even before Tyers enlisted singers to enrich this bucolic atmosphere, he used airs to advertise his Elysian paradise (an early example of the medium being the message). These appeared largely as lyrics in newspaper puffs and as engraved songs (in George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*, from 1737); John Lockman, Tyers' publicity agent, contributed to both. The promotional ballads celebrated pastoral clichés also present in Drury Lane's *Comus* dreamscape: the Vauxhall Gardens' independence from the outside world (*Comus*'s court); its fusion of reality with fantasy (*Comus*'s power to transform); and the liberty visitors enjoyed to indulge amorous passions (the revels of *Comus*'s band)⁷³. After 1745, Vauxhall ballads were not only published but performed in the evening by theatre singers. The song lyrics focused on music's capacity to 'transport' the listener to another realm, thereby fusing dream with reality. At Vauxhall, natural and man-made songs became both a paradigm for the visitor's inability to distinguish the real from the staged, and a means for achieving this altered state⁷⁴. The lyrics also hounded listeners with images of the

Anon, 'Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates'.

⁷² On the 'Fairy Music' see John Lockman, *A Sketch of the Spring Gardens, Vaux-hall. In a Letter to a Noble Lord* (London, [1750]), 19-20. Sections from this publication are quoted below. Tyers' cultivation of musical entertainments in his gardens is described in the following sections: Item 4/2 (on the orchestra stand and organ), Item 76/1 (on the introduction of vocal performances) and Item 139/2 (on music for the *ridottos*), in Anon, 'Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates'. Vauxhall's musical installations are also described in Coke, *The Muse's Bower, 1728-1786*, [13-14] and Solkin, 'Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure', 113-15.

⁷³ The pastoral is described as 'erotic bliss made absolute by its own irresponsibility' in Renato Poggiolo, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, 1975), 14.

⁷⁴ John Lockman's lyrics to William Boyce's song 'Rural Beauties' offer one example among several: 'With this blissful Spot delighted,/Here ye Queen of May of retreats,/Belles and Beaus are all invited,/To partake of varied Sweets ... Hark! What Heaven'ly Notes descending,/Break upon the listn'ing Ear,/Musick All its Graces tending,/O tis Extasy to hear!'. Anon, ed., *Bickham's Musical Entertainer*, ii (London, [1738]), 2. In another poem, 'The Farewell to Spring Gardens. By Mr Lockman from his own manuscript [1738]', music is again the means for transporting the visitor to a Fairy realm: 'Must we, no more, in sweet delusion stray,/Midst these gay bow'rs & their mixt charms survey;/The choirs of nymphs and swains; the proud*

gardens as a place for a love tryst: countless Phillidas, Damons, Jockies and Jennies sang ballads almost exclusively on the perils, joys, hopes, errors and pleasures of love, such as in the Vauxhall song 'To Molly':

Lo! The magician waves his wand,
And in some monarch's court we seem,
Such crowds move round, so bright each band,
The whole is a delicious dream.

Soon distant bells, in tuneful peal;
Soon feather'd choristers we hear;
Next rival flutes, melodious steal;
Next the full concert charms our ear ...

The lust here each night be blest;
The Moon at our return, shall guide;
Thy voice shall lull my love-sick breast,
Whilst down the silver Thames we glide⁷⁵.

Such ballads and puffs, rather than 'prescribing a code of behaviour'⁷⁶, constructed for the consumer an imaginary identity within the *locus amoenus* of Vauxhall Gardens, temporarily disengaged from the duties of urban London. Songs participated in what scholars have long argued is the pastoral's basic means of regeneration: the depiction of a mode of being that dissolves the complexities of civilization, unrelated to any specific images or setting (such as the antique world or shepherds)⁷⁷. The classicist Paul Alpers

alcove;/The winding glade where beauty loves to rove ...'. Item 66 in Anon, 'Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates'.

⁷⁵ Item 69 in Anon, 'Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates'.

⁷⁶ Solkin argues that Vauxhall songs tended to 'celebrate the constancy of emotional attachment' and that the introduction of a first-class orchestra and vocalists structured the relationship between performers and audience to confirm the listening public's refinement. Solkin, 'Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure', 113-15. Although many Vauxhall ballads celebrate fidelity, the lyrics also speak of rebelliousness, naughtiness, and passion (see below). Solkin also overlooks the difference between eighteenth- and twentieth-century viewing practices in the theatre. Until the late eighteenth century, spatial relationships between theatre performers and spectators provoked interaction, rather than reverence. The often raucous exchanges between players and audience are documented in Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: a Study of Eighteenth-Century London Audiences* (Austin, TX, 1971).

⁷⁷ Halperin's much-cited definition is useful for grasping the implications of the pastoral setting for the *Comus* of Drury Lane and Vauxhall. Summarized briefly, he defines the pastoral as 1) literature set in the country featuring herdsmen whose activities conventionally centre on caring for animals, music- and love-making; 2) contrasts of values embodied in its world and those outside its realm (usually posing natural simplicity against the complexities of civilization); and 3) a manner of representation that contrasts harmonious, comprehensible and meaningful realities with one that is confused and conflict-ridden. David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven, CT, 1983), 70-71. In other contexts, the meaning of the pastoral and its defining characteristics shifted according to the literary and dramatic work in which it featured. In England particularly, the pastoral assumed a dizzying range of forms and meanings, ranging from the moral pastorals of Spenser and Milton (as in the 1634 *Maske presented at Ludlow Castle*), to the private music entertainments modeled after Italian poets, to the 'urban

argues persuasively that the ‘representative anecdote’ constitutes the main tool for drawing the observer into this vision. Such ‘anecdotes’ both summarize and invigorate the conventions through which an observer identifies with a state of mind acted out in classical poetry by herdsmen⁷⁸. Taking this model a step farther, recent scholarship suggests that the power of such ‘anecdotes’ resides in their relation to liminality. The shepherd (and his later counterparts) is a threshold figure who ‘invites idealization as a privileged escapee from social complexity and constraint’⁷⁹.

Vauxhall ballads generated a stream of such ‘anecdotes’, whose range – from abjectly sentimental to slyly suggestive – offered a flexible model of lovemaking⁸⁰. Mediated by a rustic songster, the airs suggested various stages of courtship, from sighs to sensual satisfaction. Onto these practices, Tyers grafted the Arne-Dalton *Comus*. Some time after 1738, Tyers erected a lead statue of Milton, either by or after Roubiliac, in his ‘musical Downs’ behind the Chinese Pavilion⁸¹. Milton appeared ‘seated on a rock, and in an Attitude listening to soft music ... as in *Il Penseroso*’. Harnessing the ‘new quality of

pastoral’ of John Gay or the ‘nostalgic’ pastorals of Patriot poets. For literature on the history of pastoral English poetry, see n. 67 and James E. Congleton, *Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1798* (Gainesville, FL, 1952). Ellen Harris traces the transmission of the Renaissance Italian pastoral in English musical productions in Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (Oxford, 1980). The link between nostalgia for the pastoral and the ideals propagated by Patriot poets – incorruptibility, conservatism, distance from misguided centres of power – is explored in Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope, 1731-1743* (Toronto, 1969) and Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742*, 168-79. Further writings on the pastoral are listed in the bibliographies to Robert C. Cafritz, Lawrence Gowing, and David Rosand, *Places of Delight: the Pastoral Landscape* (Washington DC, 1988) and John Dixon Hunt, ‘Introduction: Pastorals and Pastoralism’, *The Pastoral Landscape*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington DC, 1992), 18-19.

⁷⁸ Here I have simplified Alpers’ sophisticated model explaining how readers and writers identify and redefine literary genres. Alpers, ‘What is Pastoralism?’

⁷⁹ Leo Marx, ‘Does Pastoralism have a Future?’ *The Pastoral Landscape*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington DC, 1992), 212.

⁸⁰ Although the focus of many surviving ballads is the value of monogamy, singers couched their sentimental narratives in the pastoral’s sensual terminology (‘ravishing Pleasures’; ‘varied Sweets’; ‘awful lustre of charms’; ‘love-sick breast’, etc). Lockman was particularly adept at conflating the two. Examples of his writings, as well as openly erotic lyrics by others (such as ‘The Court of Vauxhall’, ‘Woman’, ‘A New Song by Miss Stevenson’) are collected in Anon, ‘Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates’.

⁸¹ Bindman and others have cast doubt on the Roubiliac attribution, which did not appear until the second edition of *The Ambulator* (1782). Warwick Wroth (quoting a nineteenth-century author, Arthur Dobson) suggests the sculptor was Henry Cheere, who ‘made such leaden statues for gardens’. Warwick Wroth and Arthur E. Wroth, *London Pleasure Gardens* (London, 1896), 302. However, Roubiliac’s earlier biographer Katherine Edsdaile includes the Vauxhall statue in her *catalogue raisonné* of the artist, and documents a bust of Milton by Roubiliac, possibly commissioned by the Milton admirer Benson out of enthusiasm for David Garrick’s 1750 benefit production of *Comus*. Katherine A. Edsdaile, *The Life and Works of Louis Francois Roubiliac* (Oxford, 1928), 40-44, 104-5.

realism' for which critics had praised Roubiliac's Handel statue, Tyers created a *Comus*-like environment, simulating the presence of the Poet, now captive in his own magic realm:

At the Extremity (to the Left) of the wide gravel *Walk* in question, are the rural *Downs* ... with little Eminences, after the Manner of *Roman Camp*. In these *Downs* were three Openings (last Season) covered with Shrubs; whence some styl'd them *the musical Bushes*, whilst others call'd the subterraneous Sounds heard there, the *Fairy Music*. -- This *Music* is now heard, as we walk from under Ground; as also from the Trees in the Thickets: a romantic Pleasure to some Dispositions, and may put them in mind of that imaginary Being, call'd the *Genius of the Wood*; or rather may image to them the *vocal Forest* ... On one of the above Eminences in these *Downs*, is a Statue representing our great Poet *Milton*, as drawn by himself in *Il Penseroso*, seated on a Rock ... The Company were very fond, last season, of straying in the Hollow or Descent of these *Downs*. This Spot seemed to be the Rendezvous of *Cupid*; it being as much crowded in an Evening with Lovers, as the *Royal Exchange* is at two o'clock, with Men of Business⁸².

Using Lockman as his mouthpiece, Tyers implanted, literally and figuratively, the notion that Vauxhall invited erotic encounters; in this 'verdant Abode' of 'feather'd Minstrels who ... ravish the Ear', couples could 'muse in the lonely parts of the Garden'. Lockman, who wrote this puff probably in 1750, ended the description by equating Vauxhall Gardens with Drury Lane's *Comus*:

Then Giving a farther Loose to his Imagination, he might fancy the above Wildernesses to be inhabited by *Comus* ... Heated by his Enthusiasm he might Hail:

*Its lengthen'd Walks, where reverend Elms aspire,
Its gay Alcoves, and its harmonious Choir:
Its moss-grown Thickets, where the Sylvans sport;
And Comus keeps, unseen by Man his Court:
Leads up the giddy Train, with Chaplets crown'd,
Quaffing and tripping wildly, round and round:
Stopping, at Intervals, his giddy Rout,
Envious, to view the harmless Joys without*⁸³.

To justify this parallel, Lockman asserted that in a stage production of *Comus*, the wine god had 'proclaimed' that he would transcend his fictional stage life to inhabit Tyers' Gardens.

The Mention of the Revelling God, recalls to my Memory a supposed *Proclamation*, used by that Deity, two or three Days before the closing of this *Entertainment*, a Season or two since:

*O Yes! O Yes! O Yes! – Be it known,
In the Grove of Vaux-hall, I, this Night, fix my Throne.
By my Courtiers hemm'd round; a broad Laugh on my face,
The Hyp I'll dispel, and the Vapours I'll chace*⁸⁴.

⁸² Lockman, *A Sketch of the Spring Gardens, Vaux-hall. In a Letter to a Noble Lord*, 19-20.

⁸³ See *ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁴ See *ibid.*, 22-3.

Under Lockman's pen, the Drury Lane *Comus* became a springboard for the imaginative leap into the Vauxhall 'Elysium' where boundaries between innocence and concupiscence faded. At Vauxhall, Milton's invocation functioned quite differently than at Drury Lane, Westminster Abbey or Stowe, where it was infused with patriotic sentiment. Roubiliac's verisimilitude was a visual language that invited viewer participation; rather than imposing values, the sculptor persuaded the viewer to empathize with an individual and thereby enter the 'theatre' of the representation⁸⁵. Frozen in the act of listening, 'Il Penseroso' enjoined wanderers to sink with him into a musical reverie; this impression increased at night, when the figure was lit with oil lamps from below⁸⁶. With the Milton statue, his second full-length effigy for the Gardens after Handel, Tyers re-styled the 'classical' vernacular poet into a pre-romantic hero who both heightened and sanctioned the visitor's experience. In a typical fusion of anomalies, one writer imagined the Roubiliac figures of Milton and Handel (now a naturalized citizen) jointly 'guiding' the soprano Cecilia Arne through a presentation whose sensuality rendered virtue seductive:

See *Handel*, careless of a foreign fame,
 Fix on our shore, and boast a *Briton's* name:
 While plac'd marmeric in the vocal Grove,
 He guides the measures listening throngs approve.
 Mark silence at the voice of *Arne* [Mrs Cecilia Arne] confess'd,
 Soft as the sweet Inchantress rules the breast ...
 So while she varies the impassion'd song,
 Alternate motions in the bosom throng!
 As heavenly *Milton* guides her magic voice,
 And virtue thus convey'd allures the choice⁸⁷.

Although the lead statue disappeared after 1822, eighteenth-century porcelain and lead miniatures of Milton mulling over a text may provide some visual clues to its original

⁸⁵ Bindman believes that the naturalism of Roubiliac's sculptures, i.e. the 'relaxed' attitudes of their poses, became an important component of English rococo style. David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* (New Haven, CT, 1995).

⁸⁶ Arthur Dobson, *Eighteenth-Century Vignettes* (London, 1892), 244 and Marcia R. Pointon, *Milton & English Art* (Manchester, 1970), 46.

⁸⁷ 'On our late Taste in Musick. By a Gentleman of Oxford'. Published in *Gentleman's Magazine*, x (1740), 520; in Anon, 'Vauxhall Gardens: a Collection of Tickets ... Engravings, and extracts and Cuttings ... relating to Vauxhall Gardens', 130. Please note that Mrs Clive never sang at Vauxhall. This may have been due to her enmity with Thomas Arne, who directed these musical entertainments, as well as the stigma attached to appearing in this venue, where during the 1740s and 50s actors of top rank did not usually perform.

appearance (Figs. 6.8 and 6.9)⁸⁸. The *Comus* myth was taken up by engravers, who in 1751 dubbed the Chinese Temple next to the musical downs, ‘The Temple of Comus’, despite the irrelevance of Milton’s story to the pavilion’s decorations (Fig. 6.10)⁸⁹. Sometime after 1760, Tyers had a transparency depicting *Comus* erected to terminate one of the gravel walks⁹⁰. But where was the female temptress in Tyers’ Vauxhall *Comus* fantasy?

Mrs Clive’s image presided over another occupation: the eating and socializing in the supperboxes encircling the Grove where the orchestra played. To decorate the supperbox interiors in the mid-1730s, Tyers began installing a series of large oils (55 inches by 90 inches) by the theatrical scene painter Francis Hayman; by 1762, there were 48 of these. The pictures depicted familiar games, sports, and scenes from popular fiction and plays. Solkin’s claim that Hayman, by submitting low pastimes to high-style academy techniques, helped to ‘define a refined public sphere against the vulgar’ would seem to overemphasize the symbolic value of these paintings⁹¹. At least three of the early pictures which Tyers installed recalled not symbols, but real-life actors whom Hayman doubtless

⁸⁸ Photographs of these miniatures are found in the box file [no.2] on Milton at the National Portrait Gallery Library.

⁸⁹ The earliest record of this designation appears in advertisements for the engraving of Canaletto’s view of the Pavilion; the print, issued by Robert Sayer, carried the same title. The precise date of the Temple’s construction is not known, and another undated engraving, also issued by Sayer, called the structure ‘The Chinese Pavilion’. The pavilion combined Gothic architecture, chinoiserie and mythological iconography: ‘The Ceilings are painted Gothic. Each Temple has a Dome, with Pediments and a beautiful Turret. The uppermost Temple is the most magnificent; it being adorned with *Sun, Stars, Pinnacles*, wreathed Columns, and other ... rich Gothic Ornaments. The Ceiling ... has been decorated ... the subject being *Vulcan*, catching *Mars* and *Venus* in his net, the whole drawn in *Chinese* taste’. Lockman, *A Sketch of the Spring Gardens, Vaux-hall. In a Letter to a Noble Lord*, 18.

⁹⁰ ‘And the end of the one of the gravel walks is an elegant transparent painting, the subject of which is allegorical; the principal figure represents liberality standing at the portico of her temple, attended by a lion; she is respectfully approached by *Comus*, while mirth and her companions join in festive dance around the statue of plenty. In the sky is the inscription of the word “Gratitude” which is supported by three cherubs, and in the back ground the cathedral of St Paul is placed’. Item 126 [n.d.] in Anon, ‘Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates’. Transparencies, an invention of the theatre, were large scenes made from translucent paint on material such as linen; at Vauxhall they were lit from behind to surprise the visitor at night. The installation of transparencies dates from the end of the eighteenth century. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 95.

⁹¹ The theories espoused by Peter Stallybrass and Allon White in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (1986) form the basis for Solkin’s interpretation of the supperbox oil paintings: ‘A recurrent pattern emerges: the “top” attempts to reject and eliminate the “bottom” for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover ... that the “top” includes the low symbolically as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life’. Solkin, ‘Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure’, 139.

Fig. 6.8: Anon, *John Milton* [c1740]. Lead miniature figure. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.

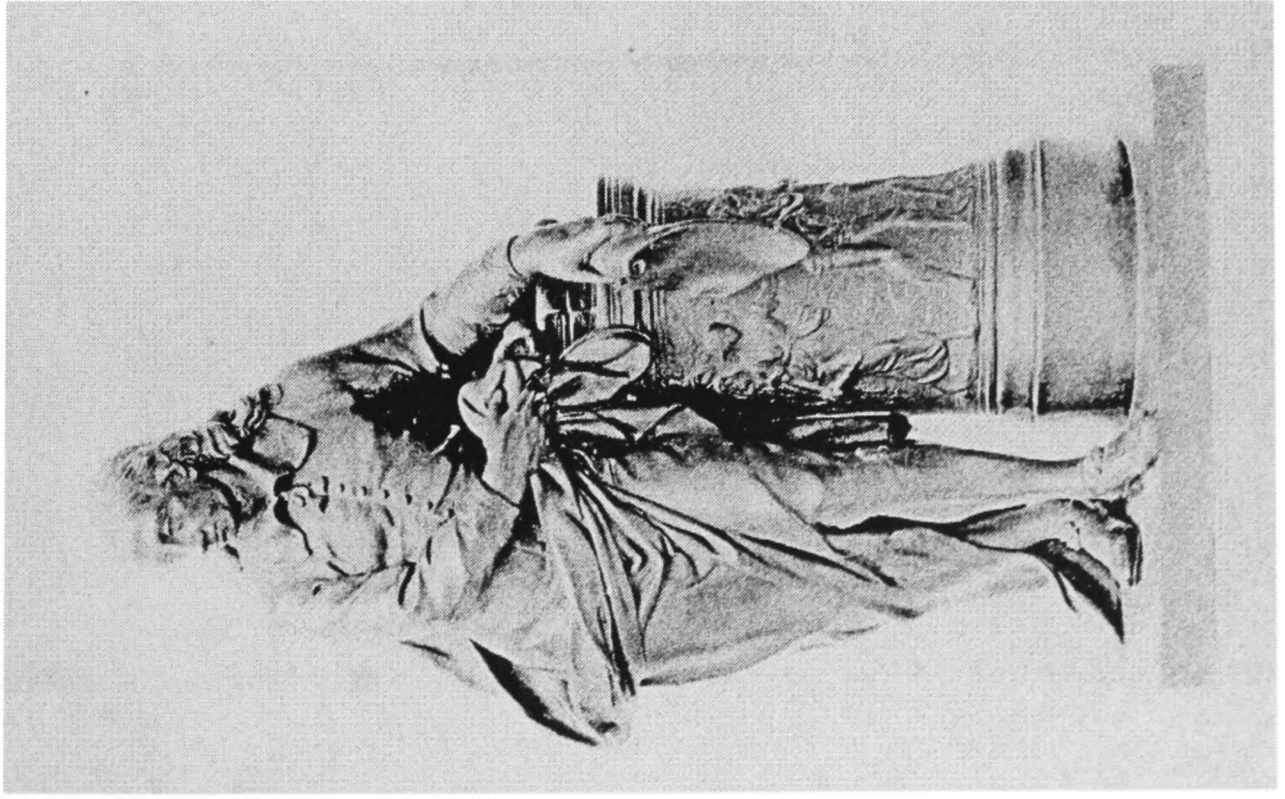


Fig. 6.9: Anon, *John Milton* [c1770]. Derby porcelain figure. By permission of the Library of the National Portrait Gallery of London.

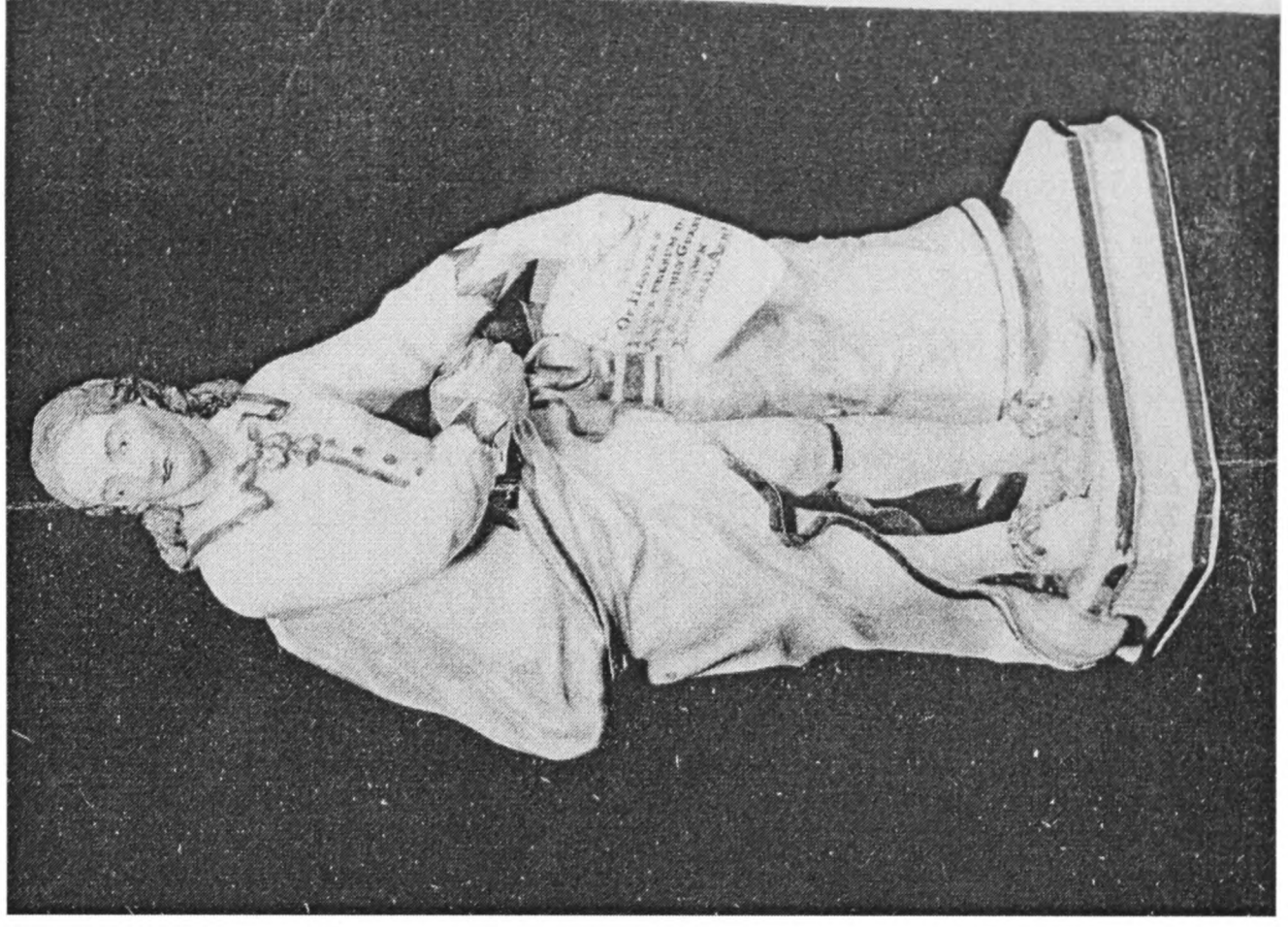
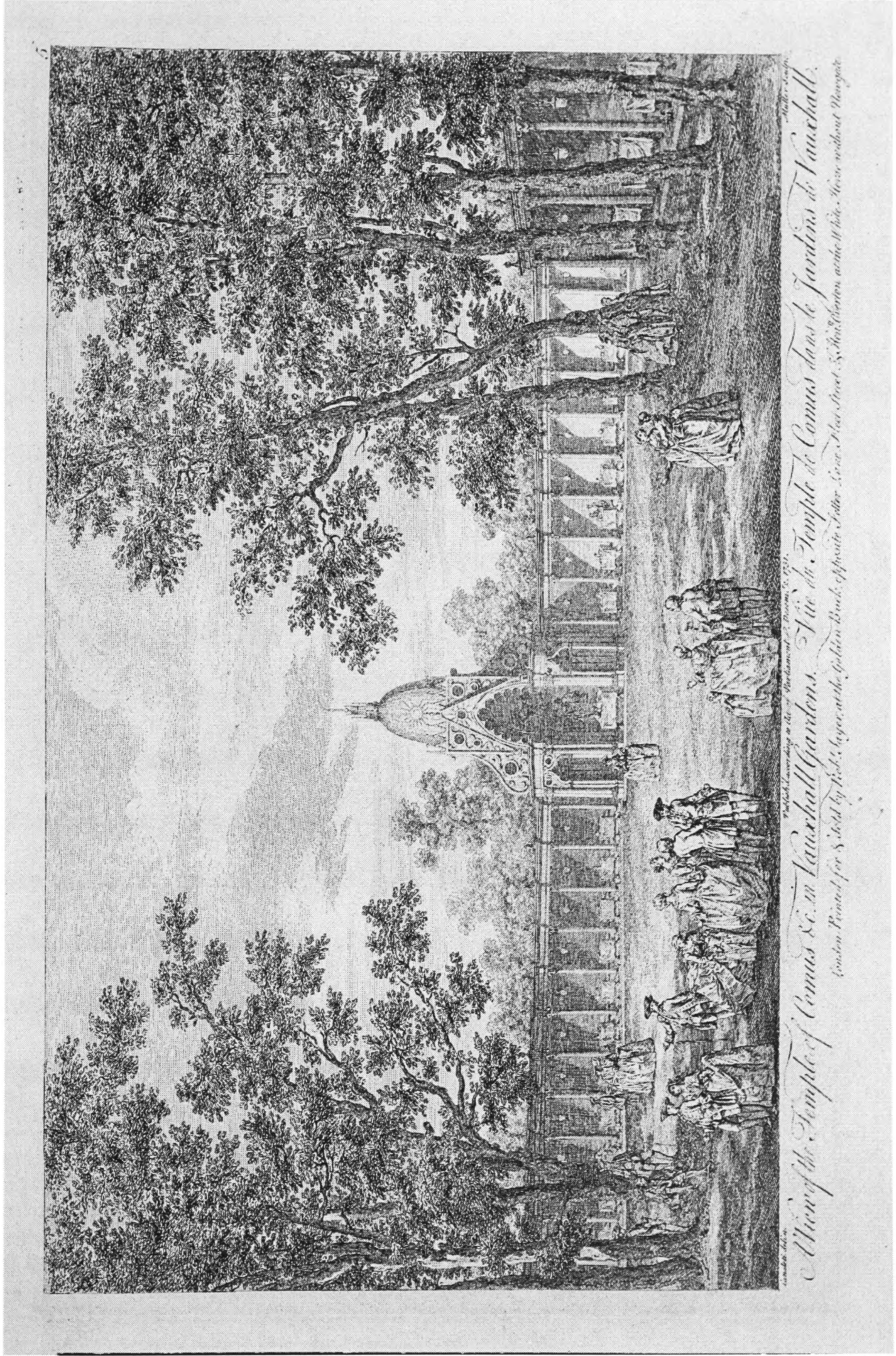


Fig. 6.10: Johann Sebastian Muller after Antonio Canaletto, *A View of the Temple of Comus &c in Vauxhall Gardens, 1751*. Engraving. By permission of the British Library.



View of the Temple of Comus &c. in Vauxhall Gardens. View du Temple de Comus dans le Jardins de Vauxhall.
Printed & Sold by J. B. B. at the Golden Bunch, opposite St. John's Church, in Pall Mall, London.
Printed for S. Child by J. B. B. at the Golden Bunch, opposite St. John's Church, in Pall Mall, London.
Müller del. Sculp.

observed while painting sets at Drury Lane⁹². Two of the three Drury Lane productions Hayman painted – *The Devil to Pay* and the *Mock Doctor* – depicted Mrs Clive's most famous vehicles, and the first depicted her performing (Fig. 6.11). That Hayman sought to recall Drury Lane's *Devil to Pay* production in his oil is evidenced by the painting's composition and title which were modelled after the 1731 playbook; the Vauxhall version of this image circulated in prints from 1743. Hayman's supperbox paintings seemingly provoked the same reaction as Roubiliac's Handel statue, touted as a breathing facsimile of the composer⁹³. In 1755, the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that 'at Vauxhall ... they have touched up all the pictures, which were damaged last season by the fingering of those curious *Connoisseurs*, who would not be satisfied without feeling whether the figures were *alive*'⁹⁴.

Although Tyers based his designs on the English country estate, the phantasmagoric quality of his installations reminded guests that they moved within a projection. Visitors interacted differently with Vauxhall structures than with the solid edifices at Stowe, where the Patriot platform was processed through a cerebral decoding of allegorical references. Brian Allan has labelled the Gardens 'powerfully theatrical': their architecture and vistas were often literally stage sets⁹⁵. To cite a few examples: the Gothic Obelisk at the end of the Dark Walk consisted of 'boards fastened' together ... covered in canvas' and painted to 'deceive the eye'; and the Triumphal Arches spanning a perpendicular walk were another wood-and-canvas construction by an 'ingenious Italian'

⁹² The three stage works depicted were *The Devil to Pay* (1731), *The Mock Doctor* (1732) and *The King and the Miller of Mansfield* (1737). The first two hung in supperboxes on the north side of the Grove, but the placement of the last is unknown because it was removed at an early stage, probably by Tyers, for his private collection. *The King and the Miller of Mansfield* was an overtly Patriot play; by commissioning this oil, Tyers' may have signaled his support for the politics of his patron, Frederick Prince of Wales. The political implications of this and other Vauxhall installations, most notably of the Prince's 'Patriot' Pavilion, are described in Teri J. Edelstein, 'The Paintings', *Vauxhall Gardens*, ed. Teri J. Edelstein (New Haven, CT, 1983), 31-2.

⁹³ 'Fam'd Handel breathing, tho' transform'd to Stone', in John Lockman's 'Seeing the Marble Statue (carv'd by Mr Roubiliac) representing Mr Handel' (1738), reprinted in Otto E. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography* (London, 1955), 462.

⁹⁴ Item 130 in Anon, 'Vauxhall Roy. Gardens ... material relating to Vauxhall Gardens consisting of Cuttings, Songs, Plates'. This passage is also reprinted in Solkin, 'Vauxhall Gardens; or The Politics of Pleasure', 148.

⁹⁵ Brian Allan, 'The Landscape', *Vauxhall Gardens*, ed. Teri J. Edelstein (New Haven, 1983), 17.

Fig. 6.11: After Francis Hayman, *The Humorous Farce of Jobson and Nell* [n.d.]. Oil on canvas. By permission of the Theatre Museum of London.



who was probably a visiting theatrical scene painter. After 1751, Tyers gave full reign to his passion for creating *trompe l'oeil* environments, adding gimmicks such as the 'Tin Cascade' and illuminated transparencies as well as more fake vistas at the termini of the walks. The 'Cascade' in particular provoked commentary: a mechanical landscape, it utilized hydraulics, clock-work figures and strips of tin to fabricate the impression of viewing a cascade flowing by a miller's house⁹⁶. The supperbox oils, the Roubiliac statues, the wall-sized oils terminating vistas, the fake ruins and the Fairy Music, all openly fabricated experiences (encompassing pastoral escape, aristocratic ease, and contact with celebrities) otherwise unavailable to most London consumers. A chief attraction of Vauxhall was its compendium of technical ingenuities which, like other automata in London shows – wax works, marionettes, peepshows – enthralled spectators by reproducing natural phenomena by hidden mechanical means⁹⁷.

Tyers used such trickery to remove his pastoral fantasy beyond the confines of society: his gardens mythologized not only by peddling popular illusions about Arcadia but also by recreating a patently unreal environment. Drury Lane's *Comus*, with its beefed-up naughtiness and necromancy, resonated with this dual strategy, and in a feedback cycle Tyers reworked features of this production – the illustrious Poet, the illusion of *Comus*'s court, the potential for erotic encounter – into his Arcadian theme-park. In Lockman's

⁹⁶ On the Obelisk, see *A Description of Vauxhall Gardens* (1762), 7; cited in *ibid.*, 20. In 1762 Tyers transferred the Obelisk to the top of the Grand Walk. Allan believes that the 'ingenious Italian' was one of the itinerant scene painters in London during the 1740s. He describes Tyers' post-1751 painted vistas (*The Temple of Neptune, The Ruins of Palyrma, and the Alcove of Flora and Genii*). Allan, 'The Landscape', 20. Coke describes the genesis of the Gardens' design as follows: until the mid-1740s the classical English gentleman's Garden according to William Kent; the introduction of rococo design (launched with the Rotunda of 1743) and its obsession with chinoiserie and Gothic Revival; and after 1750 the 'superficial tableaux' designed to 'thrill' the public. 'Architecture and Design' in Coke, *The Muse's Bower, 1728-1786*, [3-4]. Edelstein lists commentaries on the cascade in contemporary literature in Edelstein, 'The Gardens'. Details on the mechanics and history of the Cascade are traced in Altick, *The Shows of London*, 95.

⁹⁷ A fascinating account of these 'shows' which, like Vauxhall, attracted visitors from all social stations is found in Altick, *The Shows of London*. My personal favourite is the life-size anatomically correct model of a woman eight months pregnant: 'The Circulation of the Blood is imitated (by Liquors resembling the Arterial and Veinous Blood, flowing through Glass Vessels whose Figure and Situation exactly correspond with the natural Blood Vessels) also the action of the Heart and Motion of the Lungs in Breathing. The whole making a most wonderful and beautiful Appearance'. Cited in Altick, *The Shows of London*, 55.

1750 puff, Drury Lane's *Comus* became a touchstone for interpreting the meaning of the visitor's experience to Vauxhall.

With Euphrosyne, Drury Lane inserted the independent story of Mrs Clive into Milton's pastoral masque; she constituted an added feature, 'the Comic Muse', whose recognition might attract bigger audiences. At Vauxhall, Tyers separated out the myths of Milton and Mrs Clive, transforming the former into a high priest of pastoral experience, and the latter into an intimate friend, accessible to supper-box visitors. In both cases, Tyers refashioned personae which the London entertainment industry had popularized. The *Comus*-world at Vauxhall allowed the most alluring aspects of the 1738 masque to burst the confines of the stage and become a lived experience, the reality of which might, when convenient, be obscured.

SEVEN

EATING PIGEON-PYE: HANDEL AND THE 'SWEET BIRD' OF DRURY LANE

Introduction

In the historiography of Handel scholarship, the singer-actress Mrs Clive appears as a marginal, even slightly contemptible figure, despite her star status at Drury Lane. Modern dismissal of her singing contrasts sharply with the praise her vocal performances earned from contemporary critics¹.

Twentieth-century condemnation of her voice has its source in the writings of Charles Burney. Burney's bad faith, however, has been well established: his own biographers warn that their subject lacked 'critical integrity' and that this was especially true of his observations about English musical theatre. Obsessed with establishing himself as a member of polite society, Burney sought to conceal his earlier career in London's theatrical industry (including two works he composed for Mrs Clive) by attacking it². Disguising personal biases as Continental taste, Burney condemned English musical theatre generally and its *prima donna* Mrs Clive specifically. Burney's most damning Clive anecdote stemmed from Dr Arne, whose well-known prejudices against the actress render the accuracy of this testimony doubly

¹ Despite misgivings about her early 'low style' repertory, critics praised her singing from the start of her career: 'Miss Raftor is without Superior, if we except the foremost voices in the Italian Operas'. Anon, 'Some Observations on the Present State of the Theatres in London, and on Elocution', *The Comedian, or Philosophical Enquirer*, ed. Thomas Cooke, vii (London, 1732), 37. Other glowing reports of her vocal talent included those by Fielding in his introductions to *The Mock Doctor* (1732) and to *The Intriguing Chambermaid* (1734), which are both reprinted in ch. 5. See also Thomas Whincop, *Scanderberg, or Love and Liberty ... to which are added a List of all the Dramatic Authors* (London, 1747), 197 and William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), 127. Her mezzotints identified her primarily as a soprano and praised her musicianship.

² Mrs Clive sang lead roles in Burney's *Robin Hood* (1750) and his adaptation of *Alfred* (1751). Apart from the 'refinements' to English vocal music by his former music master Dr Arne, Burney pronounced English musical theatre 'stationary for nearly half a century'. He despised the interpolation of songs into plays – a practice Mrs Clive was celebrated for – and championed Mestastasian and Handelian *dramma per musica*. Kerry S. Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic and Historian of Music* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), 182-4, 221-82. In his outstanding biography, Roger Lonsdale states baldly that Burney's desire to 'escape' from his social status as a musician lies 'at the heart of his ... achievements'. Roger Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney: a Literary Biography* (Oxford, 1965), 8.

dubious³. In light of alternative evidence about Mrs Clive, some of which is presented below, Burney's denunciations of her singing cannot be taken as reliable reports⁴.

This chapter interrogates the banishment of Mrs Clive's public persona from Handel's history, and seeks to fill this lacuna. Why do modern experts consider her *story* – her public image as opposed to her vocal technique – immaterial to the genesis and reception of Handel's works for her⁵?

³ Arne's enmity with Mrs Clive dated from 1736, when the actress won the battle against his sister, Mrs Cibber, over the right to play Polly in *The Beggar's Opera*. Burney gleefully recounted a set-to between Arne and Mrs Clive in which Arne (allegedly) spanked her over his knee after she had slapped him for pointing out her errors during a music rehearsal; she retaliated by scratching Arne until he bled. Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney: a Literary Biography*, 17. Burney's account is quoted in ch. 8, n. 10. It is possible to imagine this as a gross exaggeration of a clash between the composer and the Drury Lane diva, who typically blamed the band (led by Arne) for her mistakes. Had there indeed been blows and blood, such news would normally have been seized upon by the theatre news mongers. Reports of violent altercations in the Green Room, such as Macklin's murder of fellow-actor George Hallam, Garrick's vituperations against manager Charles Fleetwood, or the scuffle between Peg Woffington and Mrs Clive described in the following chapter, usually passed quickly into print (journals, ballads, biographies, etc). Burney's report, transmitted decades after the event, appears in no period theatrical literature surveyed for this thesis.

⁴ Burney has been the authority cited in Jens P. Larsen, *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources* (London, 1957), 194 and Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London, New York and Toronto, 1959), 349. The same notion of her deficient singing is found (without attribution) in Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge, 1991), 30 and Donald Burrows, *Handel* (Oxford, 1994), 311. Her singing was first denounced in Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ii (New York, 1957), 999-1000. Burney's opinion turned to bile in his memoirs, compiled from 1782: 'Mrs Clive, the best comic actress, perhaps, that ever trod our stage was the worst singer...her singing was detestable'. In addition to quoting Burney, Dean absorbs his biases: 'Their selection [of Mrs Cibber and Mrs Clive] for *Samson* was most revealing ... That of Mrs Clive, a ballad opera star with a large following among the public of all classes, leaves no doubt about Handel's view of Dalila...Handel no longer cared about the standards of Italian opera' (see above). Contemporary reports of her singing, of her spotless reputation, and of her musical repertory contradict Dean's imputation that she was either vocally incapable or of loose character. Modern scholars have noted Burney's misevaluation of her repertory; one may assume his representation of her performances was equally misguided. See, for instance, Irena Cholij, 'Defesch's *Tempest* Songs', *Musical Times*, 127 (1986).

⁵ C. Stephen Larue assesses the singer's contributions to Handel's Royal Academy operas according to the vocalist's 'musico-dramatic' profile, which he traces by comparing scores, and focuses almost exclusively on technique and repertory, omitting most biographical information about the singer. Such a perspective echoes that described by Reinhard Strohm, according to whom late twentieth-century musicologists (Edward Cone, Carolyn Abbate) have assumed the score to be the defining representation of *das Werk* out of which the singer's voice issues. Seeking to resurrect the voice, Larue conceptualizes Handel's singers as a score, bisecting them into 'musico' (i.e. vocal technique) and 'dramatic' (typical librettos) components, thereby turning their 'voice' into an abstract structural element. As Strohm points out, the singer brings to the work not only a repertory and a specific instrument, but also a rich personal history that may 'osmose' with a larger network – authorial decisions, generic traditions, public expectations – to make up the 'conglomeration of voices'. In her review, Suzanne Aspden notes that Larue fails to show 'how audiences understood the interaction of the singer with a given part'. C. Stephen Larue, *Handel and his Singers: the Creation of the Royal Academy Operas, 1720-1728* (Oxford, 1995) and Reinhard Strohm, 'Zenobia: Voices and Authorship in Opera Seria', *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoch und in der Gegenwart*, ed. Symon Packowski and Alina Zorawska-Witkowska (Warsaw, 2002). See also Suzanne Aspden, 'Singers' Blueprints', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 9, no. 2 (1997).

When Handel began composing vocal music for Mrs Clive, she was the most celebrated English soprano for whom he had ever written. For Handel scholars, this fact may jar: because musicologists typically consider excellence in *bel canto* technique the measure of a singer's ranking, acknowledging the authority and respect commanded by a non-operatic singer can become impossible⁶. From this perspective, to suggest Mrs Clive influenced Handel would be to imply he adulterated his 'high' style of composition with the 'low' ballad vocal technique with which she was associated. Fiske assumes that composers generally 'dumbed-down' (and 'sexed up') their compositions for her; in Handel's repertory, evidence of her voice is largely passed over⁷.

Two misconceptions lie at the root of this confusion: one about the singer-actress's vocal skills; and the other about period reception. First, Mrs Clive's identification with ballad singing – its techniques and repertory – is construed as proof that her vocal talent was deficient. Reviewing her repertory, one is forced to conclude the opposite. As shown earlier, she transposed her songs up, sometimes by as much as a fourth, in her most famous ballad operas. The challenges of Carey's output for her, her improvised burlesques of Haymarket *prime donne*, and her non-ballad style repertory by London's most sophisticated composers – including Handel, Willem De Fesch, and Lampe – reveal that she commanded a formidable

⁶ Larue's privileging of a singer's range, repertory and technical strengths over biographical information follows the perspective on vocalists found in Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1994).

⁷ 'A delightful comedienne with a charming though untrained voice ... A Mrs Clive song was usually strophic, gay, and not much more sophisticated than the ballads she sang so entrancingly as Chloe in *The Lottery* ...'. Earlier Fiske erroneously asserts that 'managers preferred her [Mrs Cibber] to Mrs Clive because of the former's superior vocal talent'. In fact, Mrs Cibber rarely sang after she took up tragedy in 1736. Period commentary excused her poor vocal production. Commenting on her performance in the debut of *Messiah* in Dublin (1743), Thomas Sheridan reported: 'It was not to any extraordinary powers of voice (whereof she has but a moderate share) nor to a greater degree of skill in musick ... that she owed her excellencies, but to expression only'. Her modern biographer notes that after 1737, 'though she continued singing to the end of her career, in acting she had found her *métier*'. Compare Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 626, 106 and *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Cibber, Susanna', ii (1975), 264, 70.

technique⁸. Second, Handel scholars fail to acknowledge that he was not always working to impress connoisseurs of either vocal or compositional expertise. When Drury Lane's most celebrated comedienne stepped forward to sing Handel, it was not her vocal gifts or her music but the myth of the actress that captivated attention. Handel, in composing for Mrs Clive, aimed to reinforce, and re-inflect, the persona that had built up around her.

The 'thickness' of the Clive persona empowered her to subvert a writer's conception of the character she played. Any author creating a Clive vehicle anticipated both how audiences expected to see her represented, and how she might project herself. From this perspective, the following chapter explores the interaction between Handel's music and the persona of Mrs Clive. Their colligation transpired in three phases. The first was the exposure of Drury Lane theatre-goers to Handel's music via ballad operas and interlude songs between 1728 and 1736, a process in which Mrs Clive was a key mediator. The second phase began in 1737, the year producers (including the soprano, her writer James Miller and the composer) began to encourage a fresh perception of her relationship to Handel. The final phase was the Handel-Clive collaborations from 1740 to 1743, during which Mrs Clive's public identity as an element in Handel's compositions came to light most clearly.

Handel at Drury Lane, 1729-1739

John Gay's inclusion of Handel tunes in *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) is well-known; what is less recognized is the vigour with which this practice was pursued by the epigoni following in his footsteps. Gay seems to have initiated the link between Handel and the English theatre: Handel's earliest play song, 'Twas when the seas were roaring', was

⁸ Her vocal repertory included Dalila in Handel's *Samson* (1743), L' Allegro in Handel's *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* (1743), the leading roles in Lampe's burlesque operas *Opera of Operas* (1733) and *Dragon of Wantley* (1747), the Shepherdess in Defesch's oratorio *Joseph* (1745) and Marcella in Boyce's *Corydon and Miranda* (1751). Her complete list of roles until 1750 is listed in Appendix 2.

composed for Gay's 1715 farce *The What d'ye Call It*. The playwright parodied 'Twas when the seas', and Handel's March from the *Rinaldo*, in *The Beggar's Opera*. In doing so, he forged a musical model in which playwrights, by clothing a tune in English verse, camouflaged a 'high style' composer amongst the multiple indigenous ditties within a ballad opera.

The jaw-dropping popularity of *The Beggar's Opera* – it broke all records for theatrical hits – encouraged producers to ferret out the secrets of its success. One obvious attraction was tunes which resonated as hit songs. Certain popular ballads, such as 'The Black Joke' and 'Buff Coat', became almost mandatory in ballad farces⁹. Alongside these airs, a large number of Handel's tunes also surfaced, including minuets from the Water Music and airs from *Poro* and *Admeto*. The 'Table of Handel Melodies in Ballad Operas' in Appendix 3 indicates the degree to which Handel's tunes infiltrated English ballad-style musical theatre of the mid-eighteenth century: not only the number of ballad farces featuring Handel's music is surprising, but more significantly, the number of performances of his music in ballad farces is staggering. Playwrights, especially Fielding, featured his compositions in their most popular farces such as *The Lottery*, thereby generating hundreds of performances of his music hitherto passed over by Handel scholars¹⁰. In addition to these airings, his melodies were reprinted in multiple editions of ballad farces 'with Musick prefix'd to each song'. The bookseller John Watts dominated this market after his initial publication of *The Beggar's Opera*. As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, he quickly switched from issuing engraved copper plates to setting wood-block musical type. This process allowed the bookseller to place the melody

⁹ Some of the most popular tunes, such as 'Lillibullero', resurfaced in as many as a dozen ballad operas. The recycling of London's most popular ballads on the London stage is chronicled under each song title in Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966).

¹⁰ Fielding's preference for Handel is traced in Edgar V. Roberts, 'Eighteenth-Century Ballad Opera: the Contribution of Henry Fielding', *Drama Survey*, 1 (1961-2), 83.

directly under the lyrics; readers could merge the tune immediately with its latest setting. In this humble form, Handel melodies circulated as mnemonic prompts to London's favourite farces¹¹.

Handel's musical presence in ballad farce allowed his repertory to cross the very economic and cultural barriers which his *dramma per musica* and early oratorios seem to have constructed at least until 1740. Apart from the *Beggar's Opera*, the farces containing Handel tunes were all afterpieces. Afterpieces targeted those who worked: from roughly 1730, theatres dropped entrance prices by half for afterpiece audiences, allowing Londoners leaving their employment to attend an evening entertainment. Financial records show that the newcomers to afterpieces outnumbered those who had arrived earlier to catch both mainpiece and afterpiece¹². The significance of Handel's musical contributions to afterpieces is twofold: first, the intellectual property of Handel, London's prototypical composer for the nobility, was thereby broadly disseminated amongst less-privileged theatre audiences; second, Handel's airs thereby entered the public domain of English melodies, undifferentiated in kind from the popular ballads they consorted with. English settings of Handel's music in songsheets and early miscellanies merged with his Italian opera airs, instrumental minuets and marches to create a pool of Handel tunes from which English ballad opera authors drew¹³.

The class rift between Handel's regular audiences and those of English comedies and afterpieces of course remained. Paradoxically Fielding, who relied on Handel tunes more heavily than any other playwright, became Drury Lane's most virulent Handel critic during the

¹¹ L.J. Morrissey, 'Henry Fielding and the Ballad Opera', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 4 (1971). Roberts observes that of 97 ballad operas, 35 included music, but only five used copper-plates. Appendix to Edgar V. Roberts, ed., *Henry Fielding: The Grub Street Opera* (Lincoln, NB, 1968).

¹² Harry W. Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick* (New York, 1954), 26-30. David Garrick's attempt in 1763 to abandon a price reduction for the afterpiece resulted in riots, and he was forced to revert to half-price tickets.

¹³ Beside his opera arias, early editions of Handel's minuets provided ballad opera producers with the most important source of Handel melodies; these are listed in Appendix 3.

1730s. While the playwright used Handel airs to showcase his tenors (Thomas Salway, Michael Stoppelaer or John Beard), he mocked Handel's airs *qua* art objects by forging them into burlesque opera scenes, fanning resentment of Handel's contributions to the culture of luxury being satirized¹⁴. Continuing this vein of criticism, James Miller, later Handel's librettist, ridiculed Handel's music and its supporters in his Clive comedies. In the paper-trail generated by ballad farce booksellers, Handel appears in two contradictory versions: one the author of cosily familiar tunes, the other an icon of excess to be derided.

But did audiences recognise Handel's music in ballad farce as being by Handel? While playbooks, which circulated widely and were frequently sold at performances, rarely named any composer, they did cite either the melody's original title ("Si caro"), its source ("March in Scipio"), or its genre ("Trumpet minuet"). These descriptions were preceded by other music editions, often songsheets, identifying Handel as the composer, or newspaper advertisements announcing Handel's operas or his music publications. One could argue that the near-absence of any other Italian opera composer in ballad operas might have led audiences or readers to automatically attribute any air titled in Italian to Handel, who enjoyed the dubious distinction of being London's most celebrated *dramma per musica* composer¹⁵. Any connection between the English airs now attributed to Handel and their parodies in ballad operas is harder to establish: ballad opera booksellers omitted any attribution for such tunes ("Twas when the seas") while the miscellanies identifying Handel's authorship sometimes appeared around same time the ballad opera was issued¹⁶.

¹⁴ Edgar V. Roberts, 'The Songs and Tunes in Henry Fielding's Ballad Operas', *Essays on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage: Proceedings of the 1971 Symposium of the Manchester University Department of Drama*, ed. Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson (Manchester, 1972).

¹⁵ To date, only five non-Handelian arias have surfaced in roughly 130 ballad farces surveyed for Appendix 3; of these only 'Tamo Tanto' (from *Artaxerxes* by Attilio Ariosti) was re-used.

¹⁶ Some Handel attributions for his English airs in ballad farces – these are preserved exclusively in early editions – appeared shortly before or after the ballad farce's premiere. For example, 'Strephon's Complaint of Love', HWV 228/14, used by John Ralph in *The Fashionable Lady* (1730), was issued by John Watts in the fourth

While Handel's tunes seeped into English ballad farces, after 1730 managers seized upon his repertory to nourish another branch of entertainment – interlude songs. During the early 1730s and early 1740s, theatre managers linked compositions by Handel with those by Purcell in their programming. According to William Weber, this pattern constituted a form of resistance to Italian opera: from 1710 theatres had begun reviving Purcell's music for the theatre to bulwark the English stage against Italian opera, which allegedly threatened to displace indigenous compositions. For English *literati* of the 1720s, Purcell's theatre music distilled 'English' qualities – nobility, sublimity, and rationality – considered under siege by Italian opera. The 1730s saw a 'close relationship' between Handel's music and Purcell's develop in concert venues and theatres. Once appreciation of Purcell diminished after 1750, Handel's oratorios and odes assumed the character of a 'national institution' that the earlier 'patriotic cult' around Purcell and Handel seems to have anticipated¹⁷.

In an apparent inversion of Fielding's reviling Handel while ransacking his back-catalogue, London stage entr'actes suggested via programming that this German composing Italian music shared elements of 'Englishness' with Purcell. Rather than indulging an elite, Handel was now seen as defending English tradition. At Drury Lane, this re-contextualization of his output was enhanced by his new representative, Mrs Clive.

How did Mrs Clive's involvement with Handel's music unfold? Her first recorded appearance as a Handel singer was on 10 April 1729 at Drury Lane in Gay's pastoral farce, *The What D'ye Call It*. She sang 'Twas when the seas' in a walk-on part ('Susan') which existed solely to facilitate the song's execution. The air was thereafter billed as 'the usual song

volume of his *Musical Miscellanies* the same year. See Appendix 3 for further comparisons. Watts's Handel attributions could be suspiciously self-serving: as the bookseller of the ballad opera editions, he stood to gain by dignifying these airs in his *Miscellanies* with Handel's authorship.

¹⁷ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), 90-102.

by Miss Raftor [Mrs Clive]' and she performed it in intermittent productions of Gay's work until March 1731. It seems that she continued to do so even after August 1731, when Drury Lane re-cast her in *The What d'Ye Call It* as the lead heroine ('Kitty'). Bills continued to advertise her as the only vocalist in the play¹⁸. Her second foray into Handel repertory, from April 1731, was a straight rendition (as opposed to her later celebrated burlesques) of 'Signor Meriggi's Favourite Song from Porus' ('Son' confusa pastorella'). The inclusion of an Italian aria from a recent Handel opera – it had debuted on 2 February 1731 – in a Drury Lane bill was highly unusual, and being a pastoral lament, the aria lent a polish to her shepherdess image of that period. Her renditions of the aria dovetailed with a pause in her performances of *The What d'Ye call It* between March and August that year. Although vague, advertisements indicate that the *Poro* aria may have migrated from being an entr'acte number to being a cameo song for Mrs Clive in the mainpiece, *The London Merchant*. On 27 July 1731 bills announced that the mainpiece (*The Merchant*) would contain 'Signor Merigghi's Favourite Song in *Porus* by Miss Raftor', while earlier, the play had been advertised simply with 'singing by Miss Raftor'¹⁹.

One ballad farce edition attests to Mrs Clive's early efforts to promote herself as a Handel singer. The cast list of *Devil of a Duke* (premiered 17 August 1732) carried the notice that 'The first and eighteenth Airs were wrote by another Hand, and inserted at the desire of the Performers'. The 'performers' were actually Mrs Clive, who sang both airs; and for the

¹⁸ As 'Susan', Mrs Clive performed Handel's tune on 10, 12, 22 April and on 1, 3 May 1729 and again on 15 March 1731. As 'Kitty' she appeared 'with the usual song' five times that season from 11 Aug 1731, and ten more times until 1739.

¹⁹ Before her appearances in *The London Merchant*, Mrs Clive performed the 'the Merigghi Song' on 26, 27 April and 6, 19 May 1731 (and perhaps on 22 April 1731, when she sang in 'Italian and English'). *The London Stage* lists a performance of the *The London Merchant* thus: 'Music: in Mainpiece: Signor Merigghi's Favourite Song in *Porus* by Miss Raftor' on 27 July 1731. *The Merchant* was advertised with 'singing by Miss Raftor' on 25, 30 June, 6, 20 July and 3, 11, 16, 20 Aug 1731. Bills with the same announcement appeared on 16 Oct, 11 Nov, 27 Dec 1731 and on 17, 29 May, 21 Aug, 26 Oct 1732.

first, she selected 'Seguaci di Cupido' from Handel's *Parthenope* (1730)²⁰. Although the ballad farce only lasted for five performances, an anonymous music publisher elected to include the *Devil of a Duke* airs in a copper-plate edition of the songs from Mrs Clive's latest triumph, *The Mock Doctor*²¹. Her prominence (attained with Carey's help) in the Purcell revival at Drury Lane strengthened her link to Handel through the pairing between the two composers being made at this time.

From 1733 Drury Lane transformed her apparent enthusiasm for singing Handel into an antagonism towards his music and its representatives. Presentiment of this trend seems to have manifested itself in the marketing of her first sensational hit, *The Devil to Pay*: John Watts did not disclose Handel's authorship of her climactic musical scene, the love duet based on 'No, non temere' from *Ottone*, in the one-act version that became standard²². The omission was atypical for Watts, and was not rectified in any subsequent period editions. For her 1733 benefit she lent voice to attacks on Handel for his doubling of ticket prices to the oratorio *Deborah* (17 March 1733). As is well known, his decision to hike the admission prices to this work aroused fury; Ruth Smith credits the savaging Handel received in *The Craftsman* with his withdrawal from staging oratorios in London for the next five years²³. Mrs Clive, empowered by Fielding, participated in the feeding frenzy: for her benefit 20 days later, she premiered Fielding's burlesque of Handel's oratorio *Deborah or A Wife for you All*, now lost. It ran only one night, probably because the Duke of Richmond, Fielding's new patron, took umbrage at the playwright's taunting of the King's favourite composer²⁴. If it followed the

²⁰ The comment was printed directly under the Dramatis Personae in Drury Robert, *The Devil of a Duke, or Trapolin's Vagaries* (London, 1732). See also Appendix 3.

²¹ Anon, *Songs in the Farce call'd the Mock Doctor ... to which is added ye Aires for ... The Devil of Duke* (London, [1732]). Details on the Handel air are listed in Appendix 3.

²² Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera*, 2nd edn (London, 1731), 25-6.

²³ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 201-5. The documents cited are reprinted in Otto E. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography* (London, 1955), 309-13.

²⁴ Martin C. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: a Life* (London, 1989), 164-5.

stock plots of later Clive vehicles, the setting would have been a lawsuit in which the prophetess Deborah – possibly a portrait of Queen Caroline – faced accusations of loose virtue. Deborah-Mrs Clive would have countered these charges by caricaturing Maria Strada, who played Handel’s heroine²⁵.

It was Fielding, above all, who promulgated the notion that Mrs Clive found Handel’s music and its followers despicable. Not only did she repeatedly enact this as a character in Fielding’s farces, but starting with the epilogue to the *Author’s Farce* (1734), she expressed this view in contexts that presented it as her own. Fielding also attributed this animus to her in his personal testimonies about the actress. Miller, Fielding’s replacement, continued to nourish the impression by persistently including anti-opera snipes in the Clive stage presentations he wrote. Although the emphasis was on her antagonism towards *dramma per musica* (most famously in *The Old Man Taught Wisdom*, 1735), her writers also drew oratorio into the orbit of her satirical attacks: besides Fielding’s *Deborah*, Carey devised *The Dragon of Wantley* originally as an oratorio burlesque for his pupil²⁶. These earlier anti-oratorio works would become precedents for James Miller’s scene for her in *An Hospital of Fools* (1739), discussed below, which mocked admirers of Handel’s oratorios²⁷.

²⁵ The librettist Samuel Humphreys dedicated the text to Queen Caroline, and Handel used two anthems from her coronation in the oratorio: cf. Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 204. The probable plot of Fielding’s *Deborah*, based on Fielding’s other courtroom farces, is sketched in Edgar V. Roberts, ‘Henry Fielding’s Lost Play *Deborah, or A Wife for You All* (1733)’, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 66 (1962).

²⁶ *The Dragon* was initially advertised thus: ‘*The Dragon of Wantley* (by a Company of Singers just imported). A new Musical Burlesque of two Acts in a Grand Oratorio’ in the *Daily Advertiser*, 16 May 1737. *The Dragon* was originally a two-act oratorio burlesque. Gillespie notes that almost half of the original music was devoted to mock-Handel ‘choruses, with their fugal expositions and repetitions of text’. This version failed, and the following summer Carey and Lampe expanded the work into a three-act opera burlesque, highlighting their jokes on *dramma per musica* by ending Acts II and III with a duet and trio respectively, and adding solo arias. Gillespie (1982), i, 132-5. As noted in ch. 3 of this thesis, Fleetwood had earlier blocked Carey from mounting this work at Drury Lane.

²⁷ David Hunter disproves the notion that Handel sought through his early oratorios to target middle-class audiences. Hunter points out that according to contemporary records (ticket prices, records of attendees) opera and oratorio performances were equally exclusive affairs. Quoting Margaret Hunt, he stresses that Handel performances, either opera or oratorio, attracted spectators because they allowed audiences to exercise connoisseurship and thereby confirm their social station. Their aesthetic system ‘symbolized both their membership in a highly select group and their transcendent claim to social and political leadership’. Margaret R.

‘Here Mr. *Handel* must exert himself’: Re-forming the Drury Lane Diva

If, as Burrows claims, Handel sought to ‘broaden his appeal’ by beginning to compose for Mrs Clive in 1737, his choice was quixotic: she had been one of his most vociferous critics on the Drury Lane stage from 1733²⁸. Yet at someone’s behest, Handel provided music for the Clive vehicle *The Universal Passion*, an adaptation by Miller of Shakespeare’s *Much Ado about Nothing*. This production signalled three modifications to her image from which the composer also stood to gain: a return to her earlier pro-Handel attitude, an upgrade of her musical line, and solidarity with the Shakespeare Ladies Club.

The Shakespeare Ladies Club was headed by Susanna Ashley Cooper, first wife of the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury. Both she and her husband were important Handel patrons, and perhaps they had a hand in drawing Handel into a production dedicated to the Club²⁹. The Club gave early impetus to the eighteenth-century re-invention of Shakespeare as Britain’s ‘National Poet’, a project Garrick realized from the mid-1740s³⁰. In 1734, the Shakespeare Ladies Club called for revivals to counteract the drop in Shakespeare productions during the preceding decade³¹. Among its stated aims, the Club espoused the restoration of decency to the stage, the redemption from enslavement to foreign entertainments, and the proper appreciation of native talent. Following the Shaftesburys’ political leanings, the Ladies Club also later

Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and London: 1996), 208; cited in David Hunter, ‘Patronizing Handel, inventing audiences’, *EMc*, 28, no. 1 (2000), 40.

²⁸ Burrows, *Handel*, 201.

²⁹ Miller commended his adaptation to the Ladies Club in his prologue, describing them as metaphorical ‘mothers’ who have re-facilitated the birth of the Bard. Prologue to James Miller, *Universal Passion. A Comedy* (London, 1737). Dobson describes how Miller complied with the Ladies Club in constructing a Shakespeare both genteel and native in Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769* (Oxford, 1992), 157-9.

³⁰ Dobson describes Garrick’s fusion of his own image with that of the ‘Bard’, and the actor-manager’s re-invention of the playwright as a national icon in *ibid.*, 164-232.

³¹ A flood of original productions during the 1720s had elbowed out older repertory, including Shakespeare. Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1729-1747: a Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1968), p. cl.

enjoined Walpole to declare war against Spain and defend British shipping³². The Club manifested the role intelligent women might play in fostering native culture. Although its members publicized these aims largely after the *Universal Passion* debuted, already in 1737 its influence had created a sturdy platform from which both Mrs Clive and Handel could attest to their cultural loyalties³³.

A 'perfect fit' between the Clive persona and the play's heroine Liberia was ensured by Miller's revision. Despite its obeisance to the Bard, the *Universal Passion* stuck to established guidelines for Clive vehicles: Miller borrowed from Molière (*Princess D'Elide*) and inserted six airs for Mrs Clive, resulting in a mix which was '15% from Molière, 45% from Shakespeare, and 40% from Miller'³⁴. Miller's revisions to the dialogue together with the interpolated airs re-inscribed classic Clive traits: 'merry' (a term monotonously re-used), witty, ungovernable, and envious of male prerogatives; while emphasizing Mrs Clive's anti-masculine sentiments, the song lyrics also poked fun at her pride in her chastity³⁵. The

³² In the autumn of 1738, the story circulated of Spanish officials severing the ear of one Captain Jenkins, who was caught trespassing into Spanish trade routes. This inflamed the hostility engendered by earlier claims that English sailors had suffered 'depredations' by Spanish *costas guardas* while the English government had sat idly by. In January 1739, Walpole's trade negotiations with Spain broke down, and war was declared shortly thereafter. An extensive bibliography on the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear is provided in Ruth Smith, 'Intellectual Contexts of Handel's Oratorios', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge, 1983), 394, n. 6.

³³ Advertisements frequently put out that the play was mounted 'At the Particular Desire of Several Ladies of Quality', a formula considered a familiar reference to the Club. The Ladies Club prepared the ground for Garrick to mix national politics, personal ambition and conservative gendering into his Shakespeare revival. Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769*, 146-61. Dobson's account builds on the first historical study of the Club in Emmet L. Avery, 'The Shakespeare Ladies Club', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9, no. 1 (1958). Seminal writings of the period about the Club's aims included the 'manifesto' by Mary Cowper, 'On the Revival of Shakespeare's Plays by the Ladies in 1738', Elizabeth Boyd's *Don Sancho, or the Students of Whim* (1739), Thomas Cooke's *An Epistle to the Right Honourable the Countess of Shaftesbury* (1755) and Eliza Haywood's writings in *The Female Spectator* (1755).

³⁴ Powell Stewart, 'An Eighteenth-Century Adaptation of Shakespeare', *Texas University Studies in English*, 12 (1932). Cited in Paula O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1979), 41.

³⁵ Irena Cholij observes that by having Mrs Clive sing 'Sigh no more Ladies' instead of Balthasar (as in the original), Miller realized the latent feminist protest ('men were deceivers ever') of Shakespeare's original. The lyrics of 'Sigh no more' are the only ones preserved from three songs in the original. Cholij also claims that Miller's songs 'reveal not just a merry but indeed spiteful nature' in Liberia, an assessment that fits Mrs Clive's renowned barbed wit. Her anxiety over losing her virginity expressed in her last song – correctly identified by

comedy closed with an epilogue spiced with a familiar Clive rant against Italian singers. The juxtaposition of Handelian music with Clivean anti-opera polemics bore witness to the composer's new allegiances³⁶.

If the music, like the adaptation's other components, followed established procedures for Clive vehicles, Handel would have composed all the songs. Unfortunately, only 'I like the am'rous Youth' survived (Ex. 7.1). Its tessitura and diminutions link the song to Mrs Clive's 'high style' repertory. Slow harmonic rhythms underpin each periodic phrase with the first section cadencing unexpectedly in the subdominant key. When combined with the patter of Miller's short stanzas in alternate rhymes, the air is oddly reminiscent of seventeenth-century play songs, such as those found in the 1623 production of *Much Ado about Nothing*³⁷. Like her earlier airs in plays, the music in this comedy suspended the play's mimesis to articulate the star personality that audiences had bought tickets to gain access to. The difference here was that Handel's contribution reverberated with Ladies Club nostalgia for the Bard and raised the musical status of Mrs Clive.

Two years earlier Clive had sung the lead role in the Shakespeare-based ballad farce *Cure for a Scold* (after *The Taming of the Shrew*), a production that had teetered unhappily between idolizing the Bard and revisiting Restoration viciousness³⁸. The prologue's

Cholij as a 'cheap laugh' – mocked Mrs Clive's touting of her sexual respectability. Irena Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions' (Ph.D. diss, Univ. of London, 1996), 61.

³⁶ 'I want to be wanton, pert, and witty,/ Sneer at the Beaux, and Joke upon the City ... Then with this Standard boldly thus advance,/And rout the squeaking, skipping Troops of *Italy* and *France*,/Till the whole House should roar – *That's fine, that's fine!*/And clap me thunderingly at every Line'. Epilogue to Miller, *Universal Passion. A Comedy*.

³⁷ Compare Handel's air with the music of John Wilson, composer of songs for *Much Ado about Nothing* reprinted in Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (New York, 1974), 57. Spink describes the playsongs of this period as a blend of 'frank ballad style' and 'declamatory ayre'.

³⁸ Earlier, actors had refashioned this comedy into drolls to showcase their comic skills. Typically these adaptations omitted or played down their source, as in John Lacy's *Sauny the Scott* (1663-7) or Charles Bullock's *The Cobbler of Preston* (1716). James Worsdale, in his 1735 adaptation, quoted liberally, without attribution, from Lacy's version. Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769*, 23, 110-13 and Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', 70.

Ex. 7.1: George F. Handel, 'I like the am'rous Youth that's free', *The British Orpheus*, [i] (1741-3), 2.

*Sung by M^{rs} Clive in the Comedie call'd the Universal Passion
Set by M^o Handel.*

I like the am'rous Youth that's free, his Passion to declare. For

vig'rous Impor.tu.ni.ty, ne'er fails, ne'er fails, ne'er fails to win the

Fair.

None CUPID fear but Fools, the Boy
Hurts none who valiant prove;
He's Sweetness all, and gentle Joy
To those who're skill'd in Love.

Then love, my Dear, and since Life's Prime
So swiftly flies away,
Let's by the Forelock seize old Time,
And revel whilst we may.

FLUTE.

encomiums to Shakespeare did nothing to soften the plot's celebration of violence as a means to subdue unruly women, a social practice already prominently featured in two celebrated Clive vehicles³⁹. But with comedy gradually becoming more genteel after the Licensing Act of 1737, Mrs Clive's line also assumed an aura of 'sacred Decency' emanating either from the more dignified productions of revered works by dramatists such as Shakespeare or Congreve in which she appeared, or from the 'musical theatre of nostalgia' she performed after 1740⁴⁰. *The Universal Passion* was an early step in this direction, although it was through printed editions, rather than performances, that the work became best known⁴¹.

Miller's detractors undermined the comedy's reception, 'industriously fomenting' a 'strong Opposition'⁴². The cabal was probably made up of his former university colleagues from Wadham College, Oxford, whom he had mercilessly lampooned in the *Humours of Oxford* (1729). Besides ruining the *Universal Passion* reception, the *saboteurs* hit back with a mock-oratorio pillorying the young playwright⁴³. This was *The Pigeon-Pye, or a King's Coronation* (1738; Fig. 7.1), an imaginary oratorio on a 'libretto' by Miller – in reality a

³⁹ Dobson maintains that the title page and original prologue sought to make Shakespeare's authorship of *Cure for a Scold* its main selling point. But wife-beating was central to the plot, as it had been in *The Mock Doctor* and *The Devil to Pay*. Her opponent in *Cure for a Scold* sings the same ballad and similar lyrics as her abusive husband in *The Devil to Pay*, while Worsdale's finale paralleled that of the *Mock Doctor* by threatening Peg the scold (like Dorcas) with abusive 'cures' – pulling teeth, shaving her head, blistering, and forcing 'specificks' down her throat. James Worsdale, *A Cure for a Scold, or The Taming of the Shrew* (London, [1735]), 55-9. The farce received only five performances in 1735, and two in 1750.

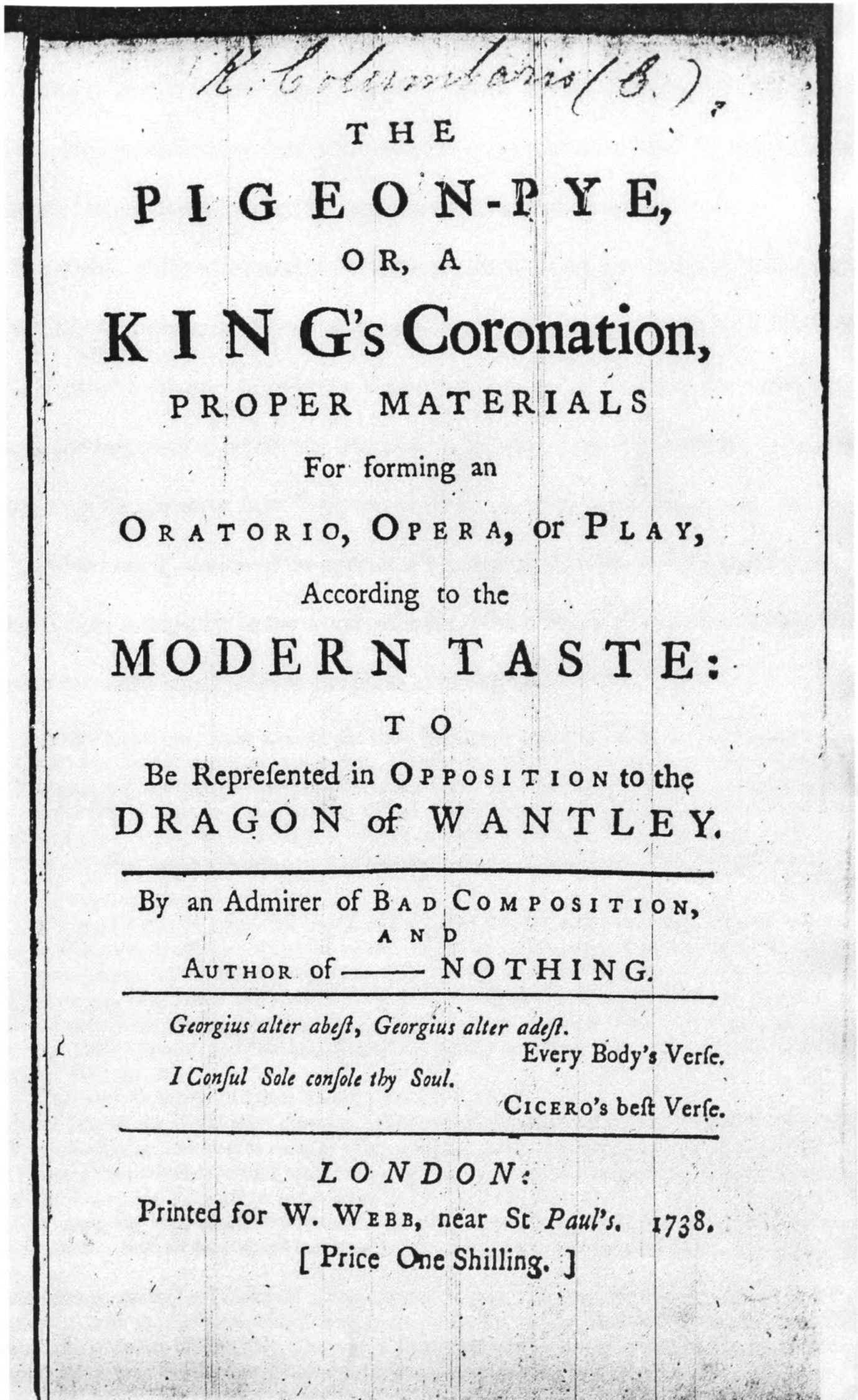
⁴⁰ On her 'musical theatre of nostalgia', see the introduction to ch. 6. A new 'politeness' in comedy took hold particularly after 1760 when professional opportunities for female playwrights increased after the drop in plays by women from around 1715. Although female representation and female participation in Georgian theatre continued to draw criticism, later comedies, through their gentility, offered women a medium for authorship and therefore flourished. Angela J. Smallwood, 'Women and the Theatre', *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge, 2000), 238-42.

⁴¹ Watts, who had lavished 55 guineas on the copyright, printed the comedy days after its premiere. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 42. One songsheet and a collection reproduced the air: George F. Handel, GB-Lbl G.309.(12), 'A Favourite Song. Set by Mr Handel' and Anon, *The British Orpheus. A Collection of Favourite English Songs*, [i] (London, [1741-3]), 2. Both were printed from the same plate. The air also appeared as 'A Favourite Song. Set by Mr Handel', in Anon, *Clio and Euterpe, or British Harmony*, i (London, 1743), 98. The comedy was performed only four times: 28, 31 March 1737 and 14 March, 17 April 1741.

⁴² Preface to James Miller, *Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose* (London, 1741).

⁴³ Those involved in the party against Miller are identified through the explicit references in this play. The best-known individuals were Joseph Trapp, a crony of *Grub-Street Journal* editor William Russel, and the landowner Robert Thistlewayt. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 18-23.

Fig. 7.1: Anon, *The Pigeon-Pye, or A King's Coronation*, 1738. Title page.



patchwork of Miller parodies – set to music by multiple composers (Giovanni Pescetti and Maurice Greene, et al.) and featuring Miller and Mrs Clive as the main protagonists⁴⁴. The largest (fantasy) ‘musical input’ was by Handel. *Pigeon-Pye* has been passed over by modern Handel scholars, but the complaints it lodged against the composer, and the narrative web it wove around Miller, Mrs Clive and Handel call for closer investigation here.

In the plot, Miller (‘Windmill’) hides in his room to indulge animal appetites rather than attend the coronation of George II, an episode that may in some form have taken place⁴⁵. Weaving together references to Miller’s *oeuvre*, the mock-oratorio highlights weaknesses in English stage composition, which fell into three categories: ludicrous settings for ‘antics’ which interrupt the narrative flow⁴⁶; grandiose finale choruses and odes uncalled for by the drama⁴⁷; and the manipulation of the spectator’s emotions through musical rhetoric. On this last point Handel is depicted as the worst offender. When Windmill panics at being caught, not only action but music must ‘convey the Ideas in his Mind’.

Here Mr *Handel* must exert himself, and show how much greater the Pathos of Music is, than that of Eloquence. *Shuddering* Music proper here.—Then all being husht, he breaks out into a Soliloquy – His Thoughts ebb and flow through most of the Passions – First his *Fear* of being discover’d – his sinking into *Despair* of Success. – A great many Breaks in his Speech – to be fill’d up by the Music. – Again his Spirits rise – A fresh flow of *Hope* ... All this succeeded by a violent storm of *Anger*, swoln up with sworn *Revenge* against the Person, who had barricado’d his Door. Remember *Montagnana*

⁴⁴ Anon, *The Pigeon-Pye, or A King's Coronation* (London, 1738). The work contains roughly 60 musical references, and refers to composers other than Handel as follows: Pescetti sets ‘thoughts stolen from *Welcome, Welcome brother debtor*’; Dr [Charles?] Young is celebrated for his ‘diuretic strains’; Lampe ‘can make nonsense have its peculiar charm’ and is recommended for setting catches from the *Humours of Oxford*; Maurice Greene is a ‘worthy Doctor [who] exercises his skill upon the Poet Laureat’s Odes’ and choruses; Dr [Bedford?] Aldrich writes ‘sweet catches’, and Giovanni Bononcini engages audiences with a new concerto ‘played by the best of hands’. *Ibid.*, 24, 33-4

⁴⁵ O’Brien, ‘The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744’, 17-18.

⁴⁶ ‘The Grand Strut by the Shoemaker’ provokes ‘a Dithyrambick’; the ‘Kicking and Drubbing’ between Windmill and the Taylor ‘must be the same as Giga in Music’. Anon, *The Pigeon-Pye, or A King's Coronation*, 25-6. To ‘employ the useless expensive Mutes of the House’ a section of ‘*fine dancing – Harlequinery* and ridiculous *Machinery*’ (i.e. pantomime) introduces the third act. There are also two ‘musical scenes’ in which ‘Dumb shew’ typical of ‘English Entertainments’ demonstrates how music makes action ‘more exquisite, and better understood ... than all the Italian Flourishes of Voices and mere Words in the Haymarket’. *Ibid.*, 39, 41, 43-4

⁴⁷ ‘A Chorus Song, applauding [Windmill’s] Taste, concluding all with the antient Mum’, end of Act I; ‘A fine air – send to Spain for the Favourite Music compos’d there for Farinelli’s voice’, end of Act II; ‘Tutti. Chorus. Concluding with a Medley of Laughing, Clapping and Hissing’, end of Act III. *Ibid.*, 30, 38, 48. Scenes ending with instrumental music, usually a concerto, are derided in *ibid.*, 26, 30, 33-4 44, 46.

[i.e. 'boisterous Passions' composed for him by Handel] ... He breaks off here in Sighs and throbbing Accents, whilst the Music plays something out of *Handel's Esther*, not improper for a Person going to *suffer*⁴⁸.

In other words, Handel's talent for creating a parallel story in music is condemned as vulgar string-pulling according to the rules of *Affektenlehre*. Windmill's lover, 'Jenny the Laundress' – i.e. Mrs Clive or 'Miss Kitty the Laundress' from the *Humours of Oxford* – also indulges in musical overstatement, although not necessarily composed by Handel (her musical epilogue includes a 'soft air by Festing')⁴⁹.

The satirist also accused Handel of boring opera audiences with overly long works. In a footnote the critic recommends:

A proposal to be made from this Observation to Mr *Handel* about reviving the antiquated Method of *keeping Time*, by placing Anvils and Hammers of different *Tones* before every one of his Audience at an Opera; as it will more harmoniously fill up the Time, which Mr *Handel keeps* to himself⁵⁰.

Other references to Handel include his self-promotion through advertisements, booksellers marketing his airs as popular ballads, and the 'large bellowings' he composed for the bass singer Montagnana⁵¹. Snipes at Handel merged with a larger bitterness at composers' channelling of audience response. Besides inserting 'antics' and choruses unrelated to the drama, composers are accused of adding instrumental interludes to boost the sales of Orange wench⁵², of interpolating popular ballads without reason⁵³ and of overindulging Italian

⁴⁸ Ibid., 35-7.

⁴⁹ The description of her epilogue reads: 'She laments (in *Piano*) the Misfortune, that all Stage-Compositions labour under, now they are subject to an Act of Parliament ... Whilst she is recovering Breath, a soft air (by *Festing*, accompanied with a *Violino Primo*) ... Then she drops into a melancholy Exclamation (to the sound of the Lute) how polite Sense will be abandon'd ... if the Law should call over Poetry into such Words only, as are agreeable to Act of Parliament ... Here *French Horns*, *German Flutes*, *Cremona Fiddles*, *English Kittle-Drums*, *Welsh Harps* and all the pathetic Instruments of Music, are to Play a grave Concerto – at the Conclusion of which, the Muse bids adieu to the British Stage ...'. Ibid., 49-50. The scene combines two practices associated with Mrs Clive: her politically charged stage appearances and her musical numbers.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 34.

⁵¹ Alluding to Handel's self-promotion, the author calls for a 'A Chorus of all three Tutor, Pupil and Bedmaker, at parting, to be set to Music by Mr *Handel before tis composed*'; the author also describes 'Moll Gurden's Lamentation ... to one of *Handel's Organ-Tunes*'. Ibid., 23, 41. On Montagnana, see n. 53 below.

⁵² Ibid., 30.

singers in their whims⁵⁴. What is remarkable about this burlesque is the absolute distinction it makes between aesthetics and politics. At a time when amateur music critics, particularly of Handel's works, typically construed compositional 'transgressions' as an illness in the body politic, *Pigeon-Pye* contemptuously rejected all forms of rhetorical manipulation⁵⁵.

Through Miller and his critics, Mrs Clive reconstructed her early affiliation with Handel's music. She herself broadcast her high regard for the composer by organizing with John Beard a 1738 benefit concert of Handel's works (Fig. 7.2)⁵⁶ and by reviving *The Universal Passion* for her benefit of 14 March 1741. Drury Lane supplemented these pro-Handel ventures: from 1737 her most frequent partner in song was Handel's favourite tenor, John Beard; three of her interludes during 1742 featured a solo from *Alexander's Feast*; and she probably sang in the Drury Lane premiere of this ode on 12 March 1742 and in a subsequent performance on 17 April that year⁵⁷.

In fact, her association with *Alexander's Feast* dated back to 1739. In his Clive vehicle *An Hospital of Fools* (1739), Miller had cleverly stitched together a critique of oratorio

⁵³ The ballads mentioned are 'God prosper long our noble King', 'Welcome, welcome brother Debtor', airs in the 'Scotch taste', 'Irons in a Bumper' and 'Old England'. Ibid., 23-4, 29, 33.

⁵⁴ Specifically, the author criticizes Senesino's 'pathetick airs', the bass Antonio Montagnana's 'boisterous Passions', and the seductive 'fine airs' of Farinelli, whose voice should be 'imitated but once lest the Ladies' should be again undone'. Ibid., 24, 38. The bass Giuseppi Boschi performs a tailor's song because 'the Signior was employed in a Double-Capacity in the Opera-House, both as Taylor and Singer'. Ibid., 25. Allusions to the music at the Coronation of George II may also refer to Handel's anthems for that occasion ('a jolly Song upon the Coronation'). Ibid., 22.

⁵⁵ In the burlesque's only overt reference to politics, the author attacked Tory Patriot propaganda. Guzzleweight plans as a Member of Parliament to propose 'a scheme of useful Tory-Principles collected from the ancient Maxims of England; as *Drinking no Wine, but Strong-Beer makes the Land rich, - eating no Ragout, but Beef, Mutton and Pudding makes the Tenant Plump*. – The Difference stated by Jo. Trapes between Whig and Tory. *The former eats more than he drinks. The latter drinks more than he eats* ... Trapes distinguishes here, that one may drink much and not be Tory; but cannot be a Tory without much drinking'. Ibid., 31-2.

⁵⁶ On 3 March 1738 she and John Beard sang a benefit concert for the recently bereft family of the painter Mons. Livier, 'Consisting of several select Pieces composed by Mr. Handel and other eminent Masters, and taken from the favourite Operas' as well as music from *Atalanta* played in part by 'two little Negro-boys'. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography*, 452.

⁵⁷ On 20 March, 28 April and 30 April 1742 Mrs Clive performed 'War he sung was toil and trouble' from *Alexander's Feast* during entr'actes. Her participation in the Drury Lane productions of this work was likely: usually, in interludes singer-actresses repeated selections from roles they had recently sung. Although *The London Stage* lists no cast for the *Alexander's Feast* performances at Drury Lane, Mrs Clive sang in the musical entertainment (Arne's setting of Congreve's masque libretto *Judgement of Paris*) that followed. Drury Lane performances of *Alexander's Feast* (or excerpts thereof) are not recorded in modern Handel sources.

Fig. 7.2: *For the Benefit of Master Ferg, 3 March [1738]. Benefit announcement. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.*

1738 DRURY-LANE.
 For the Benefit of Master FERG,
*Who performs the Punch and Burgomaster, Scholar to
 Mons. Livier.*

AT the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,
 this Day, March 3, will be perform'd a CONCERT of VO-
 CAL and INSTRUMENTAL
 M U S I C K.
 By the Best Hands.
 Consisting of several Select Pieces, compos'd by Mr. Handel and
 other Eminent Masters, and taken from the most favourite Opera's.
 The Vocal Parts by Mr. Beard and Mrs. Clive, being several Fa-
 vourite Songs in Italian and English.
 With several other Entertainments by the Lilliputians, particularly
 The Wooden-shoe Dance by Y. Master Ferg.
 And the Grand Ballet call'd The Shepherd's Mount.
 Likewise a Preamble on the Kettle-Drums by Master Ferg,
 With two new Minuets, and a Chorus out of Atalanta, for French-
 Horns and Trumpets, the two French-Horns to be perform'd by
 two little Negro-Boys, Scholars to Mr. Charles, who never per-
 form'd before.
 Concluding with the Anthem, God save the King, &c.
 Boxes 5 s. Pit 3 s. First Gallery 2 s. Upper Gallery 1 s.
*'Tis humbly hop'd all those Gentlemen, Ladies, and Artists, that were
 Admirers of his Father's Paintings, will be so generously good, to honour
 him with their Company and Interest, to assist his Wid.ow, who is left
 with a Family of Four small Children, totally unprovided for.*
 Tickets to be had, and Places taken, at Mr. Moor's, Box Book-
 keeper, in the Play-house Passage;
 And of Mr. Hobson, Stage-Door-keeper.
 To begin exactly at Six o'Clock.

supporters with a parenthetical Handel solo from the Ode for Mrs Clive⁵⁸. Miller's dialogue allowed Clive's characterization to pivot between a crafty heroine and an entr'acte diva:

Daughter: Bless me! Sir; d'ye know what Night 'tis? Isn't it *Oratorio* Night?

Mercury: O! *Oratorio* Night! I beg Pardon. [aside] This an *English Fool*, I suppose.

Father: Ay, ay, there's her Folly now: she minds nothing but piping and Fiddling; she lives upon *B-fa-bemi*.

Daughter: O charming *Oratorio*! O dear, dear *Saul*! I expire at the *Duetto*, and the *Dead March* brings me to life again.

Father: To life again! I'm sorry for it, I'm sure! If you had expir'd for good and all 'twou'd have been many a Crown in my Pocket.

Daughter: Crown in your Pocket! ... This frugal Papa of mine, as well as he loves Money, can subscribe Five Pound a Year towards the Support of a Place for nasty sick People [the Hospital], and yet grudge a few Crown to a ravishing [Italian] Foreigner.

Father: Ravishing! ah, 'tis well they can't ravish, you Slut you, or else --

Daughter: Now which is the greatest Fool of the two? begging your Pardon, Papa.

Mercury: I can't tell you Child, which is the greatest.

Daughter [to Aesculapius]: Come, come Signior Doctor, you must love Musick; you know *Alexander's Feast*, to be sure; I'll sing you a Song out of it:

SONG

*The Prince unable to conceal his Pain &c Gaz'd on the Fair,
Who caus'd his Care,
And sigh'd and look's and sigh'd again, &c.*

Daughter: Well Gentlemen, what! ne'er an *Encore*! So many People here and not a single *Encore*? My Stars! these Folks are absolutely void of all Taste.

Aesculapius: You are not void of Tongue, Child, I'm sure⁵⁹.

Miller organized the stereotypes and clichés typical of Clive vehicles – the *nouveau riche* miser, the culturally pretentious daughter, the 'ravishing' Italian singer – to ridicule both the pretensions of oratorio supporters and the ignorance of its detractors. But Mrs Clive's song, followed by her appeal for praise ('not a single *Encore*?'), constituted an *in propria persona* presentation.

⁵⁸ James Miller, *An Hospital for Fools. A Dramatic Fable* (London, 1739). Miller's source text for this play was William Walsh's poem *Aesculapius*. The plot revolved around paired stereotypes seeking cures from their flaws at a free 'Hospital' administered by Aesculapius and Mercury. The bickering exposed the speaker's follies. Unlike the Walsh-based characters, the 'Daughter' (Mrs Clive) captivates her doctors. The oratorio burlesque was Miller's invention. As O'Brien notes, David Garrick based his later popular Clive vehicle, *Lethe* (1740) on Miller's comedy; see O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 57.

⁵⁹ Miller, *An Hospital for Fools. A Dramatic Fable*, 14-15. Fired by the novelty of the trombones' timbre, Handel also devised a Dead March for his *Samson* oratorio featuring Mrs Clive. Librettos indicate that the original march was probably omitted at *Samson*'s debut, and that the *Saul* Dead March replaced the original in the 1749 *Samson* revival. Donald Burrows, 'Handel, the Dead March and a newly identified Trombone Movement', *EMc*, 18, no. 3 (1990) and William C. Smith, 'Samson: the Earliest Editions and Handel's Use of the Dead March', *Musical Times*, 79 (1938).

By 1740 Drury Lane had reverted to its earlier policy of presenting Mrs Clive as its foremost Handelian soprano. Recognizing the power of her persona to channel reception, Handel had targeted the one singer whom Drury Lane had above all styled as hostile to his *oeuvre*, and helped her re-establish the impression that she championed his works. After 1740, Handel increasingly allowed Mrs Clive's acting and singing styles to guide his approach to composing for her.

'Having Politics set to a proper Tune': Sweet Bird takes Flight

For Mrs Clive's benefit of 17 March 1740, in William Congreve's *The Way of the World*, Handel created a second play song for her, 'Love's but the Frailty of the Mind' (Ex. 7.2). This was a distinguished contribution to the ongoing drive to merge Mrs Clive's line and prestige with that of the recently deceased Mrs Oldfield. By 1740 the soprano was well-positioned to co-opt the dead celebrity's coveted lead role, that of Millamant in *The Way of the World*⁶⁰. Enlisting Handel for this production animated for the spectator the Clive mezzotints of 1734 and 1735 which had portrayed the soprano as a 'musical' Mrs Oldfield. Despite Deutsch's assumption to the contrary, neither Mrs Oldfield nor those playing Millamant before her had sung. In typical Restoration fashion, the original Millamant had requested a song from her maid to illustrate the meaning of love for a capricious heroine such as herself⁶¹.

⁶⁰ On the Clive-as-Oldfield campaign, see ch. 4., esp. pp. 151-4. Just prior to debuting as Millamant, Mrs Clive had acquired three important Oldfield roles: Mrs Lovett in *Man of Mode* in 1738, Lady Lurewell in *The Constant Couple* in 1741, and Lady Townley in *The Provok'd Husband*, 1740. What came to be regarded as Congreve's best comedy had initially been coolly received in 1700. Only once Mrs Oldfield took up Millamant during a revival in 1718 had the play become a repertory staple. Joanne Lafler, *The Celebrated Mrs Oldfield: the Life and Art of an Actress* (Carbondale, IL, 1989), 133-4.

⁶¹ In John Eccles' music, the singer was noted down as Mrs Hodgson, not Mrs Bracegirdle. The stage directions are clearly for the maid to sing. Stoddard Lincoln, 'Eccles and Congreve: Music and Drama on the Restoration Stage', *Theatre Notebook*, 18, no. 1 (1963), 11-12. Deutsch alleges that Eccles originally wrote this song for Mrs Bracegirdle; his error arose perhaps because Eccles was closely associated with that actress. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography*, 470.

Edited by Berta Joncus

Love's but the Frailty of the Mind. Sung by Mrs Clive in 'The Way of the World'.

By Mr Handel.

Andante

5

11

15

20

A sick - ly Flame which if not fed ex - pires and feed - ing wastes in self -

6 6 6 7 4 3 # 2 6 6 6 5

25

con - sum - ing Fires A sick - ly Flame

6 5 5 4 7# 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 7-6

30

— which if not fed ex - pires and feed - ing wastes in

7-6 6 6 6 2 6 6 6 6 6 6

35

self con - sum - ing Fires and feed - ing wastes in self - con - sum - ing Fires.

6 6 7 6 4 2 6 7-6 6 6 5 6 4 3

41

trill

6 6 5 5 9 6 5 7 6 5 7 6 5 7

Tis not to

6 6 6 6 6 5 7 6 5 4 3 6

51

wound a wan-ton Boy or Am'rous Youth that gives the joy tis not to

6 6 6 5 4 3 6 6 5 7 5 4 3 6 6 6 5 7 5 4 3 6

57

wound a Wan-ton Boy or Am'rous Youth that gives the joy tis not to wound a Wan-ton to

6 6 5 4 3 6 6 5 7 6 4 5 6 6 6 7 6

62

Boy or Am'rous Youth that gives the joy but tis the

6 6 6 5 4 7 6 7 6 6 6 4 5 6

67

glo-ry to have pierc'd a Swain for whom in-fer-ior Beaut-ies sighd in vain

4 3 6 # 4 2 6 8 6 5 4 7 # 6 8

12

but tis the Glo... ry

6 5-6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

76

to have pierc'd a Swain for whom in - fer - ior Beau - ties

6 6 6 2 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

81

sigh'd in vain for whom in - fe - rior Beau ties sigh'd in

6 5 6 6 6 4/2 6 6 6 6

86

vain.

6 6 6 5/6 5/4 7/3 5/6 5/6 7/# 8 5/6

91

8 5/6 7 6 6 6 6

Then I a - lone the Con - quest

6 6 5 4 6 5-6 6 6

28

prize when I in - sult a Riv - al's Eyes Then I a -

6 6 5 7 6 4 7 6 6 6 5 7 5 4 7 3 6

103

lone the Con - quest prize when I in - sult a Ri - val's Eyes when I in

5-6 6 6 6 6 5 7 6 4 7 5 6 4 4

107

sult when I in - sult when I in - sult a Riv - al's Eyes

6 6 4 6 6 4 6 6 5 5 4 7 6 6 6 4 6 5 4 4

112

if there's de-light in Love tis when I see that heart which oth - ers bleed for bleed for

6 6 5 # 4 2 6 6 6 5 4 7 #

17

me if there's de-light in Love

6 8 6 5-6 6 6 6/5 6 6 6

121

tis when I see that Heart which oth-ers

6 6 6 2 6 6 6 6 6 6

126

bleed for bleed for me that heart which

6 6/5 6 2

130

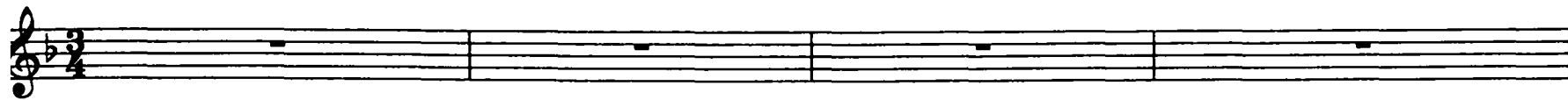
oth-ers bleed for bleed for me.

6 6/4 6/5 6/4 7 6 6 6 5/4 7/3

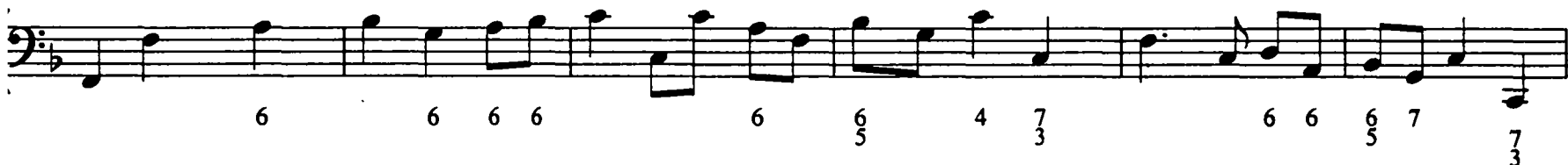
Edited by Berta Joncus

Love's but the Frailty of the Mind.
Sung by Mrs Clive in 'The Way of the World'.
By Mr Handel.

Andante



Love's but a frail - ty of the Mind when tis not with Am - bi - tion join'd



Love's but a frail - ty of the Mind when tis not with Am - bi - tion



join'd when tis not with Am - bi - tion join'd.



A sick - ly Flame which if not fed ex - pires and feed - ing wastes in self -

6 6 6 4 7 5 4, 4 3, # 2 6 8 6 6 5

con - sum - ing Fires A sick - ly Flame

6 5 4 7# 6 8 6, 6 6 5, 6 6 6 7-6

which if not fed ex - pires and feed - ing wastes in

7-6 6 6, 6 2 6 6 6 6, 6 6

self con - sum - ing Fires and feed - ing wastes in self - con - sum - ing Fires.

6 6, 7 6, 4 2 6 7-6 6, 6 5 6 4 3

trump

6 6 5 6 5 4 9 6, 5 6 7 #, 8 5 6 7, 6 5 6 7

Tis not to

to

but tis the Glo_____ ry

6
to have pierc'd a Swain for whom in - fer - ior Beau - ties

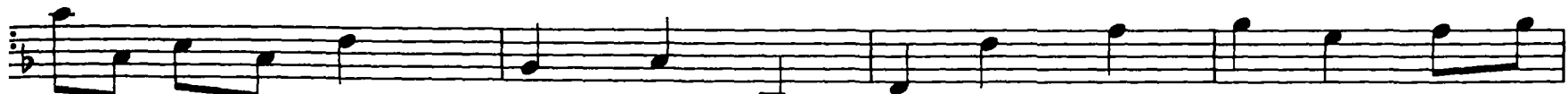
11
sigh'd in vain for whom in - fe - rior_ Beau - ties sigh'd in

16
vain.

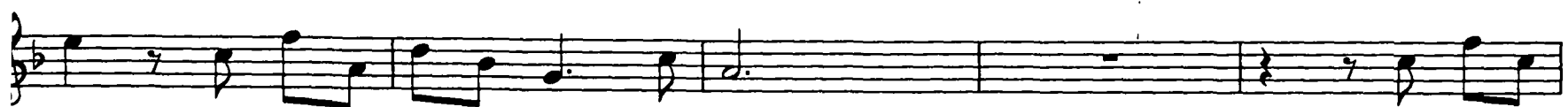
17



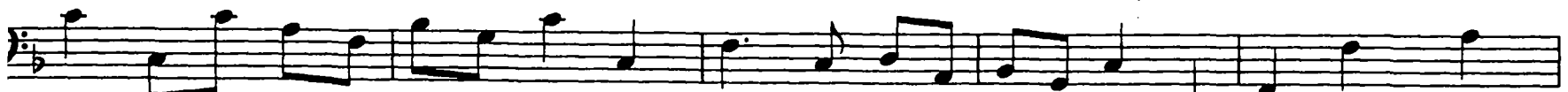
Then I a - lone the Con - quest



6 6 5 5 4 6 5-6 6 6



prize when I in - sult a Riv - al's Eyes Then I a -



6 6 5 7 6 4 7 3 6 6 6 5 7 5 4 7 3 6



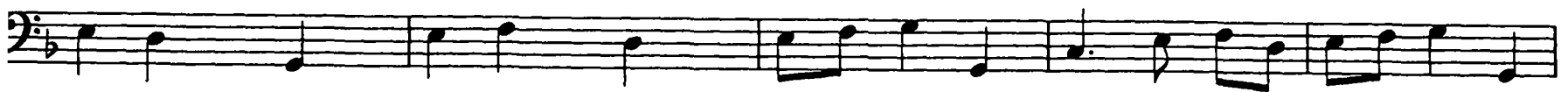
lone the Con - quest prize when I in - sult a Ri - val's Eyes when I in



5-6 6 6 6 6 5 7 6 4 7 5 6 4 4



sult when I in - sult when I in - sult a Riv - al's Eyes



6 6 4 6 6 4 6 6 5 4 7 4 6 6 4 6 5 4 4



if there's de-light in Love tis when I see that heart which oth - ers bleed for bleed for



6 6 5 # 4 2 6 6 6 5 4 7 #

17

me if there's de-light in Love

6 8 6 5-6 6 6 6/5 6 6 6

121

tis when I see that Heart which oth-ers

6 6 6 2 6 6 6 6 6 6

126

bleed for bleed for me that heart which

6 6/5 6 2

130

oth-ers bleed for bleed for me.

6 6/4 6/5 6/4 7 6 6 6 5/4 7/3

The 1740 bill for the Clive performance also erroneously asserted that the 'Original Song' had been for Millamant, and was now 'new set to Musick by Mr. Handel'. The lyrics remained unchanged, but their cynicism, speech act and 'smart chambermaid' voice elegantly matched the Clive personality, particularly in the prizing of ambition over affection. Through music, Handel subtly articulated other Clive traits contained in the lyrics: her intolerance of rivals and of men (stressed through the repetition of the lyrics in bars 60-62 and bars 106-8 over a phrase that in the first strophe was drawn out over one syllable, bars 15-16), and her self-aggrandizement (the placement of 'me' on the top note suitable for a cadenza, bar 128). In contrast, Congreve had intended the song to be a concluding statement about the 'inability of women to be friends' that the preceding action in the play gave rise to⁶².

The subtle shifts in rhythm and melody between strophes may also be read as a musical reconstruction of Clive's dramatic delivery. Describing her acting technique, John Hill praised above all her 'volubility of tongue' which, when combined with physical gesture, eye movements and declamatory nuances, generated a variety of extra-authorial meanings⁶³. Handel's strophic variations mirrored Mrs Clive's reported treatment of her dialogue: musical variants are buried under what appears a smooth repetition, yet the changes to downbeats, underlay and melismas guide the listener through a specific reading of Congreve's lyrics⁶⁴. But it is Handel's harmonic treatment which above all mirrored Mrs Clive's persona in music. Her strength lay in a 'camp' representation of stereotypes, and here the superabundance of seventh chords, many of which serve no harmonic function, seem to convey perfectly the hyperbolic delivery for which she was celebrated.

⁶² Susan Carlson, 'The Way of Millamant: the Endangered Female Self in the Comic Tradition', *Women & Comedy: Rewriting the British Theatrical Tradition* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1991), 78-9.

⁶³ John Hill, *The Actor: a Treatise ... with Theatrical Anecdotes* (London, 1750), 150, 269.

⁶⁴ For instance, the expansion in the parallel melismas (bars 28-30; bars 73-5; bars 118-22) suggests the actress's smug triumph over her rivals. The play with asymmetrical metre in the normally regular minuet is carefully managed to highlight words which would allow Mrs Clive to display her egocentricity, such as in bars 70-71 (sigh'd in *vain*) and bars 116-7 (bleed for *me*).

Despite Handel's contribution, the creation of a musical Millamant was a failure. Mrs Clive did, however, squeeze in one further performance of the song ('Last New Song by Mrs Clive, set to Music by Handel') in an entr'acte performance on 20 March 1740⁶⁵. The dearth of performances of this song was compensated somewhat by the timing of its premiere: by unveiling it at her benefit, Mrs Clive signalled a friendship with the composer, and she re-transmitted this message by selecting the *Universal Passion* for her benefit the next season⁶⁶.

The Clive-Handel association was more fully realized in strictly musical roles. In 1740 Handel set Milton's evening poems *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Because Handel elected to set the same *L'Allegro* verses as those added to Arne's *Comus* (1738), Fiske concludes that the success of *Comus* drove Handel to set Milton's poem⁶⁷. Less understood is the bridge Mrs Clive formed between these two works. As discussed in the previous chapter, she played Euphrosyne, the Goddess of Mirth from *Allegro*, whom adaptors interpolated into *Comus*. In *Comus*, the inserted *Allegro* verses originally served to herald the entry of Drury Lane's 'Goddess of Mirth' at the beginning of the last act. When Handel set these same verses in 1740, they were already inextricably bound to an *in propria persona* role that would become one of Mrs Clive's most hallowed additions to her line.

Quite logically, Handel appears to have turned to the soprano when John Beard fell ill during the initial run of *L'Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato* at Lincoln's Inn Field (from 19 January to 4 February 1740). This was her first appearance with the composer, and is

⁶⁵ This performance has not been noted by Handel scholars.

⁶⁶ Benefits contained a host of sub-texts for audiences. The more important the player, the earlier the benefit – the benefit season ran from February to May – and bitter quarrels therefore broke out amongst principal players over the order of the benefits. Participants in a benefit, including dramatists, epilogue writers, composers or fellow actors, were presumed to provide their services out of desire to support the artist: 'personal friends ... could be relied upon for additional songs'. Vincent Toubridge, *The Benefit System in the British Theatre* (London, 1967), 112.

⁶⁷ 'There was no doubt that Handel was led to set Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* by the success of *Comus*'. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 182. In 1745 Handel created his own version of *Comus* for a private entertainment at Exton in Rutland. This appears to have contained several new musical numbers (now lost), as well as earlier music, principally from *Allegro*. *Ibid.*, 3; see also Michael Burden, 'The British Masque, 1690-1800' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Edinburgh, 1991), 159-62.

recorded in the earliest autograph score of his *Allegro* music⁶⁸. Her appearance in Handel's *Allegro* may have prompted *Comus* adaptors at Drury Lane to tighten the connection between the two works. At a performance of *Comus* on 1 April 1742, Drury Lane replaced the spoken *Allegro* verses introducing Euphrosyne with Handel's setting of these same lines⁶⁹.

Iconography, however, made concrete the perception that Mrs Clive and Handel were cultural intimates: her most luxurious extant oil portrait, painted in 1740, portrayed the actress seated at a double harpsichord claspng the aria 'Sweet Bird' from Handel's *L'Allegro* (Fig. 7.3). The portrait relied on seemingly denotative details to connote a host of subsidiary meanings. 'Sweet Bird' was Mrs Clive's title – she never sang this particular aria – and portraying her as the mediator of Milton and Handel attested to her role in bulwarking the national culture which these men were held to embody⁷⁰. Both Mrs Clive's pose, as if about to perform, and the seriousness of the instrument at which she sat attested to her professionalism as a musician. This flew in the face of standard period iconography, which depicted women's

⁶⁸ In an ink of 1740, Handel added Mrs Clive's name to the principal autograph score (*GB-Lbl* R.M.20.d.5) next to the aria 38 ('Each Action will derive'), originally composed for tenor John Beard. That same year Handel also prepared a soprano version of this aria (*D-Hs* MS 190), which Mrs Clive may have performed while Beard was indisposed. She may also have sung the no. 10 'Mirth admit of thy crew' and no. 16 ('If I give the Honour due/Let me wander') found in *GB-Lbl* R.M.20.d.5. James S. Hall and Martin V. Hall, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato: Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 1969), 61, 72-3. *L'Allegro* first ran during a bitter winter (27 Feb, 6, 10 and 14 March, 23 April 1740), and at least two of Handel's soloists fell ill: Burrows, *Handel*, 209-10.

⁶⁹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 182. The inserts were removed after one performance, probably, as Fiske suggests, at Arne's insistence. For the next *Comus* performance, the bills announced that 'Additional songs [were] omitted'. In 1760 Handel's music again replaced the spoken lines. The Handel insertions are preserved in the *Comus* manuscript *Gb-Lbl* Add.MS.11518. They consist of the soprano air 'Come, come thou goddess', 'Haste thee Nymph' (tenor air and chorus) and 'Come and trip it' (tenor air and chorus). 'List of Sources' in Julian Herbage, ed., *Comus* (London, 1951), p. ii.

⁷⁰ The contemporary literature glorifying the felicitous union between Handel and Milton is described in Robert Manson Myers, *Handel, Dryden and Milton* (London, 1956), 45-80. Despite some dissenters, Myers concludes that 'if Handel was frequently regarded as the "Shakespeare of Music" he was no less frequently declared to be its Milton'. On the patriotic gloss that Milton and Handel acquired during this period, see Dustin Griffin, *Regaining Paradise: Milton and the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 11-21 and Suzanne Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' transformed to Stone": the Composer as Monument', *JAMS*, 55 (2002). The portrait hangs in the Garrick Club in London and is reproduced in Geoffrey Ashton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture* (London, 1997), 70.

Fig. 7.3: William Verelst, *Catherine Clive*, 1740. Oil on canvas. By permission of the Garrick Club.



music-making as an educational accoutrement practised in the private sphere⁷¹. The portrayal also went against traditions of theatrical portraiture: Mrs Clive is the only actor in the extensive Garrick Club collection to be depicted as a musician⁷².

When Handel approached his next Milton project, *Samson*, Mrs Clive was clearly the pre-eminent musical representative of the poet on the London stage. A mysterious 1738 reference to the ‘author of *Comus*’ preparing a ‘a play on *Samson Agonistes*’ suggests that the Drury Lane masque prompted a dramatization of *Samson* which was then realized at Covent Garden⁷³. Although Burrows believes that Handel had no ‘specific singers in mind’ when composing *Samson*⁷⁴, evidence points to all three producers – the theatre manager John Rich, the librettist Newburgh Hamilton and Handel – at least hoping for, if not directly planning, Mrs Clive’s participation.

In the preface to his libretto, Hamilton stated that his selection of Milton’s *Samson* was inspired by enthusiasm for the recent staging of the *Allegro* verses. Hamilton may have been referring either to Handel’s *L’Allegro* setting or to *Comus*; as shown above, Mrs Clive’s public identity was linked strongly to both works⁷⁵. According to a 1744 pamphlet written by Mrs

⁷¹ Richard Leppert, ‘Music, Sexism and Female Domesticity’, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1988), 31-2.

⁷² Ashton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture*. The Garrick Club houses over 850 theatrical portraits.

⁷³ In a letter written 5 December 1738 to her half-brother James Harris, Katherine Knatchbull reported that ‘there is to be some new plays, one by the author of *Comus*, on *Samson Agonistes*, I should think not fit for the stage success in any respect’. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, eds, *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World: the Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 66.

⁷⁴ Burrows, *Handel*, 261, 68. As is well known, in his initial autograph score 29 Sept-29 Oct 1741 Handel uncharacteristically set *Samson* (like the *Messiah*) for four solo voices (SATB). Burrows points out that this ‘matches no known cast’ Handel worked with and therefore indicates that the composer was ‘unclear’ about whom he would engage for the premiere. Elsewhere Burrows cautions that in *Samson*, the ‘voices and characters of particular London singers’ might have influenced Handel’s musical thinking, citing John Beard as a likely candidate. Dean believes that John Beard may have inspired Handel’s ‘revolutionary notion of a tenor Samson’. Burrows, *Handel: Messiah*, 13 and Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 333. Beard was Mrs Clive’s most frequent singing partner at Drury Lane after 1734.

⁷⁵ ‘Several Pieces of Milton having been lately brought on the Stage with Success, particularly his *Penseroso* and *Allegro*, I was of the Opinion that nothing of that Divine Poet’s wou’d appear in the Theatre with greater Propriety and Applause than his *Samson Agonistes*’. Preface to Newburgh Hamilton, *Samson ... Alter’d and adapted to the stage from the Samson Agonistes of John Milton* (London, 1743). Dean observes that ‘the choice

Clive, Rich had for several seasons unsuccessfully pressed her to cross over to his rival theatre, particularly before the 1743-4 season⁷⁶. The manuscript libretto indicates that Handel negotiated directly with John Rich to use his theatre. Rich may well have communicated to the composer in 1741, when Handel began composing the oratorio, that there was market value in featuring Mrs Clive at a Covent Garden oratorio season⁷⁷. Dalila's music underwent little change from its inception, suggesting that it was originally conceived for the performer who created the role, Mrs Clive⁷⁸. That the project was appealing to Mrs Clive may be judged by the fact that participating in Handel's performances was the only offer by Rich to which she ever acceded.

Quite apart from the link to Milton, the politics of the *Samson* libretto joined seamlessly with the politics of Mrs Clive's public persona: both glorified the Patriot figurehead Prince Frederick and supported the Opposition call for war against Spain. Not only did Hamilton dedicate *Samson* to Prince Frederick, but the themes, characterizations and date of the libretto paralleled those of *Alfred*, a masque mythologizing the Patriot King⁷⁹. In

of subject then was Hamilton's, and it was inspired by the success of *L'Allegro* and perhaps of Arne's *Comus*. Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 328-9.

⁷⁶ 'Manager [John Rich] had made many Overtures to get me into his Company the preceding season [1742-3], and many times before ...'. Richard C. Frushell, ed., *The Case of Mrs Clive [1744]: Introduced by Richard C. Frushell* (Los Angeles, 1973), 11.

⁷⁷ The manuscript libretto 'reveals that he [Handel] had secured John Rich's co-operation for the use of Covent Garden'. Burrows, *Handel*, 268.

⁷⁸ Handel revised his initial autograph score composed between 29 Sept and 29 Oct 1741 largely to provide numbers for the cast members added to the original SATB setting (two more sopranos, Miss Edwards, Christina Avolio; the second tenor, Thomas Lowe). Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 346. Handel also filled out the accompaniments to arias and choruses and enlarged the finale after returning from Dublin: Burrows, 'Handel, the Dead March and a newly identified Trombone Movement', 409. No major revisions to Mrs Clive's music appear in the conducting scores of *Samson*, although the duet section of 'My faith and truth' may have been inserted earlier than Dean has assumed. Hans Dieter Clausen, *Handels Direktionspartituren ('Handexemplare')* (Hamburg, 1972), 213. Changes to Dalila's music were as follows: 1) 'Ye men of Gaza', probably composed for Dalila, was given to Miss Edwards in 1742; 2) Handel reversed the order between the air 'With plaintive notes' and the recitative 'Alas! The event was worse than I foresaw' (originally the recitative preceded the aria), reassigning the aria from Dalila to her Attendant; 3) the short duet 'My faith and truth' was inserted during the 1742 revision; and 4) the short B section and *Dacapo* in the Samson/Dalila duet finale (Traitor to love) was deleted. Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 346-64, Appendix H and Mark Stahura, 'The Publishing Copy Text of Handel's *Samson*', *The Journal of Musicology*, 4, no. 2 (1985-6).

⁷⁹ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 293.

Alfred, Mrs Clive had played the rustic heroine who shelters the King and bemoans Britain's oppression. In this role she performed both in a well-advertised public rehearsal on 28 July at Drury Lane and for Prince Frederick at Cliveden. Notices of the Cliveden performances, while advertising the cast, also underlined the parallels between *Alfred* and Prince Frederick, who sought in vain to have the masque produced commercially⁸⁰.

When Hamilton conceived the *Samson* libretto, Patriot agitation for war against Spain was running high. From 1738, Opposition critics quoted Milton to map allusions to their cause onto his venerated writings. Patriot *literati* frequently interpreted the tale of *Samson* as analogous to that of the British nation, beleaguered by Walpole's corruption and his refusal to curtail alleged Spanish incursions into British trade routes. *Samson* could stand not just for Prince Frederick, powerless to defend his nation, but also for Admiral Vernon, the naval hero kept from further victories against Spain by pusillanimous governance⁸¹. From 1739 Vernon became the most celebrated public figure of the Walpole era⁸².

Including Mrs Clive in *Samson* would have helped the anti-Hispanic subtext implicit in Hamilton's libretto to crystallize on stage. Drury Lane had already made her into an advocate of war with Spain through *in propria persona* roles in *The Coffee House* (1738) and *Britons Strike Home* (1739). A third attempt in 1740 was stifled by censors⁸³.

The 'Miss Kitty' of both 1738 and 1739 sang of her enmity towards Spain.

Characteristically Farinelli became a reviled symbol, signifying in these works Spanish

⁸⁰ Alan D. McKillop, 'The Early History of *Alfred*', *Philological Quarterly*, 41 (1962). The rehearsal was reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, x (1740); the productions were announced in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 2 and 5 August 1740. See also ch. 6, n. 4.

⁸¹ Smith, 'Intellectual Contexts of Handel's Oratorios', 115-25.

⁸² Kathleen Wilson, 'Admiral Vernon and Popular Politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain', *Past & Present*, 121 (1988). Wilson points out that more medals were struck on behalf of Vernon than for any other public figure in the eighteenth century.

⁸³ This was *The Camp Visitants* by James Miller. The play was Miller's 'most politically aggressive' and lampooned the government's failure to despatch the troops mustered for the war in the West Indies. In her dialogue, Lucy (Mrs Clive had it been staged) joked sourly about the foot-dragging of the administration. O'Brien, 'The Life and Works of James Miller, 1704-1744', 270-81.

treachery and cupidity. In *The Coffee House*, Lords Bawble and Bubble mourned the Spanish ‘kidnapping’ of Farinelli in lyrics which equated their undignified wailings with Walpole’s supine Hispanic policies⁸⁴. Miss Kitty briskly humiliated the fawning admirers of the castrato.

Britons Strike Home (1739) took its title from Purcell’s homonymous chorus, which from 1739 became a Patriot anthem for the projected victory of Britain over Spain. Covent Garden used Purcell’s tune to celebrate the war’s outbreak, crowds sang it to celebrate Vernon’s early victory at Portobello, and publishers issued the song with an engraving depicting British naval victories (Ex. 7.3)⁸⁵. Mrs Clive had sung the original tune since 1729, when she was cast as the patriotic heroine Bonduca⁸⁶. The *in propria persona* farce *Britons Strike Home* dramatized reports of Spanish aggression against British merchants, and had the Patriot soprano celebrate Farinelli’s departure freeing the British public from debilitating foreign taste:

Kitty: Yes, Sir, there’s a great deal in having Politics set to a proper Tune; thank our Stars, they have lately been set to the Tune of *Britons, Strike Home* ... I have observed that Tunes and Songs have a very great effect on Publick Affairs, and I know no better way than proving the Truth of my Observation than by a Song.

AIR 1 (‘Britons Strike Home’)

*While on Faronelli’s [sic] Tongue,
Britons idly raptur’d hung;
What tho’ Ships and Men were lost,
They could still their Charmer boast;
‘Till Spain, to shew what she cou’d do,*

⁸⁴ The analogy was not lost on the censors, who deleted the last verse of this song. *Ibid.*, 226. The song was, however, published in full, and is reproduced in Ex. 5.3.

⁸⁵ After the declaration of war on Spain, on 27 Oct 1739 the King was greeted at Covent Garden with ‘Britons Strike Home’ to rousing applause. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography*, 487 and Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology*, 93-4. In Statford, Essex, townspeople sang Purcell’s song while burning an effigy of the Spanish Admiral in a multi-storied bonfire sometime during March 1740. Wilson, ‘Admiral Vernon and Popular Politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain’, 81. The engraved song was issued in Anon, *Clio and Euterpe, or British Harmony*, 4-5. *Britons Strike Home*, produced 31 Dec 1739, is omitted from Wilson’s otherwise meticulous review of public propaganda relating to Admiral Vernon.

⁸⁶ According to Price, Purcell’s ‘vacuous’ chorus (Act II, scene 2) was added to inject a ‘cheap’ revision of Fletcher’s play with patriotic fervor. Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge, 1984), 119-25. Drury Lane revived the Fletcher tragedy with Mrs Clive in the title role on 13 June 1729 ‘with the Original Songs set to Musick by Mr. H. Purcell’. Unlike most Restoration heroines, Bonduca sings her own song (‘Oh lead me to some peaceful gloom’).

Ex. 7.3: Henry Purcell, 'To Arms & Britons strike home', *Clio and Euterpe, or British Harmony*, i (1743), 4-5.

(4)



To Arms & Britons strike home

To Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms To Arms to Arms to Arms to
To Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms to
Arms To Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms to
Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms To Arms to Arms to
Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms your Ensigns strait display
Arms To Arms to Arms to Arms to Arms your Ensigns strait display
now now now now now now now now now now let the Battle in array
The Oracle for War declares for War declares Success Depends Suc
cess Depends upon our Hearts and Spirits Oracle for War de

(5)



Set by Mr Henry Purcell in Compagny of 4 Ger. flute

dares for War declares Success Depends Success Depends up

on our Hearts and Spears Brittons Strike home Revenges Revenges your

Countrys Wrongs Fight Fight and Record Fight

Fight and Record your Slaves in Druid Songs

Fight Fight and Record Fight Fight and Re

cord Record your Slaves in Druid Songs

*Wou'd have their Ships, and Charmer too*⁸⁷.

In 1743, 'Politics set to a proper Tune' was precisely what audiences flocked to hear Mrs Clive perform. Featuring the singer-actress in *Samson* allowed producers to articulate Patriot messages beyond the reach of the censors. Significantly, Mrs Clive sang her central musical scene from *Samson* at her 1744 benefit, which the Prince of Wales attended and which ended with a rousing chorus of 'Britons Strike Home'⁸⁸. To the *frisson* of Patriot politics could be added that of witnessing Mrs Clive's first Covent Garden appearance, an attraction that perhaps led Handel to choose *Samson* over the *Messiah* for his 1743 oratorio season, much to the chagrin of Charles Jennens⁸⁹.

While the libretto's politics cried out for an appearance by Mrs Clive, Hamilton modified the Dalila of Milton's poem to fit the Clive persona. Hamilton's Dalila, unlike Milton's, was dramatically redolent of Euphrosyne. In the original poem, Dalila subtly rationalizes her betrayal and twists Samson's accusations to her advantage⁹⁰. Hamilton's Dalila, by contrast, tempts Samson with visions of a 'private court', which, like Comus's court, appears blissful but actually dissolves participants' moral purpose. In the oratorio Dalila (rather than the Philistines) keeps watch over Samson: in her 'home', with its attendant virgins – another Hamilton invention paralleling Euphrosyne – she offers 'redoubled love', the

⁸⁷ Edward Phillips, *Britons Strike Home, or The Sailor's Rehearsal* (London, 1739), 4-6.

⁸⁸ On 13 March 1744 at Covent Garden, the *London Stage* records: 'Singing: *My Faith and Truth* (Favourite Duet from *Samson*) by Miss Edwards [Mrs Clive's protégée] and Mrs Clive. *Britons Strike Home* ... Last Night their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden to see the *Merchant of Venice* when the song *Britons Strike Home* was commanded to be sung, which was accordingly done with the Chorus accompanied by Trumpets, Kettle-Drums etc. and met with Great Applause'. Mrs Clive again performed the duet on 2 April 1744, and at Drury Lane on 4 Jan and 10 April 1746. At this last performance she also delivered the patriotic prologue inherited from Mrs Oldfield ('The cause of Liberty to the Ladies of Great Britain') to celebrate the first anniversary of the defeat of the Jacobites. None of these performances of the *Samson* duet have been noted by Handel scholars.

⁸⁹ In a letter of 21 Feb 1743, he complained of Handel's preferment of *Samson* over the *Messiah*. This letter is reprinted in Burrows, *Handel: Messiah*, 24-5.

⁹⁰ F.T. Prince, ed., *Milton: Samson Agonistes* (Oxford, 1957), 50-59. Mary Ann Radzinowicz notes that 'the rhetorical debate in which they engage concludes with the intellectual integration of the hero'. She traces how, through the complex Samson-Dalila exchange, Milton laid out his notions on marriage and on freedom won by accepting responsibility. Mary A. Radzinowicz, *Towards Samson Agonistes: the Growth of Milton's Mind* (Princeton, 1978), 36-50.

‘delights’ of non-visual senses, as well as ‘nursing care’ and ‘domestic ease’ should he again yield to her. Her lyrics, which Handel set as an introductory air, a rondo section and duet finale, were largely Hamilton’s invention⁹¹.

In short, Hamilton replaced Milton’s sophisticated dialectic between Dalila’s self-deception and her betrayal of Samson with a tableau in which private (female) pleasures threaten to override public (male) concerns. The dramatic parallel between Dalila and Euphrosyne is evident in their respective ‘motto songs’:

[Dalila]
To fleeting pleasures make your court,
No moment lose, for life is short.
The present now’s our only time,
The missing that’s our only crime.

How charming is domestic ease,
A thousand ways I’ll strive to please.
Life is not lost tho’ lost your sight,
Let other senses taste delight.

[Euphrosyne]
Come, come bid adieu to fear,
Love and Harmony reign here.
No domestic jealous jars,
Buzzing slanders, words of wars,
In my Presence will appear;
Love and Harmony reign here.

In this context, Dalila/Euphrosyne was the inverse of ‘Miss Kitty’ who safeguarded British values: here the singer-actress represented the effeminizing Other who – like the castrati she so frequently mocked – imperils a commitment to higher ideals.

Handel articulated the Dalila/Euphrosyne persona in three ways: first, by relying on *galant* dance structures, as Arne had done in *Comus*, to signify Dalila’s relish in amusement; second, by underlining her ‘shepherdess’ persona with pastoral music; and third, by adapting the structure of Euphrosyne’s central musical scene, a dance rondo, to his oratorio. Although dance forms are ubiquitous in Baroque composition, the concentration of dance movements in *Samson* sets Mrs Clive apart from other soloists. Omitting his traditional recitative/aria structure, Handel rolled Dalila’s airs into a rondo *scena* that consisted exclusively of dances:

⁹¹ As Hamilton stated in his preface, he relegated Milton’s lines for Dalila largely to her recitative. Although for other airs he borrowed from ‘smaller’ Milton poems (and the Bible), the Dalila lyrics in this section were his own. Hamilton’s alternative literary sources are listed in Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 330.

first, a minuet ('My Faith and Truth'), succeeded by 'bourée ('From fleeting Pleasures'); both were then repeated (Exx. 7.4 and 7.5). In thus confining Mrs Clive to terpsichorean strains, Handel followed Arne, who had set nearly all of her airs in *Comus* as dances⁹². The Scotch snap in Dalila's 'Fleeting pleasures' was redolent not only of dance, but of the popular ballads for which Mrs Clive was celebrated.

Handel's reliance on pastoral idioms to introduce Dalila, while recycling a dominate Clive motif, had little dramatic basis within the libretto. The equation drawn by the Virgin Attendant between Dalila and a cooing dove was awkward: although invoking sensuality, the imagery and music suggested a soft, seemingly innocent temptress in lieu of Milton's power-hungry Dalila⁹³. When Samson condemned his wife ('Your charms to ruin led the way'), Handel overrode the hero's fury with an Arcadian setting: the siciliano, the undulating vocal line, and the drone bass of Samson's air, rather than expressing rage, conjured up an idyll. Illogical dramatically, the music effectively set the scene for Mrs Clive's entry.

In her central musical scene Dalila, together with her 'followers', weaves her magic by singing a rondo. Although unique in Handel's *oeuvre*, Dalila's scene parallels Euphrosyne's central *Comus* scene, in which the Goddess of Mirth directs the movements of her acolytes also in a rondo (see Table 7.1). Handel structured his rondo more tightly than did Arne – he did not have to wrestle with the exigencies of staging dances – but certain commonalities remained. By combining the same keys and dance types, Handel used familiar Baroque

⁹² Arne set Euphrosyne's airs as follows: 'By dimpl'd brook' (gavotte); 'Fame's an eccho' (siciliano); 'Come, come bid adieu to fear' (gavotte); 'Ye Fawns and ye Dryads' (minuet). Herbage, ed., *Comus*.

⁹³ Radzinowicz states flatly that Dalila 'perpetually drives towards dominance', characterizing her as 'masterful, relativistic [and] sensually aggressive'. Radzinowicz, *Towards Samson Agonistes: the Growth of Milton's Mind*, 47-8. By contrast, Hamilton and Handel project a Dalila who supplicates: the dove 'coos', and the sigh- and echo-motifs in voice and instruments sweetly entice the listener to further hearing. In nineteenth-century editions and modern performances this aria is given to Dalila. However, although the air was originally intended for Dalila, Handel eventually assigned it to the Attendant; see Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 348 and Clausen, *Handels Direktionspartituren ('Handexemplare')*, 213.

Ex. 7.4: George F. Handel, 'To fleeting Pleasures', *Samson. An Oratorio* ([1743]), 55-7.

Sung by Mrs Glive 55

Larghetto

plaiso?

To fleeting Pleasures make your Court no

Moment loose for Life is short to fleeting Pleasures make your Court no

156

Moment loose no Moment loose for Life is short no Moment loose no Moment

loose - for life - is short the present now's our only

time the missing that our only Crime the present now's our only time our on-ly time our

tr
for.
for.
for.
for.
pia.
pia.
pia.
pia.
p^o

6 * 6 4 * 6 6 6 6 4 6 6

* 6 4 5 p^o 6 6 4 4

6 4 4 5 4 6 6 6 6 6

on - ly time the mis - sing that our on - ly Crime our on - ly Crime the mis - sing that our

for. for

on - ly Crime our on - ly Crime the mis - sing that our on - ly Crime.

7 4 3 7 4 3 6 4 3

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, page 57. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line has lyrics: "on - ly time the mis - sing that our on - ly Crime our on - ly Crime the mis - sing that our". The piano accompaniment includes various rhythmic patterns and chordal textures. There are several measures with a "for." marking, likely indicating fermatas or specific performance instructions. The bottom of the page shows a sequence of numbers: 7 4 3 7 4 3 6 4 3, which likely represent fingerings or chord numbers for the piano part.

Ex. 7.5: George F. Handel, 'My Faith and Truth', *Samson. An Oratorio* ([1743]), 51-4.

Sung by Mrs Glive 51

Larghetto

My faith and truth O Samson prove but hear me

pia.

hear the Voice of Love My faith and truth O Samson prove but hear me hear the Voice of Love

Violoncello *tutti*

for.

But hear me hear me hear me hear the Voice of Love

piano

04

My faith and truth O Samson prove but hear me hear me hear me but.

Violoncello

hear me hear the Voice of Love with Love no mortal can be cloy'd all happiness is

Love enjoy'd all happiness is Love enjoy'd with Love no mortal can be cloy'd

for.

* all hap - - pines is hap - - pines is Love en-joyd My faith and truth O

* 6 6 6 4* 6

Her faith and truth O Samfon prove but hear her hear the

Samfon prove but hear me hear the Voice of Love

for.

hear her hear her

Voice of Love 6 6 5 6 But hear me hear me hear me hear the Voice of.

for. pianiss^o 6 6 6

hear her hear the Voice of Love Her faith and - truth O Samson prove
 Love My faith and - truth O Samson prove But.

But hear - - her hear - - the Voice of Love But hear - -
 hear - - - me hear - - the Voice of Love But hear - - - the

- - - the Voice of - Love hear her her faith and - truth O - Samson - prove but .
 Voice of - Love but hear me My faith and - truth O - Samson - prove but

for.

hear her hear - - - the Voice of Love
 hear me hear - - - the Voice of Love

TABLE 7.1

MRS CLIVE'S CENTRAL SCENE IN <i>COMUS</i>	Dance Type	Section	Key	MRS CLIVE'S CENTRAL SCENE IN <i>SAMSON</i>	Dance Type	Section	Key
Solo Mrs Clive: 'Ye Fawns, and ye Dryads'	minuet		D+ to b-	Solo Mrs Clive: 'My Faith and Truth'	minuet	[A]	b-
Solo Mrs Clive: 'Now lighter and gayer'	corrente	[A]	D+	Duet Mrs Clive and Attendant: 'My Faith and Truth'	minuet	[A ¹]	b-
'Now, now with quick Feet'		[B]	A+				
Dancers: Dance Tambourin	bourée	[C]	A+	Chorus of Virgins: 'My Faith and Truth'	minuet	[A ²]	b-
Solo Mrs Clive: 'Now cold and denying'	minuet [mixed triple and duple metre]	[D]	a- [tonal center dissolves]	Solo Mrs Clive: 'To fleeting Pleasures'	bourée	[C]	D+
Solo Mrs Clive: 'Again with quick Feet'	corrente	[B]	G+	Chorus of Virgins (truncated): 'My Faith and Truth'	minuet	[A ²]	b-
Dancers: Dance Tambourin	bourée	[C]	A+	Solo Mrs Clive: 'How charming is domestic Ease'	bourée	[C]	D+
				Chorus of Virgins: 'My Faith and Truth'	minuet	[A ²]	b-

signifiers to re-invoke the Euphrosyne character: her feistiness (the bravura of D major), her gaiety (the minuet) and her promises of ‘contentment’ and ‘relaxed ease’ (the bourée)⁹⁴.

Dean describes Dalila’s rondo as ‘hypnotic’, and this label holds equally true for Euphrosyne’s music. After ordering her followers to dance, Euphrosyne brings the orchestra under her sway in her arioso. This section is an ‘exploded’ minuet-based song persistently interrupted by increasingly wayward instrumental interpolations: at first merely echoing Euphrosyne, the band eventually challenges the soprano’s triple metre with duple-metre responses. The instruments also wander ever farther from her tonal centre and melodies. Euphrosyne re-imposes her will by restating her *corrente* solo [A] after which the dancers repeat their tambourine dance (Ex. 6.3)⁹⁵. Handel replayed Euphrosyne’s command over her followers in his minuet-based scene for Dalila. Her Attendant, followed by the chorus, echoes Dalila’s ‘Voice of Love’ (in the air ‘My faith and truth’). Thereafter Dalila’s ‘Voice’, taken up by the Virgins, hovers in the background, resurfacing to tempt Samson while Dalila presents the motto song quoted above, set to an ebullient bourée. Structurally, both Euphrosyne and Dalila use an uninterrupted series of interlocked dance sections to ‘hypnotize’ their listeners. According to the librettos, both figures ultimately fail to captivate their addressee, but theatre audiences proved more susceptible to Mrs Clive’s charms.

The unprecedented success of this oratorio, and its significance to Handel’s career, is well documented: the oratorio, according to Handel’s earliest biographer, inaugurated the ‘aera of his prosperity’⁹⁶. Encouraged by *Samson*’s popularity, Handel organized a second

⁹⁴ The characters of the bourée and the minuet are described in Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach* (Bloomington, IN, 1991), 35-42, 62-72.

⁹⁵ The music of this section was omitted from the first edition of *Comus* (1740). The direction for the dancers to respond to Euphrosyne’s command does not appear in the Musica Britannica edition of *Comus*. See ch. 6, n. 48.

⁹⁶ John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London, 1760), 134. Uncharacteristically, Handel devoted his first subscription entirely to *Samson*. It ran for six performances from 18 Feb until 31 March 1743 and was hailed as ‘the finest piece of music he ever composed’. News of *Samson*’s success reached Dublin, and Walsh published the oratorio ‘Songs’ before the first run had ended. Ironically,

subscription which included a revival of *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso*. Did Handel select this work randomly, or to showcase Drury Lane's Goddess of Mirth? Within this work, did he plan the 'straight segue' from his *Allegro* organ solo into Mrs Clive's last air ('Straight mine eye') to merge his music-making with that of the soprano?⁹⁷ Both choices are certainly suggestive. Viewed through her history, moreover, Mrs Clive's performance of the *Allegro* aria 'Mirth admit me of thy crew' would surely have been grasped by audiences as an *in propria persona* representation⁹⁸.

Similarly, Handel's solo fragment for Mrs Clive in the *Messiah* suggests a cameo appearance by London's favourite singing shepherdess. Handel augmented his original 11-bar recitative ('And lo the angel of the Lord') to a 31-bar arioso section ('But lo ...'), for her to briefly describe the reaction of the shepherds⁹⁹. It seems her persona insisted on her appearing specifically at this juncture: while her line precluded her from singing heavenly strains, a short musing on the rustics' apprehension excused the pastoral Comic Muse's sudden appearance in pious garb.

Mrs Clive appears to have been the only soprano ever to perform this arioso, at a single performance on 23 March 1743¹⁰⁰. But to the exasperation of latter-day musicologists, the interpolation lingered tenaciously in *Messiah* manuscript copies and editions. Between 1743

modern misapprehension about Mrs Clive's talents has been nourished by Horace Walpole's oft-repeated quip about Handel employing 'goddesses from farces' in *Samson*. She and Walpole became intimate friends after 1755. For commentary about *Samson*'s reception, see Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography*, 560-63.

⁹⁷ Folio 39v of *GB Lbl-R.M.20.d.5* contains the instruction: 'Org ad libit il soggetto della fuga seguente' and under the staves which follow is written 'Segue straight mine Eye Mrs Clive & accomp. Da capo'. Hall and Hall, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato: Kritischer Bericht*, 10. 'Straight mine eye' (an additional song) was first introduced at Dublin performances in Dec 1741.

⁹⁸ For his second subscription that season, Handel revised *L'Allegro ed il penseroso* for one performance on 18 March 1743, omitting the third section ('Il Moderato'). Mrs Clive sang airs no. 10 'Mirth admit me of thy crew', no. 16 ('If I give thee honour due/Let me wander' and no.17 ('Straight mine Eye'). See *ibid.*, 61-2.

⁹⁹ Larsen, in his painstaking reconstruction of the different *Messiah* versions, 1741-60, stresses that Mrs Clive sang only the arioso. Larsen, *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources*, 194, 235. Nonetheless she was advertised in the bills for 23 March 1743, together with Signora Avolio (or Miss Edwards) and The Boy. Deutsch, *Handel: a Documentary Biography*, 565.

¹⁰⁰ Unlike Burrows, Larsen believes Francesina sang it once more in 1745. Compare Burrows, *Handel: Messiah*, 31 and Larsen, *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources*, 219.

and 1785 no fewer than eleven of 17 *Messiah* manuscripts and six of eleven period editions retained this section¹⁰¹. Although its inclusion in Walsh's initial *Messiah* edition (1749) may partly explain its persistence, the arioso, like Mrs Clive herself, teases scholars with its seeming improprieties. Tobin dismisses Mrs Clive's *Messiah* passage as a lapse in taste, just as musicologists traditionally find Handel's entire involvement with her sometimes embarrassing and certainly unimportant¹⁰².

Mrs Clive's persona could insist on specific dramatic and musical representations regardless of the author with whom the actress worked. By capably transmitting this persona, composers and authors displayed a grasp of, and support for, the ideals – patriotism, forthrightness, advancement through merit – which she embodied. The meanings attached to Mrs Clive changed through time. In mediating Handel's music at Drury Lane until 1731, she gestured towards what lay beyond the reach of her audiences, offering a 'poor man's' Handel entertainment. Largely through Fielding, her relationship to Handel was subsequently inverted: speaking for those unable to afford Handel's performances, she was sharply critical of his music and its followers. As Handel sought new markets, and as Drury Lane upgraded Mrs Clive's cultural profile, the Drury Lane Muse assumed the dignity of the British Worthies – Shakespeare, Milton, Handel – whose works were becoming a mainstay of her line. Alert to this shift in public perception, Handel fostered a link with the star soprano whose complex persona granted him access to a new set of associations. Among them, the legacy of Mrs Oldfield, Opposition views, mirth and wit figured most prominently, and his Clive music

¹⁰¹ The manuscripts and editions containing the arioso are listed in Appendix A, 'Table of Manuscript Sources and their Contents' and 'Table of Contents of the Principal Editions from 1749 to 1854' in John Tobin, *Handel's Messiah: a Critical Account of the Manuscript Sources and Printed Editions* (London, 1969), 168-70. Many of these sources contain both versions of this section in the *Messiah*.

¹⁰² John Tobin, *Der Messias: Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 1965), 37 and Tobin, *Handel's Messiah: a Critical Account of the Manuscript Sources and Printed Editions*, 40. He concludes that this 'setting is rather dull' ('[es] fehlt dem Arioso jede Inspiration'), and, like other editors, defends his decision to retain the short recitative on aesthetic grounds, overruling the preference for 'Mrs Clive's arioso' manifested in the sources.

highlighted these components. In composing for her, he followed the English stage tradition of allowing the line – in this case one musical rather than dramatic – to guide his musical imagination. The Clive-Handel history reminds us that composers writing for stars of the mid-eighteenth-century London stage had always to negotiate the persona of the player, who in mediating the music refracted its meaning.

The Case of Mrs Clive, 1743-5

Why did the Clive-Handel collaboration cease? The answer lies in her leading role in the Drury Lane rebellion of 1743-5. Because of this contretemps and its attendant publicity, Mrs Clive could never again work at Covent Garden, where Handel held his oratorio seasons after 1746. Mrs Clive's view that John Rich had grossly abused his managerial powers left her unwilling to have any further dealings with him – and, by attacking him in the press, she burned her bridges. Happily, John Lacy and David Garrick replaced Fleetwood at Drury Lane, making it unnecessary for the actress to seek other venues. Not only did the theatre run efficiently, but Mrs Clive also profited from her heavy involvement in Garrick's Shakespeare revival. Fresh Shakespearean roles (and their airs) continued to enliven her 'high style' image¹⁰³. Music, while still a key facet of her appeal after 1745 – she continued to perform musical theatre and sing 'additional songs' – shifted from being the actress's main platform to being a novelty attached to her stage appearances¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Against Dobson's account of Garrick's campaign to transform Shakespeare into a national icon, one must recall Pedicord's observation that only a 'handful' of Garrick's productions were successful: '[Shakespeare plays] had to be brilliantly staged and interspersed with songs and dances ... to keep the audience awake'. Harry W. Pedicord, 'The Changing Audience', *London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1980), 251.

¹⁰⁴ In Garrick's Shakespeare revival, songs provided a central means for integrating her musical skills with her emerging reputation as a Shakespeare interpreter. For a discussion of Mrs Clive's music, see Chelij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', 13, 19-22, 61-2, 77-80, 95, 118, 48, 65-7. See also the following chapter.

The 1743-5 Drury Lane rebellion has been often described, although Mrs Clive's role in it has been overshadowed by scholarly interest in Garrick, particularly in his public wrangle with fellow actor Charles Macklin¹⁰⁵. Several documents, however, attest to Mrs Clive having led the revolt together with Garrick and Macklin, and to her symbolizing for audiences what manager Fleetwood alleged was the driving force behind the action: actors' greed.

The standard account of events runs as follows: during the summer of 1743, twenty players, hearing rumors of a cartel between Covent Garden manager John Rich and the Drury Lane manager Charles Fleetwood, and disgusted by Fleetwood's mismanagement, set up a rebel company at the Haymarket theatre chiefly at Garrick's urging. The players signed an agreement not to return unless Fleetwood settled with all members. In early October the Lord Chamberlain refused to grant the rebel players a licence, effectively locking the Drury Lane company out of their house¹⁰⁶. Pamphlets airing both sides of the controversy – Fleetwood's maliciousness and ineptitude versus the players' arrogance – were published¹⁰⁷. In mid-October Fleetwood planted an anonymous article maintaining that players were overpaid, which spawned several rejoinders on this subject¹⁰⁸.

Complicated manoeuvring from all sides followed. To punish Macklin, whom he had earlier befriended, Fleetwood offered to take back the company without this actor; Garrick

¹⁰⁵ A lively account of the Garrick-Macklin feud is found in Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London, 1999), 73-81.

¹⁰⁶ *The Daily Advertiser* announced the Lord Chamberlain's decision on 8 Oct 1743.

¹⁰⁷ The two pamphlets igniting the paper war were Anon, *Queries to be Answer'd by the Manager of Drury-Lane* (London, 1743) and Anon, *Queries upon Queries, to be Answer'd by the Male-content Players* (London, 1743).

¹⁰⁸ The article compared the wages of the previous generation of principal players with that of the current principals. It first appeared in the *London Daily Post*, 15 Oct 1743 and was reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xiii (1743), 553 with slight emendations. Both statements alleged that Mrs Clive earned a total of £816 and Garrick a total £1,130. The players published their version of their emoluments in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xiii (1743), 609, in which Mrs Clive's stated earnings were £588. Generally, the contention revolved around the actors' gains through benefits, not base salaries. Crean (1933), 242-4. Pamphlets decrying the actors' income level included Anon, *The Case of our Present Theatrical Disputes* (London, 1743) and Anon, *The Case between the Managers of the Two Theatres and their Principal Actors* (London, 1743). See also Anon, *Tyranny Triumphant, or Historical, Critical, and Prophetic Remarks on the Famous Cartel Lately agreed by the Masters of Two Theatres in a Letter to a Friend in the Country* (London, 1743) and Mr. Neitherside, *An Impartial Examen of the Present Contests between the Town and the Manager of the Theatres* (London, 1744).

Patriot allegiance), Rich hired her back for another season beginning in December. Shortly thereafter, Fleetwood's standing plummeted, as did the fortunes of his house, and he departed. Mrs Clive slipped back to Drury Lane the following season¹¹².

The commentary sparked by the Drury Lane rebellion revolved around three separate issues: Garrick's moral obligations, the exchange value of actors, and the injustice of the patent system. The last two themes intertwined. After the Licensing Act of 1737, the power of managers at patent theatres increased because players could only work legally at two London theatres. According to several sources, before the revolt Rich and Fleetwood had indeed formed a cartel to drive down theatre salaries, and Fleetwood's two chief targets were the high-flying Garrick and Mrs Clive¹¹³. Countering accusations of injustice, Fleetwood blamed the players for crippling his enterprise with unreasonable salary demands. High wages for players also challenged established hierarchies, and once the revolt began, Fleetwood promoted the bias that actors' new-found wealth undermined class distinctions between the 'People of Quality' attending and the 'paid servants' of the stage¹¹⁴.

As London's top-paid actress, Mrs Clive was a natural focal point of the controversy. Reports of salaries published throughout October 1743 advertised her wages as second only to Garrick¹¹⁵. In a manner typical of the period, Drury Lane prompter William Chetwood represented the struggle between actors and managers in a fantasy show-down, *The Dramatic Congress*. In his imaginary Dialogue, 'Kitty Cuckoo' led 'the main body of Complainers'.

¹¹² In Nov 1744 Fleetwood raised ticket prices, provoking riots on 17 and 19 Nov 1744. The engagement of the new manager, John Lacy, was announced in *The General Advertiser*, 28 Sept 1745. Crean (1933), 256-7.

¹¹³ Fleetwood had tried to stave off the rebellion by unsuccessfully trying to bribe Macklin into quelling the actors' discontent. Garrick stressed that Fleetwood had targeted himself and Mrs Clive. Macklin, *Mr Macklin's Reply ... to which is prefix'd all the Papers ... in regard to this important Dispute*, 18, 29.

¹¹⁴ The assertion that 'they no sooner commence imaginary *Princes*, but they begin to think themselves intitled to the Revenues and Authority of *real ones*', was a chief bone of contention. Anon, *London Daily Post*, 15 Oct 1743. See also Anon, *A full Answer to Queries upon Queries* (London, 1743), 8.

¹¹⁵ Newspaper accounts stated her salary was £525 versus the £630 Garrick earned before the benefit. In her *Epistle*, Mrs Clive claimed her base wage was £375, but that Garrick earned over 500 guineas. Frushell, ed., *The Case of Mrs Clive [1744]: Introduced by Richard C. Frushell*, 7.

Citing her experiences, particularly the 1736 scrum over Polly, she outlined Fleetwood's transgressions: the hypocrisy of his 'good-will' towards the players, his promotion of rivalry between players, his poor fiscal policies, his reneging on salaries, his stealing of players from the rival house. According to Chetwood's 'drama', Fleetwood offered to raise Mrs Clive's salary, and Rich was accused of having bid more for her. Chetwood prefaced the Dialogue with dark warning of the managers' intentions to 'reduce the Actors to live upon Bread and Water', a prospect Mrs Clive soon confronted¹¹⁶.

Chetwood's sympathetic portrayal of Mrs Clive and her followers was contradicted in a second mock Dialogue, an *Epistle from Mrs Oldfield*. Like the *Dramatic Congress*, it alleged that the 'Sing-Song Girl' had been 'one of the chiefs of these State Revolters', but portrayed her motivation as purely selfish. Protesting against the Clive-as-Oldfield campaign, the pamphlet denied any equality between the two actresses, and excoriated Mrs Clive for 'leading [the players] to another House' out of greed. Fleetwood's accusation that she was overreaching her social station figured prominently¹¹⁷. In response, Mrs Clive wrote a pamphlet which sought not only to salvage her chance to work, but also to counter the allegation that she overvalued her station and merit. Her defence took hold, and subsequent commentary excused Mrs Clive's putative excesses because she appeared rueful about her conduct, and because writers believed that she had been victimized by the Rich-Fleetwood cartel¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁶ William Chetwood, *Dramatic Congress. A Short State of the Stage under the Present Management. Concluding with a Dialogue* (London, 1743), 19-23.

¹¹⁷ The author accused Mrs Clive of 'Self-sufficiency, Self-conceit, Arrogance and Insolence' and of fancying 'herself the real Lady Lovelace off the stage that she represents on'. The author also denied that Mrs Clive could match Mrs Oldfield's talent. Anon, *Theatrical Correspondence in Death. An Epistle from Mrs Oldfield in the Shades to Mrs Bracegirdle* (London, 1743), 3-8.

¹¹⁸ 'The avaritious Persons in the aforementioned injudicious Conjunction were Mrs C---r, Mrs Cl---e ... the second of whom has found, and feels, her Error by this Time'. B.Y., *The Disputes between the Director of D-y and the Pit Potentates* (London, 1744), 16. See also Neitherside, *An Impartial Examen of the Present Contests between the Town and the Manager of the Theatres*, 10.

Iconography provides us with perhaps the clearest evidence of Mrs Clive's role in the 1743-5 revolt. The etching *The Theatrical Contest 1743* (Fig. 7.4) shows an open space in front of the theatre partly filled with water, which the players are attempting to cross¹¹⁹. At the door John Rich, dressed as Harlequin, greets the waiting throngs with the words 'I've nick'd 'em both'. The players in the picture are identified by their celebrated roles: in the right-hand corner, Garrick founders, whining, 'I'm almost ax'd' while his mistress, the actress Peg Woffington, keeps him from sinking. To the left, Macklin strains to pull himself and his followers towards the shore with the rallying cry 'Britons Strike Home'. Mrs Clive stands erect on the water; she alone does not sink. She holds a letter in her hand (presumably the forthcoming *Case of Mrs Clive*), stating: 'I have given my reasons'. In the composition of the picture, Mrs Clive appears at the apex of the triangle formed by the three principal players. In the composition of her music, her persona occupied a similar position.

¹¹⁹ Note that this image is not listed in *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Clive, Catherine', iii (1975), 362. It is housed at the Harvard Theatre Collection [Doran, III, 151] and is catalogued in Frederic G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, iii/1 (London, 1873), 475 [no.2599].

Fig. 7.4: Anon, *The Theatrical Contest 1743* [1743]. Etching. By permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection.



EIGHT

STRAWBERRY HILL FOREVER: THE DRURY LANE MUSE AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S SON

Between the Green Room and the Honeysuckle

Mrs Clive's rank as the star comedienne at Drury Lane was established by 1745, and remained unchallenged until her retirement in 1769. The medium of her line changed, however: plays replaced English musical theatre as the principal means by which her star persona was reinforced, and the myth of the actress replaced that of the soprano. One reason for this shift away from vocal performance was aging: scores from her late musical theatre indicate her range both lowered and diminished¹. She also grew corpulent and hence unfit for portraying the shepherdesses, spry chambermaids, and sentimental or folk heroines of her earlier line (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). She and her backers replaced such roles with presentations suited to her cumbersome physique, creating parodies of herself, of Fine Ladies, and of her legendary opponents, Italian sopranos. For her self-parodies, Drury Lane produced two burlettas featuring kitsch Clive-esque shepherdesses. In *The Chaplet* (1749) and its rewrite *The Shepherd's Lottery* (1751), both to librettos by Moses Mendez, she played an overripe 'nymph' who refuses to recognize her imperfections and who, when passed over by Damon, castigates the male species². In her investigation of the burletta form, Phyllis Dircks, who claims burlettas 'burst upon the stage in 1764', has overlooked these works, as well as Boyce's 'burletto' in Mrs Clive's farce *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats*, cited below. All three Boyce burlettas contained the hallmarks of the genre outlined by Dircks: brevity,

¹ Besides the dearth of new musical roles, and the disappearance of old ones, this evaluation is based on the two burlettas by William Boyce for Mrs Clive and Robert Lloyd, *The Capricious Lovers. A comic Opera ... based on Mr. Favart's Caprices D'Amour ou Ninette a la Cour* (London, 1764). Mrs Clive's entr'acte singing virtually ceased after 1750, except for occasional renditions of her popular 'Eileen A-Roon'. This was a pseudo-Irish folk song that she had debuted during her triumphant 1740 Dublin tour, and thereafter sang often at Drury Lane.

² Phyllis T. Dircks, *The Eighteenth-Century English Burletta* (Victoria, BC, 1999).

Fig. 8.1: Johann Ludwig Fäsch, *Mrs Clive in the Character of Lady Fuz in a Peep Behind the Curtain* [1750-1778]. Brush drawing and watercolour on vellum. By permission of the British Museum.



Fig. 8.2: Johann Ludwig Fäsch, *Mrs Clive in the Character of Mrs Heidelberg*, 1769. Engraving [in *Dramatic Characters ...of the English Stage*].



construction around a single joke ('burla') usually parodying a myth or legend, exaggerated acting, and a vengeance aria.

Apart from staging her foibles, both works quoted reports about or by Mrs Clive, and *The Shepherd's Lottery* included a biographical reference to her failed marriage. Her distinctly un-pastoral finale in *The Chaplet* summarized in 'sublimated ballad-style' the persona of her late career: an urbanite arrogantly confident of her 'merit', dismissive of men, insulting, and jealous of younger actresses (Ex. 8.1)³. Such camp appearances delighted audiences: through *The Chaplet*, one of the decade's most popular musical afterpieces, she lingered on in marginal musical entertainments as Drury Lane's beloved diva⁴.

These burlettas were complemented by her vigorous burlesques of reigning Italian sopranos, which she apparently both improvised and inserted according to her taste. She launched these songs usually during her benefit performances, allowing her to reap the maximum profit from their novelty⁵. She drew her 'Mimic Italian Songs' into her Fine Lady roles to at once satirize

³ On the 'sublimated ballad style', see ch. 6, n. 45. In an autograph poem, Garrick spitefully described her insults to junior actresses as envy of a succulent feminine sexuality lost to her: 'Kitty Clive & Kitty Fisher/ Curst C--- who hates each thing that's young & Pretty,/Thus vents her Spleen, on fashionable Kitty[:]/What Pads, & Chairs, and Chariots at her Beck,/A nasty Puss! – I wish she'd break her neck! –/Cries Fisher, smiling --- Prithee, Clive let's see,/Who best deserves that title, you or me./I'm Frail indeed, surrounded with Temptation;/You're Chaste – without one single Provocation:/A Loadstone, I attract each heart to me./ Does any Needle, turn its point to thee?! A Titbit, I, not Princes would disdain,/But lick their lips, and wish to taste again –/While you, Untouch'd, proclaim the joint of meat,/ That Hungry Porters, must be bribed to eat'. David Garrick, *US-Ws* W.b.47, 'Kitty Clive & Kitty Fisher', fol.54v [autograph poem].

⁴ During its first season *The Chaplet* played 31 times; by 1758 it had racked up 110 performances, all with Mrs Clive. One teasing reference to the Clive persona ran: 'Pastora [Mrs Clive] fam'd for Truth,/And rigid Virtue ... indulg'd her Pleasure, and forgot her Pride'. Her arrogance is displayed in two airs: gazing into a mirror she denies being 'old and ugly' and finds herself 'full smuggly' (air 1, scene 3); and in her musical finale she again expresses self-satisfaction. William Boyce, *The Chaplet. A Musical Entertainment* (London, [1750]), 28-9, 37-9. See also Ex. 8.1. Both airs used the discursive strategy of her musical farces to allow her to communicate her thoughts on the stupidity of men. In a similar vein, Daphne (Mrs Clive) in *The Shepherd's Lottery* complained of having been 'ill-used' by men. This formulation echoed Chetwood's 1749 biographical entry ('I shall be silent in conjugal affairs ... I could never imagine she deserved ill usage'), and the verses about her in 'The Green Room Scuffle' broadside (see below): 'KATE, who was long ill-used,/Depended on her *Merit*/But PEG, by all abus'd,/Said, She had only *Spirit*'. *The Shepherd's Lottery* is also rife with Clive tropes, such as a desire to vex men and to prove herself their equal, a resentment of male power, and the impossibility of male-female compatibility. William Boyce, *The Shepherd's Lottery. A Musical Entertainment* (London, [1751]), 14-15, 31-8, 47-50.

⁵ For benefit performances, a principal player could select the mainpiece and afterpiece, choose the cast, sell the tickets, and turn the Pit into boxed seating (for his or her upper-class friends whom they would call upon). As

Ex. 8.1: William Boyce, 'I know that my Person is charming', *The Chaplet. A Musical Entertainment* ([1750]), 37-9.

57

PASTORA, *afide.*

Misjudging Wretch, with Rage my Bosom glows: Can he prefer a Nettle to a Rose?

Sung by M^{rs} Clive.

Violunis:

Presto Allegro

Tenor.

Presto Allegro

Piano

I know that my Person is charming, Be-yond what a

Piano

Clown can dis-cover: That Dowdy your Senses alarming; Proves what a blind Thing is a

Forte

Piano

Unison

Lover. Proves what a blind Thing is a : Lover. *Til*

Forte

Piano

60

quit the dull Plains for the City. Where Beauty is follow'd by Merit: Your Taste, simple

DAMON, I pity: Your Wit, who would wish to inhe-rit? to inhe-rit, Your Wit who would

Forte Piano

Unison Forte

wish to in-herit? Perhaps you may think you perplex me And

Forte Piano

that I my Anger woud smother; The Loss of a Lover can't vex me. My Charms will procure me an

Musical score for a vocal and piano piece, page 39. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are:

other. My Charms will procure me an - o - ther. I ne'er was more Pleas'd af -
 - sure you: How Odious they look I can't bear them: I wish you much joy of your Fu - ry.
 My Rage into pieces could tear them. could tear them. My Rage into pieces could

The score includes dynamic markings such as *Forte* and *Piano*. The piano part features intricate textures, including sixteenth-note passages and arpeggiated figures. The vocal line includes the instruction *afide* (aside). The piece concludes with a final cadence in the piano part.

prime donne – whose identity was recognizable to audiences – and a resented class stereotype⁶.

Another reason for the growing emphasis on plays in her repertory was Garrick's takeover of the Drury Lane management, which he ran together with John Lacy from the summer of 1747. Garrick focused on revitalizing the craft at which he excelled: acting. (In her first self-authored benefit farce, Mrs Clive could not resist pointing out his inability to sing⁷.) He transformed most aspects of the English theatre, including play repertory, acting techniques, stage effects, management and artistic directorship⁸. Although he experimented during the 1750s with 'high style' musical theatre, the reception of such works was at best lukewarm, and only after 1760 did Drury Lane musical productions again flourish⁹.

always, costume was normally the principal actor's decision. Vincent Toubridge, *The Benefit System in the British Theatre* (London, 1967).

⁶ Mrs Clive interpolated mock Italian arias exclusively into 'Fine Lady' roles (or a dramatic character aping a Fine Lady): *Miss Lucy in Town* (from 1742); *The Comical Lovers* (from 1746); *Lethe* (from 1756); *Island of Slaves* (from 1761); *High Life Below Stairs* (from 1761), and *The Capricious Lovers* (from 1767). Those watching her 'taking off' identified her targets: in a letter to Horace Mann of 26 May 1742, Horace Walpole commented on her mockery of 'La Muscovita' [Lucia Panichi, mistress of Lord Middlesex] and critic 'Mary Singleton' reported on Mrs Clive's burlesque in *Lethe* of Regina Mingotti (see ch. 3, n. 54). The career of La Muscovita, and the resentment her patronage provoked, is described in Carole Taylor, 'From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739-45', *ML*, 18 (1987).

⁷ 'Oh! If that dear Garrick cou'd but sing, what a Don Quixote he'd make'. Catherine Clive, *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (London, 1753), 12. As Garrick scholars note, Mrs Clive's relations with Georgian London's celebrated actor-manager were stormy. She clashed with him on several occasions because he omitted her name in the bills, or had relegated her to a later time slot during the benefit season. He regarded her as 'fussocky'. Yet they were also companions, and called on each other regularly after their retirement. Their exchanges, which range in tone from fondness to rage, are published in James Boaden, ed., *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the most Celebrated Persons of his Time*, i (London, 1831), 203-4, 320-21, 41, 604-5 and Boaden, ed., *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the most Celebrated Persons of his Time*, 128-9, 295-6, 610-11. See also David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, eds, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ii (London, 1963), 595-7 and *ibid.*, iii, 950-51, 1277.

⁸ Garrick's contributions to the London stage have been intensely scrutinized by theatre scholars. Besides his 'naturalist' acting technique and his Shakespeare revival, Garrick revolutionized Drury Lane's lighting, set design, stage size, ticket pricing, audience seating, audience behaviour, production preparation (he began 'directing' actors in the modern sense) and budgeting. Two standard reference works are Allardyce Nicoll, *The Garrick Stage: Theatrical Audiences in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1975) and Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick, Director* (Pittsburgh, 1961).

⁹ Fiske emphasizes that Garrick, despite his preoccupation with acting, was keenly aware that musical theatre was essential to Drury Lane repertory. Nonetheless, apart from two pantomimes (*Queen Mab*, 1750; *Harlequin Invasion*, 1759), and the Clive burlettas, none of Garrick's musical ventures prior to 1760 (such as Arne's *Triumph of Peace*, 1749; Burney's *Alfred*, 1751; or John Christopher Smith's opera *The Fairies*, 1755) ran to more than a dozen performances, and the majority were flops. The failed productions included: the ballet version of *Acis and Galatea* (1749), Arne's comic operas *Don Saverio* (1750) and *Eliza* (1756), Boyce's *Secular Masque*

The music Garrick commissioned for his Shakespeare revival was an exception to this trend. Before shifting her focus to acting from 1750, Mrs Clive profited greatly from Garrick's willingness to introduce songs for her despite the sanctity of the text. Arne was the standard composer of this repertory, whose better-known examples, such as 'The Cuckow', entered the marketplace as 'Sung by Mrs Clive'¹⁰.

One anecdote regarding her Shakespeare music showed that her stature granted her not only opportunities to sing but the right to demand 'her composer'. Mrs Clive, having quarrelled violently with Arne, refused to work with him and insisted instead that Willem Defesch compose her music. Lacy and Garrick dutifully acquiesced to her demands. While this incident slips into a chronicle of Shakespeare music as a parenthetical incident, the practice it reveals is significant: the singer, rather than the manager, impresario, author or patron, could select the composer. Performers' control over their representation vastly increases if they can choose the artist through whom their persona is transmitted. That this option can have existed for a principal player reminds us that the mechanics of eighteenth-century star production on the London stage – who hires, who writes and who represents – remain largely hidden¹¹.

(1750); Burney's *Robin Hood* (1750), Defesch's comic opera *The London 'Prentice* (1753), the ballet *The Chinese Festival* (1755), and John Stanley's masque *The Tears and Triumphs of Parnassus* (1760). After 1760 he had more success, beginning with Smith's *The Enchanter*, as well as Arne's *Artaxerses* and *Love in a Riddle*. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto, 1973), 205-45.

¹⁰ Debuting in the role of Celia in *As you Like it* on 15 April 1741, Mrs Clive sang 'The Cuckow. Composed by Mr Arne and sung by Mrs Clive', thus published in a songsheet [GB-Lbl H.1994.a.(67.)] and in Thomas A. Arne, *Songs in the Comedies called As you Like it, and Twelfth Night* (London, [1741]). It was, as Cholij notes, one of the century's most popular airs. Other Shakespeare songs for Mrs Clive included: in *As you Like It*, 'Blow Winter. Sung by Mrs Clive'; in *Macbeth*, 'The Witches Song in the Tragedy of Macbeth' [by Richard Leveridge], I.595.(15.); in *Twelfth Night*, 'Tell me Where is Fancy Bred. Sung by Mrs Clive', in Arne, *Songs in the Comedies called As you Like it, and Twelfth Night*. When acting Ophelia's ballads, she presumably sang ballads in her mad scene, which were not transcribed. She also took 'vocal parts' for newly devised tableau scenes, such as the coronation scene in *Henry VIII* from 29 Dec 1744, the chorus in *Much Ado about Nothing* from 14 Nov 1748, and the 'Solemn Dirge' in *Romeo and Juliet* (the last set by Boyce) from 1 Oct 1750. On Arne's songs for *The Tempest*, see below. Irena Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions' (Ph.D. diss, Univ. of London, 1996), 23, 94.

¹¹ Charles Burney reported that: 'Mrs Clive after a quarrel and battle with Dr Arne, behind the scenes of Drury-lane theatre, would perform none of the doctor's music ... when he had new set the *Tempest*, and prepared for her

The last significant change to Mrs Clive's image, which remained relatively static after 1750, was her admission into high society. Horace Walpole, the fourth Earl of Orford and youngest son of the former Prime Minister, facilitated this transition. An avid opera- and theatregoer, the younger Walpole pursued contact with the actress from the late 1740s¹². He seems to have been impressed by Mrs Clive's self-assurance: in his first mention of her, he related admiringly how she had 'desired leave to harangue the Pit' because someone had pelted her with a half-penny and she 'couldn't stand to bear that'¹³. Very few pre-1760 letters or accounts of their meetings survive, but their bond during the latter part of her career grew into a renowned friendship: Walpole wrote the farewell epilogue for her glittering final stage appearance, and the press scrutinized their relationship¹⁴. From 1748 she began renting an

his charming part of Ariel 'Where the bee sucks', she refused to sing it, and employed Defesch to set the same words, and whatever else she had to perform in all her parts, which was a greater loss to the public, than disgrace to Dr Arne, who was as superior to Defesch in genius, as Mingotti was to Clive in the art of singing'. The 'battle' provoking Mrs Clive's intransigence towards Arne was described thus: 'One night Mrs Clive having undertaken a song in which she was imperfect: as she was given to be out of time as well as tune: at a hitch she calls out loud to the band, "why don't the fellows mind what they are about?". At the end of the Act Arne went up stairs to remonstrate against her insolence, when the only satisfaction he obtained was a slap on the face. In return, he literally turned her over his knee and gave her such a manual flagellation such as she probably had not received since she quitted the nursery; but as a proof she had made a good defence, he came back without his wig, all over blood from her scratches, & his long point ruffles torn and dangling over his nails'. Both stories appear in Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant, eds, *Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney, 1726-1769: Edited from Autograph Fragments* (Lincoln, NE and London, 1990), 63. Cited in Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', 77-8. As discussed at the opening of the last chapter, given the unreliability of the source, Burney or Arne may well have embellished extravagantly on the original altercation between Clive and Arne. Defesch's six songs for the *Tempest* – five for Mrs Clive – were used only one season; they are preserved in a unique print in the Westminster Public Library. Cholij disagrees with Burney's condemnation of the songs, which she finds contain 'beautiful lyrical writing'. Irena Cholij, 'Defesch's *Tempest* Songs', *Musical Times*, 127 (1986).

¹² One of his closest friends, Henry Seymour Conway, joined Lord Middlesex in the autumn of 1741 to help run the Italian opera company in London. Conway sought out Walpole's advice when the company faltered. Taylor, 'From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739-45'.

¹³ Walpole described this incident in a letter of 1 Oct 1741 to Lord Lincoln. Wilmarth S. Lewis and Robert A. Smith, eds, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Selwyn, Lord Lincoln, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Henry Fox, Richard Edgcumbe*, xxx (London and New Haven, CT, 1961), 26. The earliest record of Mrs Clive and Walpole socializing is in a letter to George Montague of 11 August 1748. Walpole's reference to Mrs Clive indicates that they were already close friends by this date Wilmarth S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, eds, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montague*, ix (London and New Haven, CT, 1941), 70.

¹⁴ In her last stage appearance, Mrs Clive played Flora in *The Wonder* by Mrs Centlivre, and Mrs Riot in *Lethe* by David Garrick for her benefit of 24 April 1769. Victor reported: 'All the Pit was taken in to the Boxes, and not half large enough to answer the Demand for Places – so numerous, and so brilliant, was the Audience on that singular Occasion'. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London from the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London, 1771), 139. Walpole's epilogue was reprinted in several publications, including the *Public*

abode on his Strawberry Hill estate, first inhabiting a cottage and then a house. She moved permanently to the latter after having acquired sufficient wealth to retire early¹⁵. The Clive-Walpole relationship was first celebrated publicly and graphically in a conversation piece – a genre of small-scale oils produced by and for the aspiring middle class – that depicted Walpole presenting Mrs Clive with a sprig of honeysuckle while relaxing outdoors on his estate (Fig. 8.3). Modern art historians have criticized the painter Arthur Devis for the exaggerated decorum of his subjects, and this work conformed to Devis's rigid conventionalism. Seated graciously in Walpole's seemingly endless garden, Mrs Clive accepts the homage of an English aristocrat whose circle she now graces¹⁶.

The Walpole-Clive relationship encapsulated many of the theatrical, ironic, and contradictory aspects of mid-eighteenth-century self-representation. For not only was Mrs Clive popular because of her fearless, and frequently rude, deflation of the pretensions of social types and specific individuals, but her most intimate friend epitomized the stereotype which she had for decades most mercilessly taunted: the homosexual fop. His biographer Timothy Mowl describes his subject as one of London's most high-profile queens. One of Walpole's contemporaries reported him walking 'like a peewit' with legs splayed out from his knees and stepping 'on tip-toe as if afraid of a wet floor'¹⁷. His obsession with opera, theatre,

Advertiser, 24 April 1769 and *St James's Chronicle*, 22-25 June 1769, as well as Walpole's 1769 autobiography *Short Notes of my Life*. Crean (1933), 373. An article containing side-by-side medallion portraits of the pair insinuated that Mrs Clive was Walpole's mistress. See Anon, 'Histories of the Tete-a-tete annexed. Baron Otranto and Mrs Heidelburgh', *The Town and Country Magazine*, 34-5 (1769), 618-20.

¹⁵ She initially rented a cottage at Marble Hill from around 1748, and Walpole first mentions Mrs Clive being installed in her second abode ('Cliveden') in a letter to Richard Bentley, 3 Nov 1754. Wilmarth S. Lewis, George L. Lam, and Charles H. Bennett, eds, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, xiii-xiv (London and New Haven, CT, 1948), 44, n. 298. Among the 'Persons of Quality' she met at Walpole's home (Lady Townsend, Lady Hertford, and Lady Hervey to name a few) was Lord Harcourt, with whom she also corresponded. Her letters to Harcourt are reprinted in Edward W. Harcourt, ed., *The Harcourt Papers*, viii (Oxford, 1876-1905), 166-77.

¹⁶ [Devis] conformed to convention in poses in a pronounced way ... It is likely that he consulted manuals of decorum such as F. Nivelon's *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour*, 1737'. Brian Stewart and Mervyn Cutten, *The Dictionary of Portrait Painters in Britain up to 1720* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 167.

¹⁷ Letter by Laetitia Hawkin; cited in Timothy Mowl, *Horace Walpole: the Great Outsider* (London, 1996), 52.

Fig. 8.3: Arthur Devis, *Horace Walpole presenting Kitty Clive with a Piece of Honeysuckle* [c1745]. Oil on canvas. By permission of the Courtauld Institute of Art.



fashion and design – he was a major figure in the English ‘Gothick’ revival – typified the predilections of the ‘Lord Bawbles’ whom Mrs Clive had frequently attacked in songs, dialogues and monologues throughout her career¹⁸.

Equally at odds with the genteel façade of the Clive-Walpole pairing was Mrs Clive’s ‘private’ temper. She had first been accused of being a ‘scold’ when she refused to fall in with the 1733 actors’ revolt at Drury Lane. Until 1746 she and her producers cunningly countered such accusations with reports of obedience, even in the face of eye-witness testimony to the contrary. But in that year her combustible nature escaped publicity control when, to the delight of the press, she openly locked horns with her new rival, Peg Woffington. Mrs Woffington, the former mistress of Garrick, was pursuing a ‘theatric nymph’ career strategy, wooing well-placed lovers, displaying her body in ‘pants roles’, and flaunting her illicit relationships¹⁹. The mutual hatred of the two actresses blossomed into a pitched battle one evening when Mrs Clive insulted Mrs Woffington backstage. The remark was perhaps the first dig at Woffington’s sexual liberty to pass into theatre annals:

Dame Clive and that lady [Peg Woffington] were ever at variance: Mrs Woffington coming into the green-room, after a favourite scene in [the pants role of] Sir Harry [in *The Constant Couple*], in high spirits, exultingly said to Mrs Clive – She had got so much applause, that by the living God! She

¹⁸ Walpole’s homosexuality had been passed over by earlier biographers. Mowl rightly points out that one can hardly grasp Walpole’s taste or interests without acknowledging his sexuality; he believes that Walpole planted the *Town and Country* allegation of a romantic engagement between himself and Mrs Clive to ward off suspicion of his sexuality amongst the reading public. If true, it was fruitless, and he was ‘outed’ in 1764 in a pamphlet war with William Guthrie. See *ibid.*, 177-82. The *Town and Country* article indeed countered allegations of unnamed improprieties with the Clive-Walpole relationship: ‘A set of the most infamous villains ... planned ... to make him suspected of a *certain crime* ... such insinuations must have been as groundless as they are infamous; and his present connexion with the amiable Mrs Heidelburgh [Mrs Clive] is a still farther proof of the real bent of his passion’. Anon, ‘Histories of the Tete-a-tete annexed. Baron Otranto and Mrs Heidelburgh’, 618.

¹⁹ Her disdain for conventional sexual mores provoked censure and sniggering during her lifetime and misty romanticism from her later biographers. This literature, and its historiology, is outlined briefly in *Biographical Dictionary*, ‘Woffington, Margaret’, xvi (1993), 219-20. The author of this article observes that ‘she took her lovers openly and dismissed them without qualm’. *Ibid.*, 219. Crouch notes that Mrs Woffington built up a following by ‘wearing breeches, speaking licentious prologues or epilogues, and specializing in particularly provocative roles’. Kimberly Crouch, ‘Attitudes towards Actresses in Eighteenth-Century Britain’ (D.Phil. diss., Univ. of Oxford, 1995), 107.

believed that one half of the audience took her for a man. – “O!” says Clive, *archly* – “do not be uneasy, as you are satisfied the other half know the contrary”²⁰.

Ex-theatre manager Owen Swiney, now a doddering Woffington fan, rebuked Mrs Clive, who slapped him; he returned the blow, and Mrs Clive’s usually submissive brother, Jemmy Raftor, leapt to his sister’s defence and was struck down by Swiney. Although printed verses described the blows being dealt chiefly by men, the iconographic representation of this incident made an impending or interrupted exchange of fisticuffs between actresses the focal point of the picture. As with the Polly row, a publisher supplied a representation of females in combat that had been denied to the spectator; this time, however, the event was revealed in a line engraving, *The Green Room Scuffle* (1746; Fig. 8.4). This print included a ballad, set to ‘Gossip Joan’ – the tune in *The Beggar’s Opera* used to lampoon the Cuzzoni-Faustina rivalry – with lyrics detailing the incident, and making the musical reference unmistakable by calling Mrs Woffington ‘Polly’, and Mrs Clive ‘Lucy’. The ballad writer emphasized that at issue was each actress’s strategy in star production: ‘To rise by *Wit* one chose, And t’other by her *Beauty*’²¹.

Even in modern scholarship, eroticised female combat may tempt publishers into falsely representing those involved. The article on Peg Woffington in the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses* (1993) contains an alleged pictorial record of ‘The Scuffle’, purportedly showing Mrs Clive and Mrs Woffington lunging at each other mid-

²⁰ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his own Life by Tate Wilkinson, patentee of the Theatres Royal, York and Hull*, i (Dublin, 1791), 31. This quip about Mrs Woffington first appeared in William Chetwood’s *A General History of the Stage* (1749); Chetwood’s omission of its source may have been to protect Mrs Clive, whom he favoured. The dig reappeared in various nineteenth-century sources, which attributed it to John Rich and to the actor James Quin, as well as to Mrs Clive. *Biographical Dictionary*, ‘Woffington, Margaret’, 202. The Woffington-Clive hostility was perhaps the most famous theatrical rivalry of its day; reportedly ‘no two women in high life hated each other more unreservedly than these great Dames of the theatre’. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, ii (London, 1780), 311.

²¹ Thomas Booth, *The Green Room Scuffle, or Drury Lane in an Uproar* (London, 1746). The verses, under the same title as the broadsheet, were reprinted in Timothy Silence, *The Foundling Hospital for Wit* (London, 1748), 17-20. Cited in *Biographical Dictionary*, ‘Woffington, Margaret’, 209. This source erroneously dates the ‘Scuffle’ according to the year of this publication; however, the event must have taken place at least two years earlier when the original broadside was issued.

Fig. 8.4: Thomas Booth, *The Green Room Scuffle*, 1746. Line engraving. By permission of the Bodleian Library.



THE GREEN ROOM SCUFFLE

OR,
DRURY LANE IN AN UPROAR.

To the Tune of Gossip Joan.

YE Peers, ye Gits, and Beauz
Who haunt *Pis, Box, and Gall'ry,*
Your Persons to expose
And shew your *Wits and Rail'ry,*
Little Boys

Ye Lads, that Soldiers are!
Ye gen'rous *keeping Cullies!*
Who, with lank Face and Shape,
At home set up for Bullies,
From Quib'ron,

Mourn, Mourn your late Disgrace,
That shut ye from behind bars!
For there we know's a place,
Where you much Sport may find Sirs
The Green Room

Koxana, on the Stage,
Wou'd but appear a *Baby,*
Shou'd she with *KATE* engage;
Yet she's Nought to a Lady
Call'd Pacey.

Of late these Nymphs fell out,
And had a dismal Scuffle;
D—g—s, who loves a Rout,
Ne'er met with such a Ruffle
From the D—

KATE, who was long ill-us'd,
Depended on her *Merit,*
But *Paco,* by all abus'd,
Said, She had only *Spirit*
Pretty Girl!

None knew from whence it rose,
But 'twas about their *Duty;*
To rise by *Wit* one chose,
And 't'other by her *Beauty;*
Both are Vain!

Who can describe the *Airs,*
The *Green-Room* Girls besiting,
The *Pride* and pleasing *Leazs*
When they're each other *twisting!*
artfull Nymphs!

Hear! The loud storm ascend!
Oh! Cruel to your *Hearing!*
Their different *Voices* blend,
And *Horseshoe* interfering
Poor B—n—y.

Paco, in a *rash Politic,*
At once began the *Battle;*
Says she, "You may be *right;*
" But this is *Tittle Tattle,*
Red-Fac'd B—ch!"

Now bristles bonny *Kates,*
All ready, fierce and *fery,*
"Such *Buzms,* cries she," I hate—
Could *DAVEY* e'er admire *Ye?*
PROSTITUTE!

"My *Beauty* Me defends,
Cries *leasly pretty Pacey;*
Whilld you abuse your *Friends;*
And so—no more—I beg you—
Hell's a Duchess!

Up starts a *grey-hair'd Sage—*
Says *Kate—"tis most provoking!"*
"Why shou'd you *rule the Stage?*
" Mind *Building, Pimping, Jeeking,*
Old Stage—Goat!

From this, sad *Work* ensued:
Old *Limeo* got a *clap, Sir!*
Which he return'd; quite *rude!*
And fell'd an *harmless Chap, Sir,*
Sad Jemmes.

"My *Child* shan't be abus'd"
Says limping *am'rous S—y;*
Though *Polly* me refus'd—
Shou'd you,—The *Devil's* in *Ye,*
Saucy Peg!

Oh! *L—er!* Then beware
How you such *Belles* do trust to;
For, tho' they speak you *fair,*
They treat you as a *Bufo,*
PLAYERS ALL!

Publihd Pursuant to Act of Parliament Jan. 29, 1745, by
G. FOSTER on Ludgate-Hill, and Sold at the Print and Pham-
plet Shops in London and Westminster.

battle, the latter with breasts bared (Fig. 8.5). This image, however, is not of these actresses, but of an (imagined) set-to between two rival stars of the next generation, Mrs Siddons and Mrs Yates. The Yates-Siddons bodies, like those of the earlier actresses, continued to nourish fantasies of Rival Queens intemperately giving reign to a lust for battle. This fantasy was adapted to iconographic templates, for the Yates-Siddons and Clive-Woffington 'Scuffle' shared both composition and symbols. In a continuing pattern of female (mis)representation, Mrs Clive and her colleagues over two centuries later continue to have foreign, and racier, likenesses superimposed on their own²².

The 'Green Room Scuffle' shattered any illusions about Mrs Clive's compliant nature. Anecdotes about her stinging wit, bellicosity, and arrogance came to dominate her late eighteenth-century reception²³. Yet the adage 'all publicity is good publicity' held true also for this period: spectators, including Walpole, adored her feistiness. In burlesque roles and epilogues Drury Lane chose to stress her confrontational nature, and their marketing strategy anticipated audience enthusiasm for this:

Ladies! I've had a Squabble with the Poet –
 About his Characters – and You shall know it.
 Young Man, said I, restrain your saucy Satire!
 My Part's ridiculous – false – out of Nature.
 Fine Draughts indeed of Ladies! Sure you hate 'em!
 Why, Sir! – My Part is *Scandalum Magnatum*.

....

This [epilogue] his Apology! – Tis rank Abuse –

²² The erroneously attributed picture is titled: "'The Green Room Scuffle' between MARGARET WOFFINGTON and CATHERINE CLIVE. Artist unknown'. *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Woffington, Margaret', 199. This engraving is in reality the line engraving *The Rival Queens of Covent Garden and Drury Lane at a Gymnastic Rehearsal* (n.d.), copies of which are housed in the Bodleian Library and the Harvard Theatre Collection. The card catalogue of the Harvard Collection of this engraving describes the *Rival Queens* thus: 'Scene showing a fist fight between Mrs Siddons of Drury Lane Theatre, and Mrs Yates an actress at Covent Garden Theatre...Folly, in a cloud hovering about Mrs Siddons, is holding a fool's cap over her head ... The shade of David Garrick hovering overhead in a cloud is about to crown Mrs Yates with a laurel wreath ...'. This description closely matches that of the *Green Room Scuffle*, found in the same catalogue: 'The scene represents a pitched battle between Kitty Clive and Peg Woffington in the green-room in the presence of members of the company. Folly in a cloud overhead is about to place a dunce's cap on the head of one of the contestants, while Garrick is holding a laurel wreath for the other'.

²³ Most famously in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his own Life by Tate Wilkinson, patentee of the Theatres Royal, York and Hull and Davies, Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*.

Fig, 8.5: Anon, *The Rival Queens of Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres at a Gymnastic Rehearsal* [n.d.]. Etching. By permission of the Bodleian Library.



A fresh Affront, instead of an Excuse!
 His own Sex rather such Description suits:
 Why don't He draw their Characters – The Brutes!
 Ay, let him paint those ugly Monsters, Men!
 Mean time – Mend We our Lives – He'll mend his Pen²⁴.

This epilogue from *The Jealous Wife* (1761) combined two characteristic Clive complaints: the despicability of men (particularly of male authors), and the insulting representation of women in English plays. The real 'poet' under attack – as opposed to the 'Young Man' who had adapted the play – was none other than her erstwhile publicity manager Henry Fielding, on whose novel *Tom Jones* the play was based²⁵. One could read the epilogue (by the adaptor George Colman), and its accusation of misogyny, as a retaliation for the denigrating 'nymphs' Fielding had forced her to enact during the early 1730s. This interpretation is complemented by an autograph poem dashed off by Garrick that reported Mrs Clive berating Fielding for forcing her to enact 'a Bawd' (presumably the obnoxious wife in *The Good-Natur'd Man*)²⁶. Double entendres aside, the monologue was consistent with others in which Mrs Clive railed against dramatists' ineptitude and their insipid or vulgar characterizations of women²⁷. When arrogance bred by star status led her to overstep

²⁴ Epilogue in George Colman, *The Jealous Wife. A Comedy* (London, 1761).

²⁵ The advertisement in the playbook reads: 'The use that has been made in this Comedy of Fielding's admirable novel *Tom Jones*, must be obvious to the most ordinary Reader'. Preface to *ibid*.

²⁶ 'Upon Mrs Clive's refusing to act the part of a Go-Between in one of Mr Fielding's Comedies: 'A Bawd! A Bawd! Where is this Scoundrel Poet?/Fine work indeed! By Heav'ns the Town shall know it:/ Fielding who heard and saw her threat'ning Eyes,/Thus answer'd calmly, prithee Clive be wise,/The Part will suit your humor, Taste and Size/You lye, you lye, ungrateful as thou art,/My Matchless Talents claim the Lady's part,/And all who judge by T[own] & G[o]ld agree,/None ever play'd the Gay Coquet like me./Thus said and swore the celebrated Nell,/Now judge her Genius – is it Bawd or Belle?'. David Garrick, *US-WS* W.b.47, 'Upon Mrs Clive's refusing to act ... in one of Mr Fielding's Comedies', fol.55 [autograph poem]. The play Garrick referred to was probably his one commission from Fielding, *The Good-Natur'd Man*. Hume believes that Fielding wrote the play around 1735, and revised it for Garrick in 1743; it was not produced until 1778 (as *The Father*). Hume (1988), 200-1, 62-4 and Wilbur L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, iii (New Haven, CT, 1918), 99-109.

²⁷ To cite a few of the most vitriolic, see her epilogues in *Caelia: or the Perjur'd Lover* (1733) [by Henry Fielding], *Art and Nature* (1738) [by James Miller], *Gustavus Vasa* (1739 [by Mr Ogle] and *The Author* (1757) [by Samuel Foote]. The last includes an attack on the *prima donna* Mingotti. These are available from the on-line database *English Prose Drama* and *English Verse Drama*. See also her introductory dialogue in James Miller, *An Hospital for Fools. A Dramatic Fable* (London, 1739).

politeness, audiences revelled in the bitchy humour her trespasses revealed; these had become part of a beloved and familiar ‘personality’.

What Clive and Walpole appeared to share was a position outside social and gender norms. They could both flout and manipulate codes of behaviour while remaining entrenched within the highest echelons of English society. Horace Walpole affectionately nicknamed Mrs Clive’s home ‘Little Strawberry Hill or Cliveden’ (Fig. 8.6), honouring presumably not only her name but also her 1740 performance at Cliveden for Prince Frederick. From 1769 until 1785 Mrs Clive and two of her siblings lived comfortably off of her savings on Walpole’s grounds, while she and the Prime Minister’s son amused themselves over gossip, card games, parties, and country walks. After she died, Walpole erected an urn in her garden inscribed with tender verses by him to commemorate her memory (Fig. 8.7)²⁸.

The Authorship of the Clive Phenomenon

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that those who wrote for Mrs Clive on the stage – composers or dramatists from the inception of her career – conceived their works with a view to the singer-actress’s technical strengths and to audience perception of her. Henry Carey shrewdly sized up the potential of his pupil, the traditions of the English stage and his own capabilities when fostering the young singer-actress’s career. His talents, and those of his protégée, lay in challenging norms while charming listeners. Although his interests predated hers, and his works put words and music in her mouth, his success depended upon her facility to convince audiences to trust that which was new. Her authority as a performer drew its strength from a consonance between her own voice and disposition and Carey’s musical, social and political ambitions. She could appear authentic in his roles not only because he

²⁸ The verses are reprinted in Paget Toynbee, *Strawberry Hill Accounts* (Oxford, 1927), 137.

Fig. 8.6:

Anon, 'Cliveden' or Little Strawberry Hill, [c1785]. Water-colour drawing. Reproduced in Paget Toynbee, *Strawberry Hill Accounts* (1927).

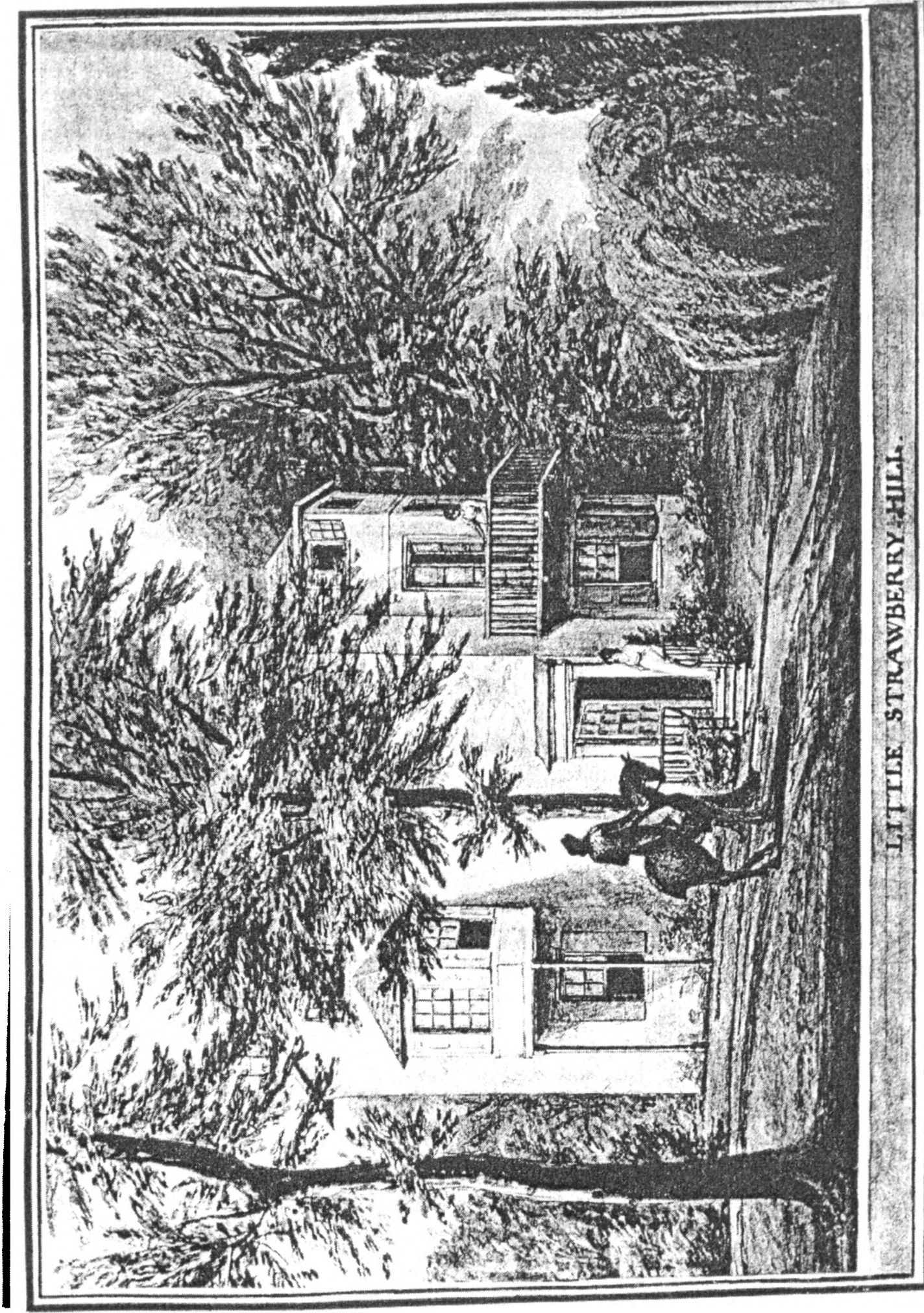
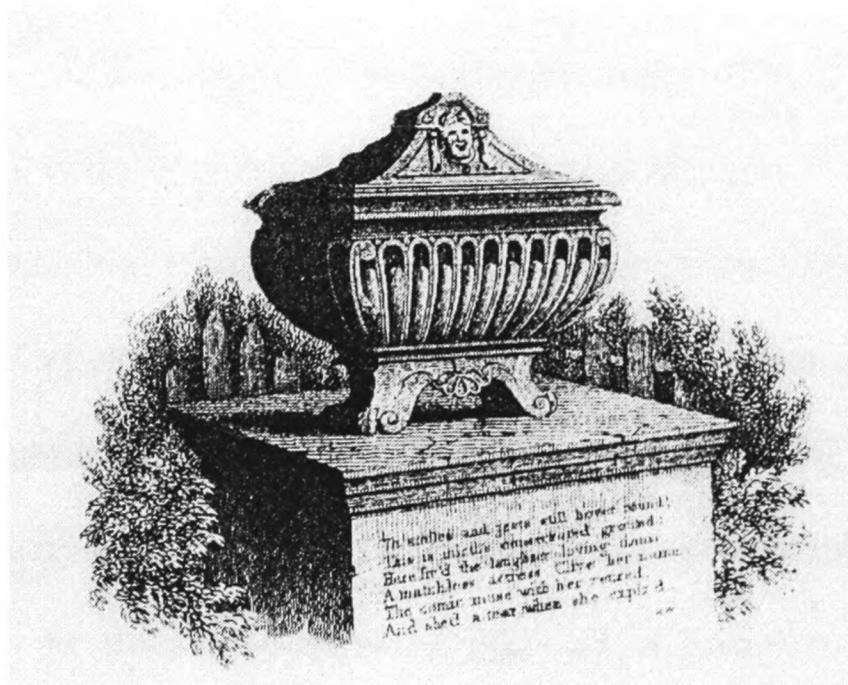


Fig. 8.7: Anon [*Commemorative Urn to Catherine Clive*], 1785. Stone sculpture. Reproduced in *US-Ws* PN2598 G3F5.copy 4. Ex.ill.v.16



Inscription by Horace Walpole:

Ye smiles and jests, still hover round;
 This is mirth's consecrated ground.
 Here lived the laughter-loving dame,
 A matchless actress, Clive her name;
 The comic muse with her retired,
 And shed a tear when she expired.

respected her strengths, but because he subordinated his craft to making her gifts and temperament materialize on stage.

In the glare of Henry Fielding's dazzling precocity, on the other hand, Mrs Clive faded from sight. For him, the performer was a *tabula rasa* to be filled with his own gyrating wit and Morphean projections. Her recourse lay in her venue: live representation could rescue her personality from the script; live singing could restore her voice to herself, and to her admirers. For herein lay the most enthralling aspect of the 'celebrated Mrs Clive': her impudent, rousing, distinctive, seductive, teasing and ultimately (to us) unknowable singing voice. Detested by critics of high art, beloved by those who could sing her tunes along with her, she astonished not by virtuosity but by force of personality in the voice. Her ballad songs, unmediated by technique, seemed to emanate from her body spontaneously, as did (seemingly) her character. She was the urbanite whose merit, although celebrated, was public property: familiar, unschooled and comprehensible to those who gazed on her success and dreamed of their own.

That Fielding's early imaging of Mrs Clive would fail seems inevitable. For he was confronted not only with her will to self-representation but with audiences clamouring for access to the object of their fascination: the multi-layered, evanescent performer. He had no recourse but to write to her performing strengths and to defend her decisions regarding theatrical politics. As publicity manager, his history was one of decline: unable to convert either actress or audiences to his impish 'Miss Raftor', he flourished briefly when servicing Clive skills, struggled to defend his and her common cause (box-office receipts), and was discarded once considered a liability.

The Polly row was the benchmark of her power: over theatre managers, over rivals, over detractors and ultimately, over her image. Even as her 'personality' spoke to audiences

through its immediacy, Mrs Clive remained alert to the theatricality that inhered to all public representation. An astute judge of how much and which kind of 'honesty' could win favour, she elicited fervent support through piecing together a version of herself that, although fabricated, was convincingly assembled. Her public responded not because her attitudes were correct, but because they were compellingly narrated: the truth lay in the voice telling the story, and the voice seduced its listeners. The Polly drama was operatic in its postures, and audiences were once again enchanted by the singer.

The Clive persona, once it had taken root in audience fantasy, faced demands for constant replays. Her presentations, whether in music, dialogue or monologue, appear on the page as tirelessly repeated tropes divorced from the exigencies of their dramatic framework. They are like a score whose notation could only be fully grasped and properly executed by the singer-actress for whom they were designed. The personality of the player lay in the gap between the printed cliché and audience satisfaction. There was only one performer who could entirely bridge this gap, and the moment Mrs Clive did so was the moment when she stood revealed.

SOURCE-READINGS: THE VOICE OF MRS CLIVE

Introduction

This dissertation ends with a series of excerpts in Mrs Clive's own voice.

Although the singer is lost to us, her letters, farces, *bon mots*, and behaviour transmit something of the 'personality' that fascinated her public. The selection aims largely to show her response to the formidable obstacles facing a mid-eighteenth century actress, and how she was willing to manipulate prejudices to her advantage.

The first, and longest, extract is a complex answer to the dilemma of image management during the period. The section is taken from her most successful benefit farce, *The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats* (1750), with music by William Boyce¹. Even its title was tongue-in-cheek: barred by her girth from sporting the breeches traditionally worn by actresses playing 'Bayes the poet', Mrs Clive penned a feminine version of this role². The farce is a dazzling *tour de force* that simultaneously problematizes and mocks the concept of public persona. The 'Clive' personality is split between three female characters: the 'poet' Mrs Hazard, author of the burletta to be rehearsed; Miss Crotchet (the youthful Mrs Clive) who, after admitting to inadequacies of which Mrs Clive had often been accused, auditions by singing Handel's 'Powerful Guardians of all Nature' (from *Alexander Balus*); and Marcella, the scolding shepherdess in the burletta. This kaleidoscopic self-representation is

¹ Peter Holman, who has recorded Boyce's music for this farce and prepared a performance edition (together with Roger Fiske and William Davies), concludes that the variants between the playbook and the music manuscript indicate a date of composition prior to the play. See the disc notes to Peter Holman, *Peleus and Thetis and Other Theatre Music* (Hyperion Records, 1997). Indeed, the manuscript bears none of the performers' names, and may not have been used for this production. See William Boyce, *GB-Ob MSS Mus c.3, 'Corydon and Miranda'*, ff.44-69. The lyrics of her remarkable final rage aria did not appear in the published farce, but given the absence of much of her music from playbooks, she may still have performed this scene.

² Her earlier debut in this trousers role – perhaps an attempted incursion into Woffington's line – had been a fiasco. Allegedly Theophilus Cibber had talked Clive into attempting Bayes so that she would humiliate herself publicly. See *The London Stage*, under DL 6 May 1743.

complicated by Mrs Hazard having contracted 'Mrs Clive' to perform. The poetess (Mrs Clive) complains bitterly about 'Mrs Clive', who fails to appear. Clive not only permeates but also controls this farce, simultaneously playing with the perception of her personality and reminding the spectator that this persona is constructed. The 'real' Mrs Clive always partly, but never fully, materialized on stage.

(1) *On the difficulty of self-representation for actresses on the London stage.*

From Catherine Clive, The Rehearsal: or, Bays in Petticoats. A Comedy in Two Acts (London, 1753)

Written by Mrs Clive. The Music composed by Dr. Boyce
London: printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-mall. 1753

Advertisement.

This little Piece was written above three Years since, and acted for my Benefit.- The last Scene was an Addition the Year after. Whatever Faults are in it, I hope, will be pardoned, when I inform the Public, I had at first no Design of printing it: and do it now at the Request of my Friends, who (as it met with so much Indulgence from the Audience) thought it might give some Pleasure in the reading. - The Songs were written by a Gentleman. I take this Opportunity to assure the Public, I am, with Gratitude and Respect,

Their most Obliged, Humble Servant.
C. Clive

p.10:

Witling: I'll swear, I believe *Mrs Hazard* can write a very pretty Play, for she has a great deal of Wit and Humour. - Wit and Humour! says he, why there is not ten Women in Creation that have Sense enough to write a consistent *N.B.*

pp.39-40:

Sir Albany Odelove ['A Gentleman immensely fond of the Muses']: I say *Madam*, will you give me leave, as you're going to entertain the Town, (that is, I mean, to endeavour, or to attempt to entertain them) for let me tell you fair Lady, 'tis not an easy thing to bring about. If Men, who are properly graduated in Learning, who swallow'd the Tincture of a polite Education, who, as I may say, are hand in glove with the Classics, if such Genius's as I'm describing, fail of Success in Dramatical Occurrences, or Performances (tis the same Sense in Latin) what must a poor Lady expect, who is ignorant as the Dirt.

pp.14-15:

Witling: But pray *Madam*, you say you are to call your new Thing, a *Burletto*; what is a *Burletto*?

Mrs Hazard: What is a *Burletto*? Why haven't you seen one at the *Hay-market*?

Witley: Yes; but I don't know what it is for all that.

Mrs Hazard: Don't you! Why then, let me die if I can tell you, but I believe it's a kind of poor Relation to an Opera.

Witling: Pray how many Characters have you in this thing?

Mrs Hazard: Why I have but three: for as I was observing, there are so few of them that can sing: nay I have indeed that are rational, for I have made one of them mad.

Witling: And who is that, pray?

Mrs Hazard: Why *Mrs Clive* to be sure; tho I wish she don't spoil it; for she's so conceited, and insolent, that she won't let me teach it to her. You must know when I told her I had a Part for her in a Performance of mine, in the prettiest manner I was able, (for one must be to these sort of People when one wants them) says she, *Indeed, Madam, I must see the whole Piece, for I shall take no part in a new thing, without chusing that which I think I can act best. I have been a great Sufferer already, by the Managers's not doing Justice to my Genius; but I hope I shall next Year convince the Town, what fine Judgement they have: for I intend to play a capital Tragedy Part for my own Benefit.*

Witley: And what did you say to her, pray?

Mrs Hazard: Say to her! why do you think I wou'd venture to expostulate with her? - No, I desir'd *Mr Garrick* wou'd take her in hand; so he order'd her the Part of Mad-woman directly.

pp.17-19:

Miss Crotchet: Why Mame -- I was inform'd as how that there was a new Play of your's Mame, a-coming out upon the Stage, with some Singing in't.

Mrs Hazard: Coming out upon the Stage (Lord! where could this Creature come from!) Well Miss.

Miss Crotchet: So Mame, I have a Desire, (not that I have any Occasion) but 'tis my Fancy, Mame, to come and sing upon the Stage.

Mrs Hazard: And a very odd Fancy I believe it is. -- Well, Miss, you say, it is your Fancy to sing upon the Stage, but pray, are you qualified?

Miss Crotchet: O yes Mame; I have very good Friends.

Mrs Hazard: This Girl's a Natural! -- Why, Miss, that's a very great Happiness; but I believe a good Voice would be more material to your Fancy; -- I suppose you have a good Voice.

Miss Crotchet: No, Mame; I can't say I have much of a Voice.

Mrs Hazard: Ha, ha, she's delightful! I am glad they let her in. Well, Miss, to be sure then you are a Mistress!

Miss Crotchet: Mame - what do you mean?

Mrs Hazard: Ha, ha; I say, I imagine you understand Music perfectly well.

Miss Crotchet: No Mame, I never learnt in my Life; but tis my Fancy.

Mrs Hazard: Well; but my Dear, as you confess you have neither Voice nor Judgement to be sure you have a particular fine Ear!

Miss Crotchet: Yes Mame, I've a very good Ear -- that is, when I sing by myself; but the Music always puts me out.

Mrs Hazard: Ha, ha. Well, Child, you have given an exceeding good Account of yourself, and I believe will make a very extraordinary Performer.

Miss Crotchet: Thank you Mame, Yes, I believe I shall do very well in time.

Witling: Pray, Miss, won't you favour us with a Song?

Miss Crotchet: Yes Sir; if you please, I'll sing *Powerful Guardians of all Nature*: I've brought it with me.

Mrs Hazard: Pray let's hear it. [*Miss sings*] O fie! Miss! That will never do; you speak your Words as plain as a Parish-Girl; the Audience will never endure you in this kind of singing, if they understand what you say: you must give your Words the *Italian* Accent, Child. - Come, you shall hear me [*Mrs Hazard sings in the Italian manner.*] There Miss, that's the Taste of singing now. - But I must beg you wou'd excuse me at present; I'm going to the Play-house, and will certainly speak to the Managers about you; for I dare believe you'll make a prodigious Figure upon the Stage.

pp.23-5:

Mr Cross [Drury Lane prompter, *in propria persona*]: Madam, *Mrs Clive* has sent word that she can't possibly wait on you this Morning, as she's oblig'd to go to some Ladies about her Benefit. But you may depend on her being very perfect, and ready to perform it whenever you please.

Mrs Hazard: *Mr Cross*, what did you say? I can't believe what I have heard! *Mrs Clive* sent me word she can't come to my Rehearsal, and is gone to Ladies about her Benefit! Sir, she shall have no Benefit. *Mr Witling*, did you ever hear of a Parallel to this Insolence? Give me my Copy, Sir; give me my Copy. I'll make *Mrs Clive* repent treating me in this manner. Very fine indeed! To have the Assurance to prefer her Benefit to my Rehearsal! *Mr Cross*, you need not give yourself the Trouble to set down any Places for me at your Benefit, for I'll never come into the Play-house any more.

Witling: Nay, my dear *Hazard*, don't you put yourself not such a Passion. Can't you rehearse her Part yourself? I dare say you'll do it better than she can?

Mr Cross: Why Madam if you'd be so good, as the Musicians are here, and the other Characters dress'd, it would be very obliging: and if you were to put on *Mrs Clive's* [habit], her Dresser is here to attend, as she expected her, and I believe it will fit you exactly, as you're much her Size.

Mrs Hazard: O yes; to be sure it will fit me exactly, because I happen to be a Head taller, and I hope something better made.

(2) *On the inadequacies and pretences of those who receive a male humanist education.*

From Catherine Clive, Every Woman in her Humour [1760]³.

Lady Di Clatter: Ah, dear I am might sorry for that. O Miss Gibberish, I have not seen you since you came from *Oxford*. How do you find yourself after having been at that frightful ridiculous place?

Miss Gibberish: For shame, for shame, Lady Di. How can you betray such an imbecility in the judicial faculty of your intellect as to rail at and depreciate that celestial nursery of literature from whence, I may say, are transplanted those divine luminaries that irradiate our hemisphere?

³ Transcribed in Crean (1933), 506.

Lady Di: Irradiate? O, my dear Ma'am, you have really set my teeth on edge by the delicacy of your dialect. But as to *Oxford*, it is the most dismal place I ever was in, in my life. I hate it and every creature that's there.

Mrs Croston: It is a wonder she shou'd not like *Oxford*, there are so many men.
(*aside*)

Miss Gibberish: My genius! Sure you know nobody in it, then. They are all men skill'd in the learn'd sciences, Ma'am, who can tell the number of the stars, their gradations, directions, retrospections, can tell –

Lady Di: Fortunes by coffee grounds, I suppose. Ha, ha!

3) *On the necessity for actresses to ensure their financial independence.*

From Catherine Clive to Jane Pope. Letter of 6 Oct 1773 [no.7]⁴.

Mrs Hamilton wrote me a very long melancholly letter to tell me of her distress, that she was so poor as to want a dinner and how do you think she wanted to extricate herself by desiring me to go a strolling for her and act for her Benefit at Richmond; I don't believe there was an instance of such a piece of assurance; I answered her letter and told her she might with more propriety have asked Mr Garrick to have played for her, as he continued on the stage and I had left - notwithstanding I am really sorry for her; this woman was but a few years ago in possession of nine pounds a week had all the great characters both in comedy and tragedy and chose to give up an article with five years to come because she had a quarrel with Mr Beard. Mrs Yates has taken the Opera House. O Tempora [!]

Let this be a lesson to my Miss Pope not to enter into schemes and to save every shilling. I must say before I quit this subject that while the publick are contributing so largely in a Benefit at each house for the support of decayed actors, that Mrs Vincent should be discharged and Mrs Hamilton should want a dinner is a most infamous shame. I wish I could have an opportunity of speaking to Mr[s] Vincent, I think I could give her a piece of advice that might be of service to her, it is impossible to write upon that subject I would have not contention with people I have done with, and thank God, you will pay two pence for these my Philosophical observations, which perhaps you will say is more than they are worth; the Post is going.

(4) *On the importance of being advertised in the play bills.*

From Catherine Clive to Jane Pope. Letter of 11 Dec 1777 [no.18]⁵.

I feel great indignation at their leaving your name out of the Bill for The Puppet Show. He [David Garrick] once served me so in *Lethe* there was only Lord

⁴ Catherine Clive, *US-Ws* W.b.73, 'Collection of Letters to Jane Pope'.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Chalkstone[‘]s name [played by Garrick]. I sent my footman to the house to know if Mr Garrick intended my scene to be done; he was frightened and came to me himself. I then told him if ever that happened again I would positively not come to the [play]house and let the public know the reason; that’s the way to deal with such mean wretches[;] it never happened again.

(5) *On the need for principal actresses to force theatre managers to recognize their status.*

From Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, ii (London, 1780), 190.

To Mr George Garrick, whom he [David Garrick] afterwards deputed to wait on her upon the same errand, this high-spirited actress was not much more civil; however she condescended to tell him that, if his brother wished to know her mind, he should have called upon her himself. When the manager and Mrs Clive met, their interview was short, and their discourse curious. After some complaints on her great merit, Mr Garrick wished, he said, that she would continue, for her own sake, some years longer on the stage. This civil suggestion she answered by a look of contempt, and a decisive negative.

He asked how much she was worth; she replied briskly, as much as himself. Upon his smiling at her supposed ignorance or misinformation, she explained herself by telling him, that she knew when she had enough, though he never would. He then entreated her to renew her agreement for three or four years; she peremptorily refused. Upon repeating his regret at her leaving the stage, she frankly told him, that she hated hypocrisy; for she was sure that he would light up candles for joy of her leaving him, but that it would be attended with some expense [a reference to Garrick’s stinginess]. – Every body will see there was an unnecessary smartness in the lady’s language, approaching rudeness; but, however, it was her way, as her friend Mrs Pritchard use to express it.

(6) *On the inferiority of foreigners, using King George II as an example of cowardice.*

From William Henry Pyne, *Wine and Walnuts or After-Dinner Chit Chat* (London, 1823)⁶.

[Mrs Clive] ‘I am inform in Germany, dat dere is a law in England vot give the hospands powers to pead [beat] his wive mid a gudgel as tick as his own thumb.’ ‘Shu! Shu!’ answered his Majesty, ‘Dere shall be no such absurd law found in the English codes. For what shall the Judges make a law so absurd, mine General; ven the

⁶ Transcribed in Crean (1933), 387.

English wives is the virtuous battern for all the wives in all the world? Mine General, dat is a vulgar prejudice!

'I am much honoured and much obliged to your Majesty. I would not put mine little finger upon a woman for to do her harm, for all the precious gems in Colgonda.'

'God forbid, mine General!' Responded the King 'You are a brave man – you are a brave man – and the brave will never put out his little finger, for to do no violence to women.'

'Den I am of opinion, your Majesty, dat the English ladies are the habbiest wives of all. For your Majesty's British subjects he is prave to a man. How well he fought in Flanders! – how well fought in –'

'Shu! Shu! Mine good friend, he fought well always, and in all times. He is never known in fear of one power.'

'Andt, may I venture to ask your Majesty, of whom is dat bower which he fears?'

'Well, will you keep a secret?' Said his Majesty placing his finger on his lips: then whispering – 'Mine general, it is his wife!'

Walpole, who was rarely seen to laugh, burst into uncontrolled mirth. 'Bravo, bravo' he exclaimed – upon my honour, Madam, a most happy impromptu! Prodigiously like the original indeed! Very like – very admirable! He pressed eagerly for another scene and Kitty rounded off the impromptu by continuing in the language of Shakespeare and stressing the divinity which hedged a king.

(7) On how working in the theatre industry demoralizes those employed there.

From Catherine Clive to George Colman, 16 Dec [1771]⁷.

The philosopher Stone, they say (when they can catch it) will turn every thing into gold; but I am sure the theatres may truly be said to turn every body's happiness (who has anything to do there) into anxiety, whether it is owing to their vanity and avarice not being easily satisfied I can't tell; than from the villainy of managers to actors; and the villainy of actors to managers, their anxiety is turn'd into vexation, and that most excellent Doctor Schonberg will tell you that vexation, and fretting are the great foundation for all Bilious Complaints. I speak by experience; I have been fretted by managers till my gaul has overflowed like the river Nile.

⁷ Catherine Clive, *US-Ws* W.b.472, 'David Garrick Scrapbook, 1741-ca.1816', 67.

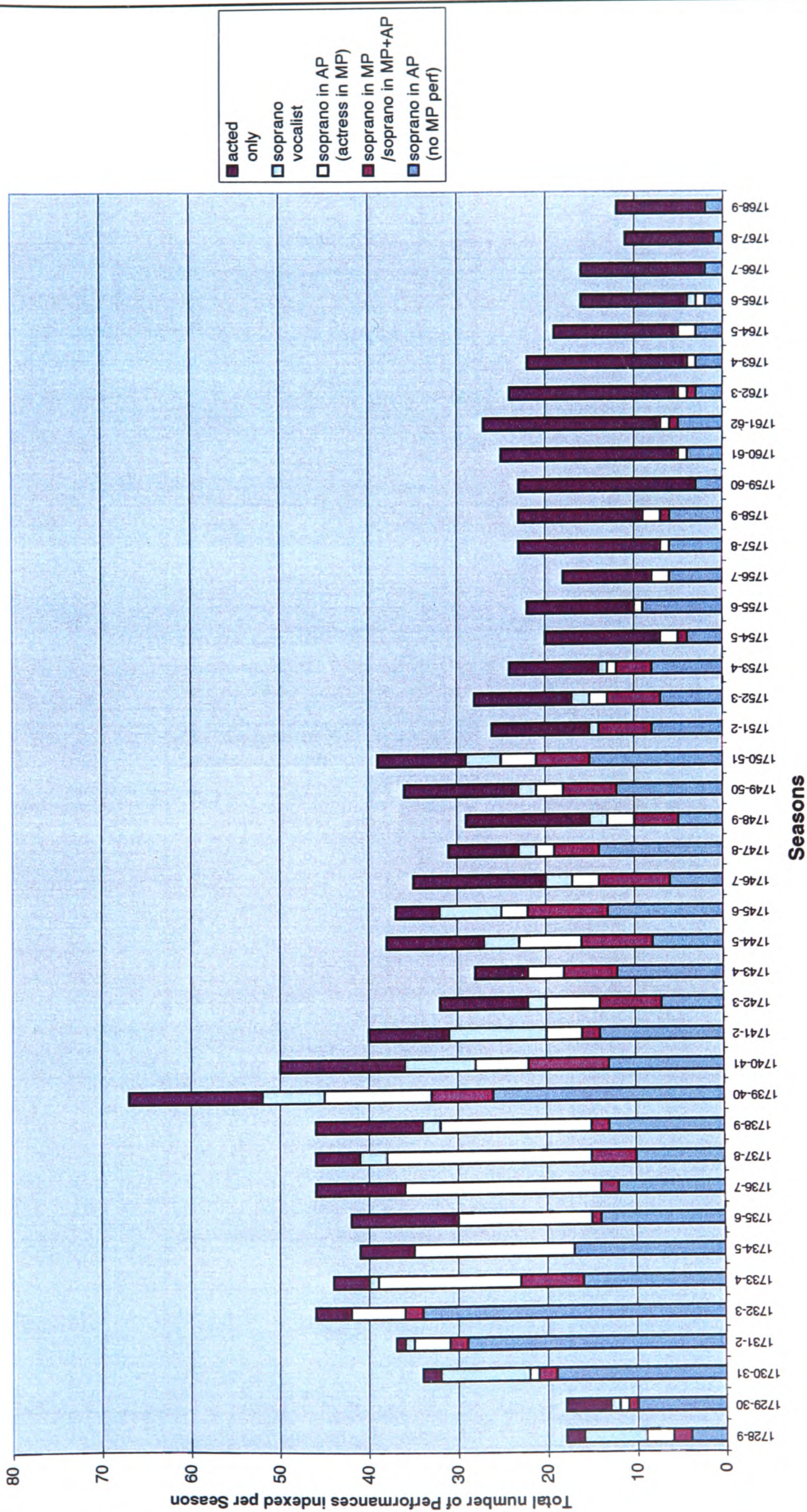
APPENDIX ONE**CATHERINE CLIVE'S STAGE APPEARANCES AS A SINGER**

The graph on the following page has been compiled from records of Mrs Clive's performances found in *The London Stage*.

MP = mainpiece

AP = afterpiece

CATHERINE CLIVE'S STAGE APPEARANCES AS A SINGER



APPENDIX TWO

LIST OF CATHERINE CLIVE'S ROLES AND MUSIC PERFORMANCES FROM
HER STAGE DEBUT UNTIL 1750

** = contains popular ballads

all performances at Drury Lane unless otherwise stated

genre designations for musical theatre taken from earliest available publication

boldface title indicates that entertainment included vocal music for Mrs Clive

Role Debut in Role	Work	Genre	Dramatist/ Composer	Additional Song
Immenea, a Page 13 April 1728?	<i>Mithradates, King of Pontus</i>	Tragedy [perf in addn song only]	Nathaniel Lee	'SONG, by Sr. Car. Scroop' (1736 play edn) [Henry Carey?]
Bianca 12 October 1728	<i>Othello</i>	Tragedy	Shakespeare	
Minerva 15 Nov 1728	<i>Perseus and Andromeda, with The Rape of Columbine</i>	Pantomime** [contains ballad 'Thomas, I cannot']	John Weaver/ Johann Pepusch	
Dorinda 2 Jan 1729	<i>The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island</i>	Comedy	William Davenant and John Dryden after Shakespeare	With all the Original songs [John Weldon and others] From 30 Oct 1729: Dorinda – Miss Raftor (with the Song of 'Dear, Pretty Youth', composed by Purcell)
Phillida 7 Jan 1729	<i>Love in a Riddle</i>	Pastoral**	Colley Cibber/ Henry Carey	
Honoraria 20 Jan 1729	<i>Love Makes a Man</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Rosella 6 Feb 1729	<i>The Village Opera</i>	Opera**	Charles Johnson after Dancourt, <i>Le Galant Jardinier</i> (1705) and Lesage <i>Crispin rival de son maître</i> (1707)	
Susan [vocalist] 10 April 1729	<i>The What d'Ye Call It</i>	Tragi-Comi-Pastoral-Farce	John Gay	With the usual song by Miss Raftor [Handel, 'Twas when the Seas were Roaring']
Valeria 1 May 1729	<i>The Rover</i>	Comedy	Aphra Behn	

Amphitrite 28 May 1729 [billed as Amphitrite from 7 June 1731]	<i>Neptune and Amphitrite</i>	Masque [in <i>The Tempest</i>]	William Davenant and John Dryden/John Weldon and others	
Bonduca 13 June 1729	<i>The History of Bonduca</i>	Tragedy	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher/ Henry Purcell	With the Original Songs set to Musick by Mr. H. Purcell
Phebe 13 June 1729	<i>Phebe, or The Beggar's Wedding</i>	Opera**	Charles Coffey	
Arethusa 20 June 1729	<i>The Contrivances, or More Ways than One</i>	[musical comedy]	Henry Carey/Henry Carey	From 27 Oct 1729: Additional Songs, and Dialogue proper to the Farce
Maria 15 July 1729	<i>Whig and Tory</i>	Comedy	Benjamin Griffin	
Phillida 7 June 1731	<i>Damon and Phillida</i> [one-act <i>Love in a Riddle</i>]	Pastoral farce**	Colley Cibber/ Henry Carey	CG 28 March 1744: In which characters will be introduced the Favourite Duetto <i>I Solomon...</i> by Mr Boyce
Vocal Part [Minerva?] 25 Oct 1729	<i>Perseus and Andromeda, or the Devil upon Two Sticks</i>	Pantomime	John Weaver/ Johann Pepusch (?)	
Night 10 Dec 1729	<i>Comical Distresses of Pierrot, with the Scene of Apollo and Daphne</i>	Masque [<i>Apollo and Daphne</i> pubd separately]	John Thurmond?/Henry Carey	
Miss Kitty 9 Jan 1730	<i>Humours of Oxford</i>	Comedy	James Miller	'The Provident Damsel. Sung by Miss Raftor in the Humours of Oxford', Richard Charke, <i>GB-Lbl</i> G306.(28.)
Rosella 10 Feb 1730	<i>The Chambermaid</i> [one- act <i>Village Opera</i>]	Ballad Opera**	Edward Phillips after C. Johnson	
Dulceda 30 March 1730	<i>Bays's Opera</i>	Opera**	Gabriel Odingsells	
Jenny 11 April 1730	<i>The Provok'd Husband</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber after John Vanburgh	From 30 April 1730: Jenny - Miss Raftor (formerly sung by Mrs Cibber) [Carey, 'What tho' they call me a country lass', 'Oh I'll have a husband', <i>Musical Century</i> , i (1737), 28, 43]
Serina 16 April 1730	<i>The Orphan</i>	Tragedy	Thomas Otway	
Prue 18 April 1730	<i>Love for Love</i>	Comedy	William Congreve	
Peggy 20 April 1730	<i>Patie and Peggy</i>	Opera**	Theophilus Cibber	

Isabella 13 May 1730	<i>Stage Coach Opera</i>	Opera**	after George Farquhar/Peter Motteux 1704 adaptation of La Chappell, <i>Les carosses d'Orleans</i>	
Fairy Queen 15 May 1730	<i>The Fairy Queen, or Harlequin Turned Enchanter</i>	Pantomime	Anon/Mr Surel	
Procris 28 Oct 1730	<i>Cephalus and Procris</i>	Masque	Henry Carey/Henry Carey	
Amie 8 Feb 1731	<i>The Jovial Crew</i>	Opera**	After Richard Brome, <i>A Jovial Crew</i>	
Miss Kitty Carrot 15 March 1731	<i>The What d'Ye call It</i>	Tragi-Comi-Pastoral Farce	John Gay	With the original song by Miss Raftor [Handel, 'Twas when the seas']
Nanny 20 March 1731	<i>The Highland Fair, or Union of the Clans</i>	Opera**	Joseph Mitchell	
Kalid [vocal part] 12 May 1731	<i>The Indian Emperor</i>	Tragedy	John Dryden/Henry Purcell	The Original Song set to Music by Henry Purcell perform'd in the character of Kalid by Miss Raftor ['I looked and saw within the Book of Fate']
Jenny 11 June 1731	<i>The Cobler's Opera, or The Amours of Billingsgate</i>	Opera**	Lacy Ryan	
Nell 6 Aug 1731	<i>The Devil to Pay</i>	Opera** one song Seedo	Charles Coffey after Thomas Jevon	
Urania 18 Aug 1731	<i>Triumphs of Love and Honour</i>	Play	Thomas Cooke	
Mrs Littlewit 30 Oct 1731	<i>Bartholomew Fair</i>	Comedy	Ben Jonson	
Chloe 1 Jan 1732	<i>The Lottery</i>	Farce**	Henry Fielding/Seedo 10 songs [plus 12 popular ballads]	
Cast not listed 17 April 1732	<i>The Ephesian Matron</i>	Ballad Opera** one song Seedo [from S. Johnson, <i>Hurlothrumbo</i>]	Charles Johnson	
Busy 20 April 1732	<i>The Man of Mode</i>	Comedy	George Etheridge	
Sprightly 3 May 1732	<i>Tragedy of Tragedies</i> [in new introduction]	Burlesque tragedy	Henry Fielding	
Margery 8 May 1732	<i>The Country Wedding and Skimmington</i>	Opera** Pepusch, overture	Essex Hawker	
Martin's Wife 12 May 1732	<i>A Comical Revenge, or a Doctor in Spight of his Teeth</i>	Ballad Opera**	After Molière, <i>Le medecin malgré lui</i>	
Kissinda 1 June 1732	<i>Covent Garden Tagedy</i>	Comedy	Henry Fielding	

Isabel 1 June 1732	<i>The Old Debauchees</i>	Comedy	Henry Fielding	
Dorcas 23 June 1732	<i>The Mock Doctor, or The Dumb Lady Cur'd</i>	Comedy**	Henry Fielding/Seedo (3 songs)	
Polly 11 July 1732	<i>The Beggar's Opera</i>	Opera**	John Gay	
Cast not listed 4 Aug 1732	<i>Rural Love, or The Merry Shepherd</i>	Pastoral Opera	Anon	
Flametta 17 Aug 1732	<i>The Devil of a Duke, or Trapolin's Vagaries</i>	Opera**	Robert Drury after Nahum Tate, <i>A Duke and No Duke</i> / one song Seedo	
Vocal part 28 Sept 1732	<i>Macbeth</i>	Tragedy	Shakespeare	Vocal Parts by Stoppelaer, Miss Raftor [Richard Leveridge, 'The Witches Song in the Tragedy of Macbeth', <i>GB-Lbl</i> I.595.(15.), n.d.]
Silvia 3 Oct 1732	<i>The Old Batchelor</i>	Comedy	William Congreve	
Vocal part 13 Nov 1732	<i>Henry VIII</i>	History play	Shakespeare	From 29 Dec 1744: Vocal parts for the Coronation Grand Procession [John F. Lampe, <i>The Grand Chorus...in the Coronation</i> (n.d.)]
Betty 6 Dec 1732	<i>Betty, or The Country Bumkins</i>	Musical Farce	Henry Carey/Henry Carey [after <i>Hanging and Marriage</i> , 1722]	
Leonora 9 Dec 1732	<i>Sir Courtly Nice</i>	Comedy	John Crowne	From 1 April 1731: The Mainpiece: With the Original Dialogue by Charke and Miss Raftor [Purcell?]
Belinda 11 Jan 1733	<i>The Man of Mode</i>	Comedy	George Etheridge	
Cicely 19 Jan 1733	<i>Wat Tyler</i>	[ballad opera]	Anon	
Cydaria 20 Jan 1733	<i>The Indian Emperor</i>	Tragedy	John Drdyen/Henry Purcell	
Jenny 29 Jan 1733	<i>The Boarding School</i>	Opera* Seedo 3 songs	Charles Coffey after D'Urfey, <i>Love for Money, or the Boarding School</i>	
Thalia 6 Feb 1733	<i>Judgment of Paris, or The Triumph of Beauty</i>	Pastoral Ballad Opera**	Anon	

Lappet 17 Feb 1733	<i>The Miser</i>	Comedy	Henry Fielding after Molière, <i>L'Avare</i>	'Provident Damsel' [Charke (1761 play edn)] From 15 Sept 1739: Lappet (with a Song, 'The Life of a Beau' [Carey], from the Farce of <i>The Coffee House</i>)
Miss Kitty 31 March 1733	<i>The Harlot's Progress</i>	Pantomime**	Theophilus Cibber	
Phillis 4 April 1733	<i>The Conscious Lovers</i>	Comedy	Richard Steele	
Deborah 6 April 1733	<i>Deborah, or A Wife for You All</i>	Farce [burlesque oratorio]	Henry Fielding/ Anon	
Cast not listed 30 April 1733	<i>The Mock Countess</i>	Ballad Opera**	After Breval, <i>Play is the Plot</i> and Centlivre, <i>Love's Contrivance</i>	
Mrs Fancifull 11 April 1733	<i>The Imaginary Cuckold</i>	[ballad farce]	Anon after Ozell trans. Molière, <i>Concu imaginaire</i>	
Phillis 5 May 1733	<i>The Livery Rake and The Country Lass</i>	Opera**	Edward Phillips	
Venus 7 May 1733	<i>Damon and Daphne</i>	Pastoral	Theophilus Cibber?	
Venus 21 May 1733	<i>Venus, Cupid and Hymen</i>	Masque	Anon/Seedo	
Doris 24 Sept 1733	<i>Aesop</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	
Estifania 1 Oct 1733	<i>Rule a Wife and Have a Wife</i>	Comedy	John Fletcher	
Cherry 5 Oct 1733	<i>The Beaux Strategem</i>	Comedy	George Farquar	
Diana 10 Oct 1733	<i>Harlequin Doctor Faustus</i>	Pantomime	John Thurmond and Barton Booth/ Henry Carey 2 songs	
Elvira 19 Oct 1733	<i>The Spanish Fryar</i>	Comedy	John Dryden	
Queen Dollalolla 7 Nov 1733	<i>Opera of Operas</i>	Set to Musick after the Italian Manner	Henry Fielding/John F. Lampe	
Miranda 21 Nov 1733	<i>The Busy Body</i>	Comedy	Susannah Centlivre	
Mercury and Aspasia 5 Dec 1733	<i>Timon in Love</i>	Comedy [with 17 songs]	John Kelly after de Lisle, <i>Timon misanthropel</i> /Anon	
Harriot 15 Jan 1734	<i>Author's Farce</i>	Farce**	Henry Fielding/Seedo (overture, 1 air)	
Lettice 15 Jan 1734	<i>The Intriguing Chambermaid</i>	Comedy**	Henry Fielding after Regnard, <i>Le Retour imprévu</i>	

Colombine 4 Feb 1734	<i>Cupid and Psyche, or Columbine-Courtezan</i>	Pantomime**	Anon [Henry Carey?]/John F Lampe and 1 song Henry Carey	
Flippanta 11 March 1734	<i>The City Wives Confederacy</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	CG 10 Dec 1744: in which character will be introduced the Song call'd 'The Life of a Belle' [Carey]
Edging 18 March 1734	<i>The Careless Husband</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Cast not listed LIF 4 April 1734	<i>Love is the Doctor</i>	Comedy	From <i>L'Amour Medicin</i> of Moliere. A new Comedy of One Act	
Desdemona 13 May 1734	<i>Othello</i>	Tragedy	Shakespeare	traditional ballad in final scene
Primrose 19 Oct 1734	<i>Mother-in-Law</i>	Comedy	James Miller after Molière, <i>La malade imaginaire</i> and <i>Monsieur de Pourceaugnac</i>	
Hoyden 7 Nov 1734	<i>The Relapse</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	
Country Lass, Spirit 12 Dec 1734	<i>Merlin, or The Devil of Stone-Henge</i>	Pantomime	Lewis Theobald/ John Ernest Galliard	
Miss Lucy 6 Jan 1735	<i>An Old Man Taught Wisdom, or The Virgin Unmasked</i>	Farce**	Henry Fielding	
Mrs Pinchwife 4 Feb 1735	<i>The Country Wife</i>	Comedy	William Wycherly	
Peg 25 Feb 1735	<i>A Cure for a Scold, or The Taming of the Shrew</i>	Ballad Farce**	James Worsdale after Shakespeare	
Maria 6 March 1735	<i>Man of Taste</i>	Comedy	James Miller after Molière, <i>Les précieuses ridicules</i>	'So the poor Sheep with fragrant flowers array'd' (1735 play edn) From 13 May 1738: Mainpiece: The usual songs by Mrs Clive... 'The Life of a Beau' [Carey]... 'The Provident Damsel' [Charke]
Ophelia 10 March 1735	<i>Hamlet</i>	Tragedy	Shakespeare	snatches of traditional ballads in mad scene
Lady Wou'dbe 13 March 1735	<i>Volpone</i>	Comedy	Ben Jonson	

Lady Fanciful 23 April 1735	<i>The Provok'd Wife</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	From 21 March 1748: With a New Scene restor'd... perform'd by Lowe and Mrs. Clive, the Original Dialogue set to music by Arne
Nell 6 May 1735	<i>The Merry Cobler, or The Second Part of the Devil to Pay</i>	Opera**	Charles Coffey	
Doll Common 15 Sept 1735	<i>The Alchemist</i>	Comedy	Ben Jonson	From 26 March 1739: End of Act I. A Ballad, call'd <i>Advice to the Tatlers</i> (by Desire) [Carey, <i>Musical Century</i> , ii (1741)]
Lady Froth 11 Oct 1735	<i>The Double Dealer</i>	Comedy	William Congreve	From 14 May 1736: With the Original Song in Character (Lady Froth)
Lady Sadlife 3 Nov 1735	<i>The Double Gallant</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Aurelia 3 Jan 1736	<i>The Twin Rivals</i>	Comedy	George Farquhar	
Flavia 20 Feb 1736	<i>The Connoisseur. A Satire on the Modern Man of Taste</i>	Comedy	Anon	
Clymene 28 Feb 1736	<i>The Fall of Phaeton</i>	Dramatic Masque	William Pritchard/ Thomas Arne	
Phaedra 6 April 176	<i>Amphitryon</i>	Comedy	John Dryden	
Biddy 12 April 1736	<i>The Tender Husband</i>	Comedy	Richard Steele	'Sung by Mrs Clive in the <i>Tender Husband</i> ', T. Arne, <i>Songs in As You Like It</i> (1741)
Principal vocalist 22 April 1736	<i>A Grand Epithalamium</i> [not incl. Arne worklist <i>New Grove Dictionary of Music</i>]	Musical Entertainment	Anon/Thomas Arne	A Grand Epithalamium. Principal Characters sung by Phillipa Palma, lately arrived from Italy, Miss Isabella Young, Miss Esther Young, Salway, Kelly, Waltz, Mrs Clive, Miss Jones
Isabella 23 Sept 1736	<i>The Squire of Alsatia</i>	Comedy	Thomas Shadwell	
Arabella 13 Oct 1736	<i>The Wife's Relief</i>	Comedy	Charles Johnson	

Ghost of Statira [vocal part] 22 Nov 1736	<i>The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander</i>	Tragedy	Nathanial Lee/Thomas Arne	Ghosts of Darius and Statira – sung by Stoppelaer and Mrs Clive [Arne, 'Ghosts..', <i>Songs in As You Like It</i> (1741)]
Wanton Wife 7 Dec 1736	<i>The Amorous Widow</i>	Comedy	Thomas Betterton	From 19 May 1739: With a new song in Character [Carey, 'Sung by Mrs Clive...in the Character of the Wanton Wife', <i>Musical Century</i> , ii (1740)]
Eurydice 19 Feb 1737	<i>Eurydice, or The Devil Henpeck'd</i>	Farce [with 9 songs]	Henry Fielding/ Anon	
Liberia 28 Feb 1737	<i>The Universal Passion</i>	Comedy [with 6 songs]	James Miller after Shakespeare, <i>Much Ado about Nothing</i> / Handel	
Narcissa 6 Sept 1737	<i>Love's Last Shift</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Laetitia 15 Sept 1737	<i>The Old Batchelor</i>	Comedy	William Congreve	
Olivia 14 Jan 1738	<i>The Plain Dealer</i>	Comedy	William Wycherley	
Miss Kitty 26 Jan 1738	<i>The Coffee House</i>	Dramatick Piece [with 5 songs]	James Miller after J.B. Rousseau's <i>Le Caffé</i> /Henry Burgess and Henry Carey	
Violetta 16 Feb 1738	<i>Art and Nature</i>	Comedy	James Miller after de la Drévetière's <i>L'Arlequin Sauvage</i> and Rousseau's <i>Le Flatteur</i>	
Miss Kitty 23 Feb 1738	<i>Sir John Cockle at Court</i>	Dramatick Tale [with 3 songs]	Robert Dodsley/ Anon	
Principal Vocalist 3 March 1738	<i>Benefit Concert Master Ferg</i>	Concert	Composed by Mr. Handel and other eminent Masters, and taken from the favourite Operas	
Euphroysne 4 March 1738	<i>Comus</i>	Masque	John Dalton after Milton/Thomas Arne	
Viletta 14 Nov 1738	<i>She Would and she would Not</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Principal Vocalist 30 Nov 1738	<i>The Pilgrim</i>	Comedy	John Fletcher	Dialogue set to Musick by Purcell and performed by Beard and Mrs Clive

Hillaria 9 Dec 1738	<i>Tunbridge Walks, or The Yeoman of Kent</i>	Comedy	Thomas Baker	
Ann Lovely 13 Jan 1739	<i>A Bold Stroke for a Wife</i>	Comedy	Susanna Centlivre	
Loveit 3 Feb 1739	<i>The Man of Mode</i>	Comedy	George Etheridge	
Miss Notable 13 March 1739	<i>The Lady's Last Stake</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	From 16 April 1740: Miss Notable (with a Song)
Daughter 15 Nov 1739	<i>An Hospital for Fools</i>	Dramatic Fable [with 5 songs]	James Miller after William Walsh, <i>Aesculapius</i> / Thomas Arne	'Prince unable to conceal his pain' [Handel, <i>Alexander's Feast</i> (1739 play edn)] Additional song: 'How smoothly glides the fool', T. Arne (1739 play edn)
The Chances Second Constantia 23 Nov 1739	<i>The Chances</i>	Comedy	Duke of Buckingham	
Miss Kitty 31 Dec 1739	<i>Britons, Strike Home, or The Sailor's Rehearsal</i>	Farce [with 18 songs]	Edward Phillips/Henry Purcell and Anon	
Allegro LIF [btw] 19 Jan-4 Feb 1740 CG 18 March 1743	<i>L'Allegro, il penseroso ed il moderato</i>	Ode	Charles Jennens after Milton/ Handel	
Millamant 17 March 1740	<i>The Way of the World</i>	Comedy	William Congreve	In which Character will be introduced the Original Song, the Words by Mr Congreve, and new set to Musick by Mr. Handel ['Love's but the Frailty of the Mind']
Rosamond 8 March 1740	<i>Rosamond</i>	Opera	Joseph Addison/Thomas Arne	
Miss Lucy 15 April 1740	<i>Lethe</i>	Dramatic Satire [with songs]	David Garrick after Miller, an <i>Hospital for Fools</i> / Thomas Arne	In which will be introduced particularly 'The Life of a Belle' &c in Imitation of the 'Life of Beau', by Mrs Clive [Carey]
Shepherdess 28 July 1740 Cliveden 1, 2 Aug 1740	<i>Alfred</i>	Masque	James Thomson and David Mallet/ Thomas Arne	
Manto [vocal part] 19 Nov 1740	<i>Oedipus, King of Thebes</i>	Tragedy	John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee after Sophocles	With the Hymn to Apollo
Emilia 29 Nov 1740	<i>A Fond Husband</i>	Comedy	Thomas D'Urfey	With 2 new songs

Celia 20 Dec 1740	<i>As you Like it</i>	Comedy	Shakespeare/ Thomas Arne	Songs set by Arne. Vocals in the Play to be performed, as originally, by Lowe and Mrs Clive [‘When Daises pied’, <i>Songs in As You Like It</i> (1741); ‘Blow Winter. Sung by Mrs Clive’ <i>GB-Lbl</i> H.1606.b.(110.)]
Olivia 15 Jan 1741	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	Comedy	Shakespeare/ Thomas Arne	Olivia (with songs proper) [‘Tell me where is fancy bred’, <i>Songs in As You Like It</i> (1741)]
Lady Townly 2 Feb 1741	<i>The Provok’d Husband</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Portia 14 Feb 1741	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Comedy	Shakespeare/ Thomas Arne	
Bessy 3 April 1741	<i>Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green</i>	Dramatic Tale [with 9 songs]	Robert Dodsley/ Thomas Arne	
Lady Lurewell 4 Jan 1742	<i>The Constant Couple</i>	Comedy	George Farquhar	
Pallas 12 March 1742	<i>The Judgment of Paris</i>	Masque	William Congreve/ Thomas Arne	
Principal Vocalist? Cast not listed 12 March 1742 17 April 1742	<i>Alexander’s Feast</i>	Ode	John Dryden/ Handel	
Miss Lucy 6 May 1742	<i>Miss Lucy in Town, a Sequel to the Virgin Unmasked</i>	Farce [with 8 songs]	Henry Fielding/ Thomas Arne	From 26 May 1742: ‘Mrs Clive mimics the Muscovita admirably’ (Horace Walpole; cited in <i>The London Stage</i>)
Dalila CG 18 Feb 1743	<i>Samson</i>	Oratorio	Newburgh Hamilton after Milton/Handel	
Miss Kitty 3 March 1743	<i>The Lying Valet</i>	Comedy	David Garrick	
Vocalist CG 23 March 1743	<i>Messiah</i>	Oratorio	Charles Jennens/ Handel	
Bayes 6 May 1743	<i>The Rehearsal</i>	Comedy	Duke of Buckingham	
Hero CG 26 Dec 1743	<i>The Necromancer, Harlequin Dr. Faustus</i>	Pantomime	Lewis Theobald/John Galliard	
Rhodope CG 14 Feb 1744	<i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i>	Opera	Lewis Theobald/ John F. Lampe	
Vocalist CG CG 8 March 1744	<i>Abra-Mule</i>	Tragedy	Joseph Trapp	Songs proper to the play Beard and Mrs Clive
Morayma 12 March 1744	<i>Don Sebastian, King of Portugal</i>	Tragedy	John Dryden	

Philander Crown and Anchor Tavern, 21 March 1744 CG 6 March 1745 DL April 1746	<i>Love and Friendship</i>	Pastoral English Opera	Anon/Willem Defesch	
Principal vocalist [with John Beard] HM 2 Nov 1744	<i>Benefit Concert for Catherine Clive</i>	Concert	Programme not advertised	
Vocalist CG 29 Dec 1744	<i>Henry VIII</i>	History play	Shakespeare	Vocal Parts from the coronation scene procession
Principal vocalist CG 20 March 1745	<i>Joseph</i>	Oratorio	Anon/ Willem Defesch	
Berinthia CG 2 April 1745	<i>The Relapse</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	
Margaret Sung by Mrs Arne 15 April 1745 No entry for Mrs Clive in <i>The London Stage</i> , but listed in <i>Dramatis Personae</i> (1745 play edn)	<i>King Pepin's Campaign</i>	Burlesque Opera	William Shirley/ Thomas Arne	
Melissa CG 20 April 1745	<i>Timon of Athens</i>	Drama	Thomas Shadwell after Shakespeare	
Kitty CG 22 April 1745	<i>What d'Ye call it</i> [not incl. Lampe worklist <i>New Grove Dictionary of Music</i>]	Farcical Opera	John Gay/John F. Lampe	<i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 3 April 1745: The songs added to the farcical opera call'd the <i>What D'Ye Call It</i> to be performed tomorrow night the music, which is entirely new, and compos'd by Mr Lampe.
Ariel [with 5 songs] 31 Jan 1746	<i>The Tempest</i>	Comedy	Shakespeare/ Willem Defesch and Thomas Arne	Willem Defesch, [6] <i>Songs in the Tempest</i> (1746)
Colombine 3 March 1746	<i>Harlequin Incendiary, or The Colombine Cameron</i>	Pantomime	Anon/Thomas Arne	Colombine (with proper songs)
Melantha 10 March 1746	<i>The Comical Lovers, or Marriage a la Mode</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber after Dryden	With songs proper to the character, particularly a Mimic Italian Song
Lucinda 13 March 1746	<i>The She Gallants</i>	Comedy	Lord Landsdowne/ Thomas Arne	With the Original Songs...to be sung by Mr. Lowe [and] Mrs. Clive'
Victoria 4 April 1746	<i>The Lying Lover or the Ladies Friendship</i>	Comedy	Richard Steele	

Sophronia 28 Nov 1746	<i>The Refusal</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Vocalist 15 Dec 1746	<i>Theodosius</i>	Tragedy	Nathanial Lee	Original Songs new set by Arne to be sung by Lowe, Sullivan, Reinhold Mrs Clive, Mrs Mozeen and others
Queen Elinor 10 Jan 1747	<i>Rosamond</i>	Opera	Joseph Addison/Thomas Arne	
Lillia-Bianca 7 March 1747	<i>The Wild Goose Chase</i>	Comedy	John Fletcher/ Thomas Arne	In which character will be introduc'd proper songs
Margerina 7 March 1747	<i>The Dragon of Wantley</i>	Burlesque Opera	Henry Carey/ John F. Lampe	To be performed in a burlesque manner
Betty 30 March 1747	<i>Marry or Do Worse</i>	Comedy	William Walker	
Thetis Swans Tavern 29 April 1747	<i>Peleus and Thetis</i>	Masque	George Granville/ William Boyce	
Lady Francis 5 May 1747	<i>Provok'd Wife</i>	Comedy	John Vanburgh	
Tag 24 Oct 1747	<i>Miss in her Teens, or the Medley of Lovers</i>	Comedy	David Garrick after Dancourt, <i>La Parisienne</i>	
Mrs Riot 2 Jan 1748	<i>Lethe</i>	Dramatic Satire [with 3 songs]	David Garrick after Miller, <i>An Hospital for Fools</i> /Thomas Arne and William Boyce	'Sings fantastically in Italian' (1749 play edn)
Lady Wronghead 1 Oct 1748	<i>The Provok'd Husband</i>	Comedy	Colley Cibber	
Vocal Part 14 Nov 1748	<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	Comedy	Shakespeare/ Thomas Arne	The musical Parts by Mr Beard, Mr Reinhold, Mrs Clive and others
Shepherdess 21 Feb 1749	<i>The Triumph of Peace</i>	Masque	Robert Dodsley/ Thomas Arne,	
Clarinda 13 March 1749	<i>The Suspicious Husband</i>	Comedy	Benjamin Hoadley	
Lady Harriet 21 Nov 1749	<i>The Funeral; or Grief a la Mode</i>	Comedy	Richard Steele	
Lady Squeamish 22 Jan 1750	<i>Friendship in Fashion</i>	Comedy	Thomas Otway	
Mrs Hazard Marcella 15 March 1750	<i>The Rehearsal, or Bayes in Petticoats</i>	Comedy [with burletta 'Corydon and Miranda']	Catherine Clive/ William Boyce	'Sings in the Italian manner' (1753 play edn)
Pastora 2 Dec 1749	<i>The Chaplet</i>	Musical Entertainment	Moses Mendez/ William Boyce	
Clarice 15 Feb 1750	<i>Don Saverio</i>	Musical Drama	Thomas Arne/ Thomas Arne	

Vocal Part 1 Oct 1750	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	Tragedy	Shakespeare/ William Boyce	Additional scene representing the Funeral Procession to the Monument of the Capulets
Diana 30 Oct 1750	<i>The Secular Masque</i>	Masque	John Dryden/ William Boyce	

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX THREE: TABLE OF HANDEL MELODIES IN BALLAD OPERAS, 1728-1750

This Table is an incomplete reconstruction of the presence of Handel's music in English ballad opera. Several challenges inhibit the compilation a complete Table.

First, there is no modern bibliography of ballad operas. The *English Short Title Catalogue* electronic database (ESTC) records various items unknown to Edmond Gagey, the only bibliographer to date of this repertory¹. Until a complete bibliography is compiled using modern academic resources, no definitive list of Handel melodies in ballad opera is possible.

Second, ballad opera song titles generally did not indicate the composer. Italian titles showed that the melody stemmed from productions in Italian, and these airs were usually, but not always, by Handel. His melodies could also appear under generic labels such as 'Minuet'. Whether Handel's music was used for such songs cannot be determined in ballad opera editions without notated music. Handel's English songs appeared alongside other indigenous airs from which they were indistinguishable by title.

Third, when producers revised ballad operas – a common practice even for unpopular works – they usually modified the music. A comprehensive survey of Handel's airs in ballad operas would require a study not only of all the ballad operas performed or written during the period, but of their subsequent versions as well.

Such a task lies beyond the scope of this study. The Table below seeks only to indicate roughly the extent to which Handel's music had infiltrated 'low style' English musical theatre. It addresses four separate queries: 1) whether audiences could, through earlier editions, identify Handel as the composer of the melody; 2) approximately how often the ballad opera featuring Handel's music was performed; 3) approximately how many editions of ballad operas with Handel's music circulated; and 4) which tunes paraded as Handel's but have not been identified as such by scholars.

To compile the table, I have complemented Edmond Gagey's 1937 bibliography of ballad operas with searches in the *English Short Title Catalogue*. The ballad operas are listed according to the chronology of their performance. Under each Handel melody, the ballad operas featuring that tune are also listed chronologically. All publications were issued in London, unless otherwise stated; where no act number is indicated, the ballad opera consisted of one act only. Full publication details of ballad operas are available from the *English Short Title Catalogue*. Publication information on Handel's music is available either under the relevant *Werkverzeichnis* in the *Handel-Handbuch* or in William Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue*². Please note that while Handel's Italian arias appeared initially in the editions cited in the Table, these melodies were more widely disseminated via songsheets and music miscellanies, which are listed in Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue* under the opera from which the aria was taken.

¹ 'Bibliography of Ballad Operas', Edmond M. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York, 1937), 237-44.

² Bernd Baselt and Siegfried Flesch, eds, *Händel-Handbuch: gleichzeitig Supplement zu Hallische Händel-Ausgabe (Kritische Gesamtausgabe)*, i-iii (Kassel, Tours, London, Basel, 1978-86) and William C. Smith, *Handel: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970).

APPENDIX THREE

TABLE OF HANDEL MELODIES IN BALLAD OPERAS, 1728-1750

<i>Earliest published title/ Earliest published Handel attribution</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Ballad Opera (debut)</i> * = playbook edn incl. notated music [first issue]	<i>Air number/Title in playbook</i>	<i>Ballad Opera Performances, 1728-1750</i> *over 10 perfs **over 50 perfs ***over 100 perfs	<i>Playbook editions, 1728-1750</i> [incl. reprints, re-issues] * separate music edn also issued
Where no publisher is indicated, air was issued as songsheet. All music published in London.					
'Overture' in <i>Songs in the Opera of Rinaldo</i> (J. Walsh, 1711)	<i>Rinaldo</i> (QT 1711) HWV 7	John Gay, <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> (LIF 1728)*	Act II, air 20 'March in <i>Rinaldo</i> with Drums and Trumpets'	*** [over 500 perfs]	50
		[Robert Baker], <i>A Rehearsal of a New Ballad-Opera... call'd the Mad-House</i> (LIF 1737)	Act II, air 14 'March in <i>Rinaldo</i> '		2
'Sung in the Comick Tragick Pastoral Farce, or <i>What D'ye Call It</i> [by John Gay]' (c1725)	The faithful Maid/The melancholy Nymph: Twas when the seas were roaring HWV 228/19	John Gay, <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> (LIF 1728)*	Act II, air 28 'Twas when the sea was roaring'	*** [over 500 perfs]	50
		Henry Fielding, <i>The Author's Farce</i> (HM 1730)*	Act III, air 5 'Twas when the seas were roaring'		6
		<i>The Wanton Jesuit</i> (HM 1732) [pubd 1731]	Act III, air 20 'Twas when the Seas was roaring'		1
'The faithful Maid. Set by Mr Handel', <i>Musical Miscellany</i> , ii (John Watts, 1729), 94.		<i>Intriguing Courtiers</i> [with] <i>an Interlude... The Marriage Promised</i> (1732)	[in interlude] Air 2 'Twas when the Seas was Roaring'	pubd not perf	3
		<i>The Humours of the Court</i> (1732)	Act III, air 17 'Twas when the Seas were roaring'	pubd not perf	2

<p>'A Trumpet Minuet', <i>The Lady's Banquet</i> (J. Walsh, J. Hare, [1720]), Lesson 2.</p> <p>'Phillis the Lovely...set to a Trumpet Minuet of Mr Handell's' ([1725]); 'Thyrsis afflicted with Love...' ([1725])</p>	<p>Suite II D-Major Nr 13 HWV 349 [Water Music]</p>	<p>John Gay, <i>Polly</i> (1729)* Ebenezer Forrest, <i>Momus turn'd Fabulist</i> (LIF 1729)*</p>	<p>Act II, air 28 'Minuet' Act I, air 27 [untitled]</p>	<p>pubd not perf *</p>	<p>12 4</p>
<p>'A Minuet for the French Horn by Mr Handell', <i>The Lady's Banquet</i> (J. Walsh, J. Hare, [1720]), Lesson 1.</p> <p>'Hark how the Trumpet sounds. The Soldier's Call to War. Set to the French Horn Minuet' ([1720])</p>	<p>Suite I F-Major Nr 7 HWV 348 [Water Music]</p>	<p>John Gay, <i>Polly</i> (1729)* [after Christopher Bullock], <i>Love and Revenge, or the Vintner outwitted</i> (HM 1729)</p>	<p>Act I, air 19 'Trumpet Minuet' Act I, air 2 'Trumpet Minuet'</p>	<p>pubd not perf</p>	<p>12 1</p>
<p>'The Words by Mr Benj. Griffin. To a Minuet. As on a Sunshine Day Summer's Day', <i>Musical Miscellany</i>, ii (John Watts, 1729), 39-41</p> <p>No.6 A <i>General Collection of Minuets...compos'd by Mr Handel</i> (J. Walsh, J. Hare, J. Young, 1729), 3.</p>	<p>As on a Sunshine Day Summer's Day HWV 228/3</p>	<p>Charles Johnson, <i>The Village Opera</i> (DL 1729)* Edward Phillips, <i>The Chamber-Maid</i> (DL 1729)* [one-act version of <i>The Village Opera</i>] <i>The Footman</i> (GF 1732)</p>	<p>Act III, air 50 'Mons. Denoyer's Minuet' Air 20 'Handell's Menuet' Act II, air 41 'Denoyer's Minuet' Act I, air 4 'Handel's Minuet' [?]</p>	<p>pubd not perf not known</p>	<p>3 2 1 2</p>
<p>'O caro spene' [sic] in <i>Floridante. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh and Joseph Hare, 1722)</p>	<p><i>Floridante</i> (KT 1721) HWV 14 ['O caro speme' HWV A15 (9a-9b)] No Handel source found</p>	<p>[Adam Thomson], <i>The Disappointed Gallant</i> (New Theatre, Edinburgh, 1738) Charles Coffey, <i>The Female Parson</i> (HM 1730)*</p>	<p>Act II, air [1] 'O caro spene'</p>	<p>pubd not perf</p>	<p>1</p>
		<p>Charles Coffey, <i>The Female Parson</i> (HM 1730)*</p>	<p>Act III, air 6 'Hendal's Hornpipe'</p>		<p>1</p>

'Overture' in <i>Otho. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1723)	<i>Ottone</i> (KT 1723) HWV 15	Charles Coffey, <i>The Female Parson</i> (HM 1730)*	Act III, air 9 'Gavot in Otho'	1
'Strephon's Complaint of love. Set by Mr Handel' ([1730])	Strephon's Complaint of Love: Oh cruel Tyrant Love HWV 228/14	James Ralph, <i>The Fashionable Lady</i> (GF 1730)*	Act II, air 25 'O cruel tyrant love'	1
'Strephon's Complaint of love. Set by Mr Handel', <i>Musical Miscellany</i> , iv (John Watts, 1730), 137-9.			*	
'Charming is your shape and air' ([1720])	The Polish Minuet or Miss Kitty Grevil's Delight: Charming is your shape and air HWV 228/5	[after Richard Brome], <i>A Jovial Crew, or The Merry Beggar</i> (DL 1731)*	Act II, air 22 'Charming is your shape and air'	2
		George Lillo, <i>Silvia, or The Country Burial</i> (LIF 1731)*	Act I, air 5 'Charming is your face'	6
		<i>The Fox uncas'd</i> (1733)	Act II, air 22 'Charming is your shape and air'	1
		<i>The Wanton Countess</i> (1733)	Air 17 'Charming is your shape, &c'	1
'I am a poor Shepherd undone. The distress'd Shepherd. A song' ([1720])	Charming Chloris: Ask not the cause/The poor Shepherd: the Sun was sunk beneath the hills HWV 228/2	<i>The Wanton Jesuit</i> (HM 1732) [pubd 1731]	Act I, air 6 'I am a poor Shepherd undone'	1
'Charming Chloris', <i>The Musical Miscellany</i> , iii (John Watts, [1730]), 198-200.		<i>The Wanton Countess</i> (1731)	Act III, air 21 'I am a poor Shepherd undone'	1
		<i>The Sturdy Beggars</i> (1733)	Act III, air 23 'I am a poor shepherd undone'	1
'Il tricerbo humiliato' in <i>Songs in... Rinaldo</i> (J. Walsh, 1711)	<i>Rinaldo</i> (QT 1711) HWV 7	Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub-Street Opera</i> (1731)	Act I, air 3 'Let the drawer bring glasses'	2
'All the World's in Strife and Hurry. The Whim' ([1716]); 'Rinaldo...Let the Waiter bring clean Glasses', <i>Merry Musician</i> , i (H. Meeres for J. Walsh, [1716]), 265-8.		George Lillo, <i>Silvia, or The Country Burial</i> (LIF 1731)*	Act I, air 1 'Since all the World's in Strife'	1

<p>'Ho un non so che nel cor. Tis not your Wealth my dear...in the Opera of <i>Pyrrhus</i>. Compos'd by Mr Handel' ([1712?]) [Alessandro Scarlatti, <i>Pirro e Demetrio</i>, 1709]</p> <p>'Conjugal Love...to an Air in <i>Pyrrhus</i>' ([1710]); 'In Kent so fam'd of old', <i>Monthly Mask of Vocal Music</i> (I. Walsh and I. Hare &c, [1711])</p>	<p><i>La Resurrezione</i> (Rome 1708) HWV 47</p>	<p>George Lillo, <i>Silvia or The Country Burial</i> (LIF 1731)*</p>	<p>Act III, air 53 'In Kent so fam'd of Old'</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>'Son' confusa pastorella' in <i>Poro. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh, [1731])</p>	<p><i>Poro</i> (KT 1731) HWV 28</p>	<p>Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub-Street Opera</i> (1731) Henry Fielding, <i>The Lottery</i> (DL 1732)*</p>	<p>Act III, air 48 'In Poro' Air 12 'Son confus''</p>	<p>2 8*</p>
<p>'Dimmi caro' in <i>Scipio. An Opera</i> (J. Cluer, [1726])</p>	<p><i>Scipione</i> (KT 1726) HWV 20</p>	<p>[Anthony Aston], <i>The Fool's Opera</i> (Oxford 1731?) Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub-Street Opera</i> (1731) Henry Fielding, <i>An Old Man Taught Wisdom</i> (DL 1735)*</p>	<p>Air 13 'Di mi caro' Act II, air 25 'Dimi caro' Air 16 'Dimi caro'</p>	<p>1 2 6</p>
<p>'Caro vien' in <i>Poro. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh, [1731])</p>	<p><i>Poro</i> (KT 1731) HWV 28</p>	<p>Henry Fielding, <i>The Welsh Opera</i> (HM 1731) Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub-Street Opera</i> (1731) [Robert Drury], <i>The Mad Captain</i> (GF 1733)</p>	<p>Act II, air 29 'Caro vien' Act III, air 64 'Caro vien' Air 34 'Caro vien'</p>	<p>1 2 1</p>

'Cloe proves false but still she is charming' ([1720]) No.30 'Menuet in Floridante', <i>A General Collection of Minuets</i> (J. Walsh, J. Hare, J. Young, 1729), 15.	The forsaken Maid's Complaint: Faithless ungrateful/The slighted Swain: Cloe proves False HWV228/8 [based on 'No, non piangete pupille belle' in <i>Floridante</i> HWV 14]	<i>Robin Hood</i> (BFLH 1730)* Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub-Street Opera</i> (1731) Henry Fielding, <i>The Lottery</i> (DL 1732)* [Daniel Bellamy], <i>The Rival Priests</i> (1739)	Act I, air 3 'Cloe proves false' Act II, air 28 'Cloe is false' Air 4 'Chloe is false, but still she is charming' Act I, air 8 'Chloe is false'	1 2 8* 2
'Si caro' in <i>Admetus. An Opera</i> (J. Cluer, [1727])	<i>Admeto</i> (KT 1727) HWV 22	Henry Fielding, <i>The Grub Street Opera</i> (1731) Henry Fielding, <i>The Lottery</i> (DL 1732)*	Act III, air 54 'Si cari' Air 18 'Si caro'	2 8*
'Bacchus one day gayly striding. Words to a favourite minuet of Mr Handell's' ([1730]); <i>Musical Miscellany</i> , iv (John Watts, 1730), 110-11. No.35 <i>A General Collection of Minuets</i> (J. Walsh, J. Hare, J. Young, 1729), 18.	Bacchus's Speech in Praise of Wine HWV 228/4 [see also HWV 530]	Charles Coffey after Thomas Jevon, <i>The Devil to Pay</i> (DL 1731)*	Act I, air 17 'Bacchus one day gaily striding'	2*
'No, non temere, o bella' in <i>Otho. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh and J. Hare, [1723])	<i>Ottone</i> (KT 1723) HWV 15	Charles Coffey after Thomas Jevon, <i>The Devil to Pay</i> (DL 1732)* Robert Drury after Nahum Tate, <i>The Devil of a Duke</i> (DL 1732)*	Air 15 'Was ever a man possess'	15*
'Seguaci di Cupido' in <i>Parthenope. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh and Joseph Hare, [1731]) [additional song for Senesino]	<i>Parthenope</i> (KT 1730) HWV 27	Robert Drury after Nahum Tate, <i>The Devil of a Duke</i> (DL 1732)*	Air 1 'Se Guacci'	5*
'Chorus' in <i>Poro. An Opera</i> (J. Walsh, [1731])	<i>Poro</i> (KT 1731) HWV 28	James Worsdale, <i>Cure for a Scold</i> (DL 1735)	Air 15 [chorus finale] 'Chorus in Porus'	2

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