The Performance and Reception of Handel's Music in Revolutionary North America

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Abstract

This thesis explores the performances of, and responses to, the music of George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) in late colonial and early republican America. Scholarship has demonstrated how the fact that Handel's music continued to be performed and thought about in Britain following the composer's death – a unique occurrence in a musical culture which overwhelmingly valued the new – was deeply intertwined with local social and political developments. This study explores how Handelian performance traditions were transported across the Atlantic, and how they interacted with the very different social, political and religious dynamics of revolutionary America. It does so through three case-study chapters, each focussing on a cluster of Handel performances in a single location within a tightly-draw time frame: New York City in 1770, Boston in the early 1770s, and Boston again in the late 1780s. Understanding these performances as instances of the phenomenon of Cultural Transfer, the case studies show how Handel's music was imported for reasons connected to the distinctive dynamics of colonial society in this turbulent period. In addition, they explore how Handel's music emerged as a site of contention between the opposing political and social factions of the late colonial period: the music spoke by turns on behalf of clashing ideological commitments in a divided pre-war society. The thesis also shows how citizens of the early republic negotiated Handel as an authoritative cultural figure of the colonial past, again appropriating his music in the service of republican statecraft. In the central chapter in particular, the study attends to the sound of Handel's music as well as its texts, exploring how its contested meanings were created through the sonic intertexts of the soundscape of colonial society and culture, and the urban geography of the colonial port city.

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To my parents

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Note on spelling

Original spelling is preferred in transcriptions of primary sources throughout this study. Where contractions in the original have been expanded (in cases where the sense is unclear), the editorial portions of these expansions are in *italic*. For example, in the quotation from John Andrews's letter on p. 146 of this study, the original's 'a pair of p—ls' becomes 'a pair of p*isto*ls' in my transcription.

Introduction (Dublin, 1740-2)

Thus Devonshire, *our Sorrows to allay,*
Invites the Nation to hear Handel *play;*
Soon as his Grace *appear'd on* Irish *Ground;*
Our two Year's Famine were in Lethe *drown'd.*

—Laurence Whyte, 'A Poem on the General Effect and Excellency of Musick' (1742)

When Handel came to Dublin in 1741, his music made the journey westward from Britain across the sea to the British empire's largest colonial city.[1] The passage changed the music, as it was at once caught up by the currents of colonial politics. Performing it meant something different here.

Arriving in Ireland in late 1741, Handel saw a country emerging from the grip of famine and epidemic disease. The exceptional cold of the winter of 1739-40, and the failure of the subsequent potato harvest, set in motion the events of what became known as *Bliain an Áir*, 'The Year of Slaughter', in which huge sections of the population died: 'with an excess mortality of somewhere between three and four hundred thousand people (12.3 to 16 per cent of the population), the famine was, by some margin, the most acute crisis to which the population of eighteenth-century Ireland was subject'.[2] Though subsistence farmers were hardest hit, shortages were keenly felt in Irish towns and cities, Dublin included: in the April of 1740, one Dubliner wrote that 'There is now as great Scarcity of Provisions in this City as ever known, and it

[1] See Joseph P. Haughton, 'The Social Geography of Dublin', *Geographical Review* 39/2 (1949), 257-277 (258).
[2] James Kelly, 'Coping with Crisis: The Response to the Famine of 1740-41', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 27 (2012), 99-122 (99).

is to be fear'd all over the Kingdom, every Kind of Food being at vast high Prices'.[3] Bread riots were one result. In May 1740,

> The populace of this city [Dublin] rose on account of the dearness of bread, meal, etc. and the bakers refusing to bake any household bread. They went to the houses of the several bakers and meal men, broke open their shops and when they found any bread or meal they sold it at a low price to the poor. On Sunday, a great number of them went on board a ship in the river, and took some beef, which they were selling at a low price […] they continued yesterday to commit great outrages, and brought the meal from several mills about this city, and sold it. Great damage has been done on this occasion, some persons [were] killed and several wounded.[4]

After another hard winter in 1740-1, the crisis continued, as did civil disturbances in Dublin: early March of 1741 saw a further violent bread rioting in the city.[5] As the poet Laurence Whyte observed, the authorities struggled to contain the repeated instances of direct action:

> Then honest FAULKNER fill'd the City Chair,
> Perform'd each Part becoming a Lord Mayor:
> To do us Justice, labour'd Night and Day,
> To stem the Torrents that came in his Way;
> His active Sheriffs seldom were at Ease,
> Nor cou'd their *Posse*, raging *Mobs* appease,
> Who are the *Pest* and *Hydra* in all Reigns
> Like many-headed Monsters without Brains.[6]

Disease spread throughout these years through a malnourished population, with 'a combination of respiratory disorders, dysentery, relapsing fever and smallpox' all killing at an alarming rate.[7]

However, as historians have noted, 'the Irish *ancien regime* […] did not simply turn its back', but organised an 'evolving complex of responses' to

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[3] *Ipswich Journal*, 26 April 1740.
[4] Quoted in Timothy D. Watt, *Popular Protest and Policing in Ascendancy Ireland, 1691-1761* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 87.
[5] See Eoin Magennis, 'In Search of the "Moral Economy": Food Scarcity in 1756-57 and the Crowd', in Peter Jupp and Eoin Magennis (eds.), *Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720-1920* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 189-211 (197).
[6] 'Famine: A Poem. On the Great Dearth and Scarcity of Bread, in the Year 1740 and 1741', in *Original Poems on Various Subjects, Serious, Moral and Diverting*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1742), second section, 6-9 (8). Daniel Falkiner was Lord Mayor of Dublin during the famine.
[7] Kelly, 'Coping With Crisis', 109.

relieve the famine.[8] Various branches of Ireland's 'Protestant Ascendancy' – the King's Church, private benefactors, charitable organisations, and the structures of colonial governance – combined to attempt to ameliorate the crisis. In Armagh, the Archbishop and Primate of All Ireland Hugh Boulter was feeding more than 4,000 people a day at his own expense by the April of 1741. In contrast to the policy during the Great Hunger of the 1840s, the Duke of Devonshire – as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland head of the colonial government – stopped most food exports from Irish ports.[9] From the perspective of Ireland's colonial governing class, these were prudent measures. The rioting – rightly or wrongly – was interpreted as a threat to 'the political and demographic security of the "Protestant interest"', to be contained or prevented if at all possible.[10] The 'great divisions among those who compose the government interest', as Devonshire put it in 1741, had to be set aside as its members closed ranks in response to the crisis.[11]

It was in this light that contemporaries understood the Duke of Devonshire's invitation to Handel to perform in Ireland in 1741-2, and his collaboration with 'three very important public Charities' in Dublin to mount the premiere of *Messiah* (HWV 56) in April 1742.[12] The proceeds from this

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[8] ibid., 100-101.
[9] Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 16.
[10] Kelly, 'Coping With Crisis', 121.
[11] Devonshire to the Duke of Newcastle, 17 November 1741, quoted in D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 270. On the relationship between the 'shared feeling of vulnerability that bound the Protestant interest in Ireland' during these years and the legislative programme of the Irish House of Commons, see James Kelly, 'The Politics of Protestant Ascendancy, 1730-1790', in idem (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume II, 1730-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 48-73 (53).
[12] *Dublin News Letter*, 10 April 1742. While no conclusive evidence either of an invitation from Devonshire or of communication between Handel and the Dublin charities before his arrival in the city survives, most scholars are satisfied that 'some form of official invitation was no doubt received': see Donald Burrows, *Handel: 'Messiah'*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 13ff., and David Hunter, 'Inviting Handel to Ireland: Laurence Whyte and the Challenge of Poetic Evidence', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 20 (2005), 156-168. Hunter has argued that this arrangement suited all parties: it required little effort from Devonshire beyond extending the invitation; the charities

premiere performance were offered for 'Relief of the Prisoners in the several Gaols, and for the Support of Mercer's Hospital in Stephen's-street, and of the Charitable Infirmary on the Inns Quay', organisations all variously involved in the relief effort in Dublin.[13] While Handel's activities in London had become mired in 'factious divisions among his audiences' by the early 1740s, in Ireland Handel was heralded as a unifying force.[14] The 'Flower of Ladyes of Distinction and other People of the Greatest Quality […] many Bishops, Deans, Heads of the Colledge, the most eminents [sic] People in the Law as the Chancellor, Auditor General, &tc.' whom Handel noted as making up his Dublin audiences represented the various components of Dublin's 'English interest' coming together to respond to the challenges of this fractious period.[15] With the pressures on food stocks seemingly easing by the spring of 1742, as Whyte put it,

> Our *Isle*'s from Famine and Contagion free,
> What now remains but *Song* and *Harmony,*
> But *Devonshire*, to make it more compleat,
> Has brought us *Handel* in his Science great,
> Grand in his Aspect, Faculties, and Skill,
> With Compositions flowing from his Quill,
> He charms the World, which still cries out for more
> Expected from his unexhausted Store,
> He from few *Notes* can various Strains compose,
> With such harmonious Concords they perclose,
> That even *Discords* shall amuse the Ear,
>
> […]
>
> Our *German Orpheus* now surpasses *Greece*,
> In ev'ry tuneful *Opera* and *Piece*
>
> […]

got their lucrative benefit; and Handel the understanding that this benefit aside, the rest of his time in Dublin could be devoted to his own commercial music making activities.

[13] *The Dublin Journal*, 23-27 March 1742.

[14] Burrows, *Handel: 'Messiah'*, 6. For details of this complex factional picture, see Carole Taylor, 'Handel's Disengagement from the Italian Opera', in Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (eds.), *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), 165-181.

[15] Handel to Charles Jennens, 29 December 1741, quoted in Burrows, *Handel: 'Messiah'*, 15. On the politics of Handel's Dublin visit as a whole, see Jonathan Bardon, *Hallelujah: The Story of a Musical Genius and the City that Brought His Masterpiece to Life* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2015), esp. chapters 1 and 2.

> *Hibernia*'s Sons, his Strains must now admire,
> Who are true Lovers of their antient *Lyre*,
> Their Country's *Arms*, a Type by Heaven's Decree,
> Of Concord, Plenty, Peace and Liberty.[16]

By bringing Handel from London to Dublin, Devonshire used his music to intervene in colonial politics. In Whyte's assessment, music's humanistically conceived persuasive power could unite Dublin's 'quality' in their efforts to assuage the crisis which threatened the colonial social order. Though it seemed that whatever course Handel pursued in London during these years would end up proving deeply divisive, in Ireland, the very different dynamics of colonial society meant the opposite was true: at his music's sound, 'Contagions fly, and Plenty crows the Field; / No more shall Lands lie barren and untill'd / […] / This Blessing, cou'd *Hybernia* once obtain, / No more shou'd any murmur or complain.'[17]

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From Dublin, some thirty years on and three thousand miles further west across the Atlantic. This study assesses the performances of and responses to Handel's music in late colonial and early republican America. While a substantial literature has accumulated on the reception of Handel's music in Britain during his lifetime and in the second half of the eighteenth century after his death, no work has so far attempted an extended investigation of the composer's American afterlife.[18] Handel occupied a unique position of

[16] 'A Poem on the General Effect and Excellency of Musick, but now more Particularly on the Famous Mr Handel's Performance, and Compositions, Who Has Been Lately Invited into This Kingdom, by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*', in Whyte, *Original Poems on Various Subjects*, second section, 1-6 (1, 4).
[17] ibid., 6.
[18] Promising forays into this territory have however been made in unpublished conference papers by Stephen Nissenbaum. I thank him for his generosity in sharing with me the text of

cultural authority and popularity in eighteenth-century Britain, emerging during his life and after his death as the first canonical composer of the European tradition. His music, which remained in a continuous performing tradition throughout the century and so 'never had to be rediscovered or "revived"', became the first to form part of the 'continuous performing tradition of European art […] music' which shapes 'Western' musical culture to this day.[19] Scholars have demonstrated how that unique popularity and authority – through the development of Handelian performance traditions and changing thinking about the composer's music – was shaped by the distinctive historical, social, political and cultural dynamics of eighteenth-century Britain. But no similar efforts have been made to do the same at any length for Britain's American colonies, where Handel's music was also regularly performed and held in equally high esteem. In America, these same years were also those of the revolution: the repeated imperial crises which spilled over into war in the colonies and eventually independence. This study aims to understand what Handel's music meant to listeners in this very different historical, social, political, and cultural setting. It does so through three case-study chapters, each focussing on clusters of Handel performances in a single location within a tightly-drawn time-frame: in New York City in 1770; in Boston in the early years of the same decade; and again in Boston in the late 1780s. In each of these instances, enough evidence survives to allow us to reconstruct a sense of what performing and listening to Handel meant, and how it interacted with the rapid transformations and upheavals those who lived through those years in America experienced. As can be seen

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a paper delivered at the American Handel Society Festival in Seattle in 2011, on which I draw in this study's second chapter.

[19] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), II: 326.

already in Dublin in the early 1740s, Handel's music's passage westward across the sea saw it at once begin to participate in the distinctive dynamics of colonial society; the fact that it had made the journey was also crucial to the ways in which it was experienced and understood in its new setting.

Beginning with Oscar Sonneck's work in the early twentieth century on American musical life in the colonial and revolutionary periods, a number of scholars touched in passing on the subject of American Handel performances during the eighteenth century.[20] Taken together, this work represents an almost exclusively recuperative effort: documents have been found, reprinted in facsimile or transcription, and what analysis has accompanied them has concerned itself primarily with establishing the dates and locations of the performances which produced the documents and the identities of the historical actors involved.

By producing an account of the revolutionary reception of Handel's music – in particular its intersection with contemporary politics, society, religion, and wider culture – this study builds on this work, and intersects with other bodies of scholarship, which both inform it, and to which it hopes to contribute. This study will supplement the existing literature on Handel's reception in Britain during the eighteenth century by broadening its

[20] See O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1907); Virginia Larkin Redway, 'Handel in Colonial and Post-Colonial America', *The Music Quarterly* 21 (1935), 190-207; Barbara Lambert (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: I. Music in Public Places* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), and eadem (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: II. Music in Homes and in Churches* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985); Roger L. Hall, 'Early Performances of Bach and Handel in America', *Journal of Church Music* 27/5 (1985), 4-7; Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio, Volume 3: The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Michael Broyles, *'Music of the Highest Class': Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); S. E. Murray, 'Music and Dance in Philadelphia's City Tavern, 1772-1790', in J. R. Heintze (ed.), *American Musical Life in Context* (New York: Garland, 1994), 2-48; Nicholas Temperley, *Bound For America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003); John Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, American History through Music Series (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004).

geographical purview to include the American colonies and the fledgling United States. By exploring what these performances meant to the people involved in them during the tumultuous 1770s and 80s, it engages with the historiography of the American Revolution, in particular that of its cultural dynamics. As a study of the transplantation of a cultural form thousands of miles from the circumstances of its production, it draws on work on the phenomenon of Cultural Transfer in other times in places. And since this study aims to investigate how the *sound* of Handel's music – not just its texts – was understood by early American listeners, it is shaped by debates within historical musicology more broadly about music, meaning, and history. This study is situated here in relation to these bodies of work.

Revolution Historiography

Recent years have witnessed a significant change in the way professional historians have understood revolutionary North America. From the 1960s to the first years of the twenty-first century, much of the published historiography of the revolution and of the second half of the American eighteenth century more broadly found itself bogged down in a single debate: a debate in which scholars took up increasingly polarized and entrenched positions, steadfastly refusing to give ground. Writing in 2006, characterising the 'slough where the historiography of the American Revolution has remained mired' for the past half century, Thomas Slaughter dubbed the two belligerent camps 'Idealists' and 'Realists'. Idealists grounded their explanations of 'the Revolution's origins and meaning' in developments in political philosophy, as evidenced in the published debates of colonial and European elites. Realists, by contrast, asserted that 'internal social conflict

[and] the discomfiture of social change' represented more significant factors.[21] Idealists accused Realists of anachronism for adducing matters of 'social structure, culture, class, race, region and gender' in support of their arguments: concerns, they asserted, for which there exists no true contemporary 'evidence' which connects them with the revolution's ideological explananda.[22] Realists returned fire largely by suggesting that their opponents, by reading the political discourse of the American eighteenth century with too uncritical an eye, reinscribed the underlying racial and economic biases which structured many of its arguments.

In the past few years, however, new approaches to the Revolution and surrounding years have been developed which have the potential to break this methodological deadlock. Such approaches have been characterised by their proponents as 'Atlantic', 'Imperial', and 'Continental'. They aim to broaden the focus of historiography which deals with the American Revolution by viewing it alongside contemporary developments in societies across the North Atlantic littoral; changes in the territories controlled by the British empire elsewhere in the world (particularly in South Asia and Australia) and Britain's political manoeuvrings in relation to the other powerful monarchies of Europe; and events on the Western frontier of British

[21] Thomas P. Slaughter, 'Review: Plus Ça Change…', *Reviews in American History* 34 (2006), 291-306 (296-297). Slaughter's categories map neatly onto the division in American historiography more broadly between practitioners of the new social history and proponents of more traditional political approaches which opened up in the 1960s: see James T. Kloppenberg, 'Social History and Intellectual History', in Richard S. Kirkendall (ed.), *The Organization of American Historians and the Writing and Teaching of American History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 125-126 (125). The scholar perhaps the most representative of Slaughter's idealists is Gordon Wood: see his *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992); and *The American Revolution: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002). His realist counterpart is Gary Nash: see his *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979) and his *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Viking, 2005).
[22] Slaughter, 'Review: Plus Ça Change', 294.

America and in the vast portions of the continent controlled by the French and Spanish crowns. These approaches to the second half of the American eighteenth century have their roots in the development of the broader concept of 'circum-Atlantic' history in the 1990s and early years of this century. The term was coined by the theatre historian Joseph Roach in his monograph *Cities of the Dead* (1996), which made compelling use of the 'concept of a circum-Atlantic world (as opposed to a transatlantic one)' to 'insis[t] on the centrality of the diasporic and genocidal histories of Africa and the Americas, North and South, in the creation of the culture of modernity.'[23] As David Armitage wrote in one of the first significant collection of essays to work with and develop Roach's methodology, circum-Atlantic history 'is the history of the Atlantic as a particular zone of exchange and interchange, circulation and transmission […] the history of the people who crossed the Atlantic, who lived on its shores and who participated in the communities it made possible.'[24] The phenomena central to this approach are European colonialism and the development of the slave trade: processes which bind together the disparate geographical areas circum-Atlantic approaches cover into a coherent object of study.

Circum-Atlantic approaches quickly became influential in the historiography of many periods and geographies in the years following the publication of Armitage and Braddick's collection,[25] and were first brought to bear on revolutionary North America in an influential volume of essays

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[23] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 4.
[24] David Armitage, 'Three Concepts of Atlantic History', in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11-27 (18).
[25] See Donna Gabaccia, 'A Long Atlantic in a Wider World', *Atlantic Studies* 1 (2004), 1-27, and David Lambert, Luciana Martins and Miles Ogborn, 'Currents, Visions and Voyages: Historical Geographies of the Sea', *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006), 479-493.

edited by Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf in 2005.[26] This body of work has grown steadily, and in recent years has been supplemented by major works of scholarship.[27] A central theme of the histories styling themselves as Atlantic and Imperial has been the thirteen rebellious seaboard colonies' deep enmeshment in an Atlantic economy wholly dependent on the trade in, transportation of, and extortion of labour from enslaved Africans. The plantation colonies of the North American subtropics and of the Caribbean islands, worked by enslaved people, were the undisputed jewels in the European empires' crowns, generating vastly greater revenue streams for imperial treasuries than the relatively unprofitable colonies further north. During the Revolutionary War, especially after the French capture of Dominica in 1778, a conspicuously greater effort was put into defending Britain's 'sugar islands' than was fighting the forces of the Continental Congress in the North, with forces from the New York garrison frequently transported to the Caribbean at critical moments. History written in this vein also emphasises the fact that even the societies of the northern colonies, where (though slavery was still legal) slave populations were much smaller than in tropical and subtropical plantation colonies, were nonetheless inextricably linked with slave labour as constituent parts of a transatlantic slaving economy: the mid-Atlantic colonies grew wheat to feed the colonies further south, where agricultural land was more profitably devoted to sugar, coffee,

[26] *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).
[27] Notable contributions include David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); and David Armitage and Sajay Subrahmanyam (eds.), *The Age of Revolutions in a Global Context* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010). Significant recent work includes the essays collected in Jane Kamensky and Edward G. Gray (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), and Alan Taylor's monograph *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (New York: Norton, 2016).

tobacco and indigo, and New Englanders built ships and sailed them, transporting that food along the littoral and trading in enslaved people and the European manufactures bought with slaving profits. Continental approaches represent a logical extension of circum-Atlantic ones by emphasising the way the vast interior of the North American continent served as a proxy battleground for European colonial powers: they emphasize the colossal administrative problems to the British Empire brought by Britain's acquisition, as part of the peace treaty that concluded the Seven Years' War (1754-1763) vast tracts of formerly French territory west of the Appalachians: lacking the will or finances to pursue costly and logistically nightmarish wars with those areas' Native American populations, Britain attempted to prevent such conflicts by forbidding its coastal colonists from encroaching west of the mountains and claiming Indian land for their own. Colonists therefore frequently clashed with imperial troops trying to enforce London's Proclamation Lines – beyond which colonists were forbidden to settle – as well as with the Native Americans they hoped to displace.

In Taylor's 2016 monograph, which synthesizes a good deal of work done along these lines by other scholars in recent years, adopting these Atlantic and Continental viewpoints allows the argument to exemplify a way out of the debate that bogged down Revolution historiography for so long. For a focus on these socio-economic realities – of a slaving economy and frontier conflict and land-grabbing – allows the account not only to adduce additional socio-economic factors that contributed to conflict with the empire, but to integrate these into an account of the period's ideological clashes and developments. Such work is able to reveal how the political culture of Liberty, drawing on the Lockean notions of freedom and property-holding as

interlinked and attendant contractarian conceptions of the source of governments' power, came to flourish in the coastal colonies. Colonists could readily conceive of Imperial taxation without parliamentary representation as forced labour and theft of private property – 'slavery', they called it – when theirs was a society which relied completely on the enslavement and forced labour of hundreds of thousands of real African men, women, and children. Thus John Adams could write in 1765, in relation to Imperial efforts to enforce Parliament's taxes on the North American colonies: 'We won't be their negroes'.[28] A white supremacist attitude, engendered by the social realities of the frontier and the coastal ports and plantations, as Taylor writes finely, both 'sustained and limited' the political culture of liberty among white British colonists.[29] Their freedom was a freedom from treatment by the empire analogous – so they imagined – to that they themselves administered to enslaved people: freedom from the attempt, through taxation, to 'make us as tame, & abject Slaves, as the Blacks we Rule over with such arbitrary Sway', as George Washington put it.[30] It was also the freedom to dominate, dispossess, and destroy Native Americans due to their racial superiority as Britons, unhindered by Imperial policy.

Atlantic, Imperial and Continental approaches are attractive in their refusal to see the Revolution as 'a singular event, directed solely at the formation of the United States, and thus subject to monocausal explanations

[28] Writing as 'Humphrey Ploughjogger': *Boston Gazette*, 14 October 1765. Similarly the authors of the Declaration of Independence could write that 'WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness', yet later turn to accuse George III of 'endeavour[ing] to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers […] merciless Indian Savages': *In Congress, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled* (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776), 1.
[29] Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 215.
[30] George Washington to Bryan Fairfax, 24 August 1774, in W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig (eds.), *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series*, 10 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983-1995), X [1995], 154-156 (155).

of its origins and results'.[31] These approaches seek a Geertzian 'thick description' of the Revolution, with an exponentially expanding set of events that emerge as potential contributing factors following the expansion of Revolution historiography's geographic purview. Most productively for the present study, Atlantic approaches have prompted a historical reassessment of the colonial economy, material culture, society and intellectual life in the years before the revolution. Returning with renewed vigour to the preoccupations of Slaughter's 'realists' and 'idealists', armed with the insights of the new circum-Atlantic approach, this work has demonstrated that far from drifting gradually away from Britain throughout the eighteenth century, the American colonies were in fact growing closer, in all these respects, to the metropolis across the Atlantic right up until the moment of revolutionary rupture. Indeed, this work has shown, it is possible to point to this process of colonial 'Anglicisation' as – counterintuitively – one of the principle drivers of that eventual break.[32] As well as situating the familiar narrative of Patriots, ports, taxation and representation within this striking context informed by Atlantic dynamics, these approaches have encouraged historians to explore the diversity of society within the port cities themselves, where it has been increasingly recognised that 'there was more *pluribus* than *unum*.'[33] As well as the aforementioned recognition of the crucial part played by the colonies' population of enslaved Africans in the events of the revolution, loyalists, the Native Americans of coastal enclaves, and women have all by turns taken

[31] Edward G. Gray and Jane Kamensky, 'Introduction: American Revolutions', in Gray and Kamensky (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*), 1-14 (2).
[32] See, principally, T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[33] ibid., 5.

centre stage in new accounts of these years.[34] Such work demonstrates how in the revolution an already deeply fractured society came apart at the seams: this was a period characterised just as much by internal conflict within colonial society as struggle between colony and metropolis. Demonstrating the vitality and extent of loyalism has, in particular, proved attractive to revisionists, who recognise that the late twentieth-century 'narrative of the American Revolution that has so successfully alienated and excluded loyalists has been a nationalist narrative'.[35]

This study contributes to this ongoing historiographical project. While its focus is on the culture of urban elites, its exploration of how performances and responses to Handel's music developed as a site of contention, and how his music was mobilised by members of competing interest groups – in particular the colonial loyalists, whose significance the new histories of this period are increasingly revealing – has the potential to extend the work of scholars such as Benjamin Carp, Maya Jasanoff, Alan Gilbert, and Catherine Adams which has used the insights of Atlantic history to demonstrate the plurality and diversity of revolutionary cities.[36] Through Handel's music, the social divisions and conflicts these histories have examined spilled over into the sphere of culture.[37] Performing this music shaped political mobilisation

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[34] See for instance, Catherine Adams and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Alan Gilbert, *Black Patriots and Loyalists: Fighting for Emancipation in the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Jane T. Merritt, 'Native Peoples in the Revolution', in Gray and Kamensky (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, 234-246.

[35] Edward Larkin, 'Loyalism', in Gray and Kamensky (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, 291-310 (294). See also Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), and Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan (eds.), *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

[36] Alongside the works cited above, see Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); idem, *The Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party & The Making of the Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

[37] The classic text on the cultural politics of this period is Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and Theatre in the Colonies and the*

and communal identities, as did the many other kinds of music making in which urban colonists and citizens of the republic engaged (as the work of Rebeccah Bechtold, Glenda Goodman, Robert Branham, Catherine Jones, Douglas Harvey and Bonnie Gordon, among others, have demonstrated).[38] Atlantic perspectives on the macro-history of the period also inform this study's view of the performance and reception of Handel's music in colonial and early republican America as acts of cultural transfer. The paradigm of cultural transfer provides a framework for understanding how performing Handel's music in late colonial and early republican America interacted with other forms of Anglicisation. This study's focus on the reception of the works of a single iconic cultural figure from across the Atlantic can, for instance, be set alongside work on the eighteenth-century American reception of Shakespeare: like Handel, an artist whose work grew in popularity in performance and in cultural authority in America throughout the revolutionary years.[39] It can also be understood in the context of the broader

United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763-1789 (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1976).

[38] See for instance: Rebeccah Bechtold, 'A Revolutionary Soundscape: Musical Reform and the Science of Sound in Early America, 1760-1840', *Journal of the Early Republic* 35/3 (2015), 419-450; Glenda Goodman, 'Transatlantic Contrafacta, Musical Formats, and the Creation of Political Culture in Revolutionary America', *Journal of the Society for American Music* 11/4 (2017), 392-419, and eadem, 'Joseph Johnston's Lost Gamuts: Native Hymnody, Materials of Exchange, and the Colonist Archive', *Journal of the Society for American Music* 13/4 (2019), 482-507; Robert James Branham, '"God Save the ___!": American National Songs and National Identities, 1760-1798', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85/1 (1999), 17-37; Catherine Jones, *Literature and Music in the Atlantic World, 1767-1867* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Douglas S. Harvey, *The Theatre of Empire: Frontier Performances in America, 1750-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2015); and Bonnie Gordon, 'What Mr. Jefferson Didn't Hear', in Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg (eds.), *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 108-132.

[39] See Michael Dobson, 'Fairly Brave New World: Shakespeare, the American Colonies, and the American Revolution', *Renaissance Drama* 23 [new series], 189-207; Frances Teague, *Shakespeare and the American Popular Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapters 1 and 2; and Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare in America*, Oxford Shakespeare Topics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapters 1 and 2.

cultural forms of Anglicisation detailed in work such as Odai Johnson's on the colonial American stage as a whole.[40]

Cultural Transfer

While the notion of cultural transfer, as theorised by the historians of the French and German nineteenth century Michaël Werner and Michel Espagne, has not been deployed extensively in relation to the American eighteenth century, it has provided a valuable methodological framework for numerous recent studies on other periods and locations, particularly within historical musicology.[41] This paradigm is an attractive one for understanding how Handel's music was performed and understood in revolutionary America since it can account for phenomena which scholarship on the culture of the revolutionary period frequently describes but does not name.

Werner and Espagne aimed to turn traditional accounts of the process of culture's passage across borders, which focused through various perspectives on the question of the 'influence' of native cultures on foreign ones, on their heads. '[I]nstead of the magical category of influence, here we

[40] Odai Johnson, *London in a Box: Englishness and Theatre in Revolutionary America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017).

[41] The foundational text by Werner and Espagne is 'Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.', *Francia* 13 (1985), 502-510. See also idem, 'La construction d'une reference culturelle allemande en France. Genèse et histoire (1750-1914)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 42/4 (1987), 969-992, and idem (eds.), *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe – XIXe siècles*) (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); Michel Espagne, 'Cultural Transfers in Art History', in Thomas DaCosta Kaufman, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (London: Routledge, 2017), 97-112. In historical musicology, recent work which benefits from this framework includes the essays collected in Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (eds.), *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Naomi Graber, *Kurt Weill's America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Thomas Christensen, 'Music Theory, Cultural Transfer, and Colonial Hybridity', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie* 15/2 (2018), 15-21. Its influence can also be felt in work such as Benjamin Walton, 'Rossini in South America', *Die Tonkunst* 4/12 (2018), 364-380, and 'Italian Operatic Fantasies in Latin America', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17/4 (2012), 460-471; and Charlotte Bentley, 'The Race for *Robert* and Other Rivalries: Negotiating the Local and (Inter)National in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 29/1 (2017), 94-112.

have [a focus on] an integration of foreign cultural elements into a culture defined as native. Replacing a perspective that describes exportation, there is a picture of the motives and circumstances of importation'.[42] Cultural transfer could now be seen not as something which happens to receiving cultures, but an active process which they direct and shape. This fresh approach looked for 'historically observable contacts and the adaption or reinterpretations to which these contacts had given rise'.[43] Elements of foreign cultures are imported for reasons to do with local circumstances, and the act of transfer alters them, often deeply so. 'To transfer is not [merely] to transport, but rather to metamorphose […] It is less the circulation of cultural goods than their reinterpretation that is at stake'.[44]

The circumstances of the transfer of Handel's music to the American colonies, as this study's first chapter in particular demonstrates, were implicated in the broader processes of Anglicisation which transformed colonial society and culture during the middle decades of the eighteenth century and, as scholars have pointed out, were rooted in colonists' own cultural, social and economic desires and perceptions. Colonists imported Handel's music for the same kinds of reasons they imported Staffordshire ceramics, tea, London's fashionable dressmaking patterns and fabrics, and Shakespeare plays: through these imports they could articulate their place within colonial society and within the empire. And as this study describes throughout, the sea-change Handel's music suffered as it crossed the Atlantic, as was the case with Shakespeare's writing, saw it take on fresh significances

[42] Matthias Middell, 'European History and Cultural Transfer', *Diogenes* 48/1 (2000), 23-30 (26).
[43] 'une approche critique des contacts historiquement constatables et des adaptions ou reinterpretations auxquelles ces contacts avaient donné lieu': Michel Espagne, 'La notion de transfert culturel', *Revue Sciences / Lettres* 1 (2013) [http://rsl.revues.org/219].
[44] 'Transférer, ce n'est pas transporter, mais putôt métamorphoser […] C'est moins la circulation des biens culturels que leur reinterpretation qui est en jeu': ibid.

it could not have had in Britain. It was enmeshed in the politics of colonial culture and the culture of colonial politics: contested, negotiated, deployed and re-deployed in the service of a variety of distinctly American factions and ideological positions. Its previous interpretations – in Britain and in the New World – had repeatedly to be worked through as it came to speak afresh on behalf of successive groups within colonial and early republican society.

Handel Reception Studies

The kinds of significance attributed to Handel's music by audiences in Britain during the composer's lifetime and after his death, have, of course, already been the subject of considerable scholarly attention. Recently, the questions of how historical scholarship should approach the issue of meaning in Handel's music – in particular in relation to politics – and whether audiences' interpretations are a legitimate focus of scholarly inquiry have been reopened by notable interventions in the literature.

The attention devoted to studies in Handel reception has increased since the 1980s. Donald Burrow's comments at the 1985 Handel Tercentenary conference summed up the attitudes and preoccupations of many Handel scholars at the time: '[t]empting as it is to be lured by the attractions of reception history or by experiments with musical analysis, the primary job of Handel scholarship must be to define the works themselves.'[45] Yet as the philological projects Burrows referred to neared their completion those lures proved increasingly hard to resist, along with the growth of Handel scholarship's other recent preoccupations of biography and theatre history.

[45] Donald Burrows, 'Sources, Resources and Handel Studies', in Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (eds.), *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1987), 19-42 (20).

There are two distinct but interrelated understandings of the term 'reception history' which are helpful to distinguish. One, the broader of the two, encompasses all attempts to understand the meaning artworks had, or might have had, for historical actors. This approach has, of course, been enormously widely adopted by historical musicologists, and among them Handel scholars, since it encompasses all the attempts undertaken to situate the music of canonical composers within the social, political and economic contexts of their genesis since the twin influences of poststructuralism and Marx began to be felt within the discipline in the 1980s. A narrower understanding is also current: reception history as the study of the afterlives of an artist's works – still an attempt to recover historical understandings of artworks, but, in this conception, specifically those of historical periods after the artist's death. To date, more scholarly attention has been devoted to the first of these two versions of reception history than to the second. Since performances and circulation of Handel's music in the American colonies did not begin until the second half of the eighteenth century, the smaller body of scholarship on Handel's posthumous reception is of most direct relevance to this study. Work on the music's early reception needs to be considered here too, however, since issues raised by this material are equally relevant to work on later periods.

Contemporary Reception

The first sustained efforts to understand how Handel's audiences might have understood his works were made by scholars such as Ruth Smith, Reinhard Strohm and Curtis Price. By the 1980s, Strohm, Smith, and Price had already begun to produce article-length studies on Handel's oratorios and operas'

potential engagement in contemporary political debates.[46] Focussing principally on the texts of Handel's vocal music, this work often avoided the pitfalls the concept of 'allegory' – a term frequently deployed in this material – might suggest: rather than rigid one-to-one relationships between the drama and contemporary politics, it was often recognised that audiences might have perceived multiple such correspondences, and therefore that the works in question were open to a variety of – often conflicting – partisan interpretations.[47] Smith's work, as it developed in her landmark study, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (1995), came to extend and sophisticate those early efforts.[48] Like the work of the 1980s, Smith focuses on the early reception of individual works, offering close readings of the texts of the oratorios. The book's readings are strongly grounded in the process of typology: the distinctive contemporary mode of biblical hermeneutics which saw in historical figures and events the 'types', or symbolic precursors, of their present-day 'antitypes'. The patterns of typological reading often practised by eighteenth-century readers are illustrated by examples of contemporary responses to literary works in other genres, which provide a point of departure for readings of Handel's oratorios. In its flexible but robustly historicised critical approach, moving freely from direct evidence of contemporary reception to the reconstruction of likely patterns of interpretation through a command of contemporary intellectual culture – the

[46] See, for example, Strohm, 'Handel and his Italian Opera Texts', in his *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 34-79, first published as 'Händel und seine italienichen Operntexte', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 21-22 (1975-1976), 101-159; Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*', in Sadie and Hicks (eds.), *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, 120-137; Smith, 'Intellectual Contexts of Handel's English Oratorios', in Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 115-133. See also Duncan Chisholm, 'Handel's *Lucio Cornelio Silla*', *Early Music* 14 (1986), 64-70.
[47] Price, 'English Traditions', 132-133 is a good example.
[48] *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

meanings both 'perceptible and available' to audiences – Smith's scholarship provides an exemplary foundation for subsequent work.[49] Smith's monograph, as the first book-length study revealing Handel's works to be often deeply embroiled in contemporary political debates, was key in opening up Handel studies to the new style of scholarship – attentive to the intellectual, political, social and economic contexts of artworks – which at the same time was transforming other areas of historical musicology. Within reception studies itself, scholars such as Ellen Harris and Suzanne Aspden have complemented Smith's focus on the reception of specific works by considering Handel's contemporaries' images of the composer himself – Handel as a symbol and idea, as well as a set of compositions – and their relationship to developments in the histories of sexuality and nationalism.[50] Harris, Aspden, Deborah Rooke and Paul Monod have also written on the politics of individual operas and oratorios, showing the influence of Smith in the rich tapestry of contemporary sources and events woven around their subjects: their conceptions of early eighteenth-century English politics are significantly more complex than those offered by scholars in the 1980s.[51] Methodologically, such work has followed Smith's lead: working with contemporary direct evidence where it survives, but not hesitating to

[49] ibid., 11.
[50] See Harris's *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), and Aspden's '"Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone: The Composer as Monument', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55/1 (2002), 39-90.
[51] Suzanne Aspden, 'Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)', *The Musical Quarterly* 85/4 (2001), 735-770; Ellen T. Harris, 'With Eyes on the Easy and Ears in the West: Handel's Orientalist Operas', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36/3 (2006), 419-443; Deborah W. Rooke, *Handel's Israelite Oratorio Libretti: Sacred Drama and Biblical Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Paul Monod, 'The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36/3 (2006), 445-472.

reconstruct 'the way[s] in which [the work] and its audience could multiply meanings'.[52]

Thomas McGeary's 2013 monograph, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*, represents a reaction to these developments. McGeary claims as the methodological lynchpin of his study the well-known 1998 article by Robert D. Hume on London opera in the years before Handel's arrival in the city, which argued that 'extrinsic evidence' of either 'authorial meaning' or 'audience application' are necessary for modern scholars to reconstruct these works' early reception.[53] But McGeary goes further than Hume in dismissing the notion that 'multiple and even contradictory meanings' might be generated by eighteenth-century artworks.[54] Shrugging off developments in theoretically informed scholarship across the humane disciplines to replace the author or creator of the artwork with its audience as the primary (or, at any rate, the most interesting) creators of that artwork's meaning,[55] McGeary seeks to rehabilitate authorial intention – on the part of the artist, impresario, or some other figure involved in bringing the work to the stage – and to privilege it over reception as the principal object of modern scholarly investigation.[56] The tone of the book is therefore mainly negative: as much of the book is occupied by rebuttals of the approaches developed by Strohm,

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[52] Aspden's works foregrounds and problematizes this methodology, but ultimately endorses it: 'Ariadne's Clew', 762.
[53] Robert D. Hume, 'The Politics of Opera in Seventeenth-Century London', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10 (1998), 15-43 (43). See also McGeary's recent monograph which extends his approach to an earlier period: *Opera and Politics in Queen Anne's Britain, 1705-1714* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2022).
[54] Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 50; see also ibid., 56, 91.
[55] Most obviously Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in his *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), 142-148, and the implicit reply of Michel Foucault, 'What Is An Author?', trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, in Donald F. Bouchard (ed.), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), 113-138.
[56] On McGeary's apparent contradictions on this point, see Ruth Smith's review of the monograph in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11/2 (2014), 295-299 (296). Trying to make an authorial-intentions model work for the radically collaborative medium of opera is an uphill struggle.

Price, Smith, Aspden and others as in setting out its own arguments about the relationship of Handel's operas to contemporary politics.[57]

This study will aim to build on the work of Smith and successive scholars, and offer a reply to McGeary's interventions, by extending the search for the 'perceptible and available' meanings of Handel's work to its eighteenth-century audiences across the Atlantic. It will thus seek to demonstrate that it in no way represents an 'abandon[ment of] the historical enterprise' to understand artworks *qua* artworks when investigating their political, social, and cultural connections.[58] Their meanings are not fixed or stable: that is part of what makes them artworks. As Samuel Goldwyn is reported to have said in an only slightly different context: 'If you want to send a message, call Western Union'.[59] To reiterate a point which would be regarded as axiomatic in many other fields of humane scholarship: 'the histories of reaction to [artworks] are central to the processes by which their meanings come into being. An author's afterlife is not a stable thing, or a mere pendant to their writing, but the very condition in which their significance is made, as successive generations of interpreters add to the changing continuum of […] response'.[60] The 'complex transformative process of […]

[57] McGeary's restricted conception of the 'political' also structures his critique: for him the kinds of politics which might or might not interact with music are principally restricted to parliamentary factionalism and its outgrowths. This is especially evident in his critique of William Weber's work on Handel's reception in the second half of the eighteenth century (see below), where he at once suggests 'there is little reason to interpret the 1784 Handel Commemoration as a national musical ritual whose meaning is related to the political events of the spring of 1784', but also allows that the 'Commemoration might have served […] to boost national pride and nationalism – wounded by the loss of the colonies and the crises in Ireland and India'. Such a phenomenon – the fashioning of a national cultural consciousness in response to imperial reverses – while not in this instance directly factional, would of course by most estimations seem deeply political. See Thomas McGeary, 'Music, Meaning, and Politics: The 1784 Handel Commemoration Reconsidered', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 9 (2002), 205-217 (216).
[58] McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*, 50.
[59] See A. Scott Berg, *Goldwyn: A Biography* (New York: Riverhead, 1989), 220.
[60] Martin Butler and Jane Rickard, 'Introduction: Immortal Ben Jonson', in idem (eds.), *Ben Jonson and Posterity: Reception, Reputation, Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1-22 (2-3). Much of the relevant theoretical work is helpfully surveyed in Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1984).

reinterpretation' through which Handel's music passed on its journey from the Old World to the American colonies produced a host of new interpretive possibilities for its new audiences, many of which were unavailable in contemporary Britain or the Britain of Handel's lifetime.[61] Handel was a cultural authority to be repeatedly '"drafted in" to speak on behalf of institutions or ideologies' – often competing ones – as Nicholas Mathew has written of a parallel case in contemporary Europe.[62] The deeply divided nature of colonial and revolutionary society, and the new relationship to a British cultural inheritance which the formation of the United States demanded, meant that these meanings were indeed 'multiple and even contradictory'. That makes them no less historical, and no less a product of engagement with the artworks themselves.

Posthumous Reception

Important work on Handel's early posthumous reception in Britain has been published by the German scholar Eva Zöllner. This body of scholarship has established the institutional details of and documentary evidence for the performance traditions which continued from Handel's lifetime (as in the case of the Lenten oratorios) or emerged after his death (as with many charitable performance traditions). Zöllner's work has also made an important contribution to scholarship's understanding of the varied creative responses to Handel's music by other composers during the second half of the eighteenth century, principally in their biblical oratorios along Handelian

[61] Middell, 'European History and Cultural Transfer', 27.
[62] Nicholas Mathew, 'Heroic Haydn, the Occasional Work, and "Modern" Political Music', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4/1 (2007), 7-25 (23-24).

lines.[63] In English, the most extensive work by a Handel specialist on Handel's posthumous reception is the 2004 doctoral thesis of Ilias Chrissochoidis.[64] Excerpts from this dissertation have subsequently been published as journal articles, along with a handful of articles featuring newer work.[65] The greatest contribution of this work to Handel scholarship is its identification, collection, and quotation of a large number of eighteenth-century documents of Handel reception which document critical responses to the music in various forms. This material remains invaluable now, since the Open University's *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents* project, which began in 2007, is planned (at this stage) only to cover the years of the composer's life. Regrettably, the structure of Chrissochoidis's thesis – two thirds of which is organised as a chronological survey – often precludes extensive analysis of those documents. Several intriguing comments are made in passing about the sources' potential implications for the developing cultural and political valence of Handel's works, but space prevents him from developing these into arguments rather than suggestions. The other third of the thesis is made up of case studies, as are the articles of fresh material published subsequently. These often find themselves bogged down in arguments about the authorship of the sources in

[63] See Eva Zöllner, 'Israel in Babylon, or, The Triumph of Truth? A Late Eighteenth-Century Pasticcio Oratorio, *Consort: European Journal of Early Music* 51 (1995), 103-117; eadem, 'Das englische Oratorium nach Händel: Von John Cristopher Smith bis Samuel Arnold', in Friedhelm Brusniak and Anne-Marie Clostermann (eds.), *Aspekte der englisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Studio, 1997), 97-108; 'English Oratorio after Handel, 1760-1800', PhD Thesis (University of Hamburg, 1998); '"There Will Be a Great Struggle of Competition…": Die Oratorienserien an den Londoner Theatern von 1760 bis 1784', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 9 (2002), 177-204; '"He Hears No Other Music If He Can Help It": George III. und die Händelbegeisterung am Englischen Hof in der Zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 49 (2003), 239-250.

[64] 'Early Reception of Handel's Oratorios, 1732-1784: Narrative-Studies-Documents', PhD Thesis (Stanford University, 2004).

[65] Extracts from the thesis appeared as 'English Oratorio in London: The 1765 Season', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 54 (2008), 313-327, and 'Reforming Handel: John Brown and *The Cure of Saul* (1763)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 136/2 (2011), 207-245. Fresh material appears in 'A Handel Relative in Britain?', *The Musical Times* 148/1898 (2007), 49-58, and 'Handel's Reception and the Rise of Music Historiography in Britain', in Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (eds.), *Music's Intellectual History* (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), 387-396.

question, rather than analysis of their content.[66] Yet this work also makes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on Handel's music's contribution to the development of an aesthetics of the sublime in eighteenth century English culture and the development of a nationalistic discourse around the composer's music, largely by providing further documentary evidence from the second half of the century to support and extend earlier scholars' theses.[67]

Significant contributions to the literature on Handel's reception in the second half of the eighteenth century have come from scholars from outside musicology – most notably William Weber and Daniel O'Quinn, a historian and literary scholar, respectively. Rather than the broadly aesthetic focus of Chrissochoidis's work, these scholars concentrate on the changing political and social role of Handel's works in the second half of the century, extending and supplementing the work of scholars like Ruth Smith on these issues in Handel's lifetime. Weber's argument, developed across a long journal article and a monograph, attempts to account for the development of a performing repertory of 'ancient' music – centring on Anglican church music and Handel's oratorios – in the second half of the eighteenth century in England: the origins of the canon of musical classics which was cemented in the nineteenth century and remains at the heart of modern Western elite musical

[66] The chapter on John Brown is representative: 'Early Reception of Handel's Oratorios, 1732-1784', 493-540.
[67] ibid., 565-653. The work on aesthetics Chrissochoidis builds on includes Claudia L. Johnson, '"Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19/4 (1986), 515-533; Ellen T. Harris, 'Handel's Ghost: The Composer's Posthumous Reputation in the Eighteenth Century', in John Paynter, Tim Howell, Richard Orton, and Peter Seymour (eds.), *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), I: 208- 25; and Alexander H. Shapiro, '"Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature": Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime', *Music & Letters* 74 (1993), 215-254. His comments on nationalism draw on work such as Suzanne Aspden's '"Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone"' (2003), though Chrissochoidis is reluctant to acknowledge this.

culture.[68] The driving force behind this unprecedented development in musical culture was, Weber argues, partisan politics. Weber demonstrates how the performance of 'ancient' music was strongly associated with Toryism from its beginnings in the Restoration cathedral service, and how Handel's music, beginning with his ceremonial church music, but coming to encompass his oratorios as well, became assimilated within this tradition. This process had its roots in provincial music festivals – rallying points for the Tory gentry – at events such as the Three Choirs Festival in the south Midlands, but found its way to London with the emergence of concert series such as the Concert of Antient Music, bringing the provincial festivals' novel combination of repertoire – old Anglican music, Henry Purcell and Handel's ceremonial church music, and Handel's oratorios – to the capital. As Weber shows, its arrival in London subtly changed the political complexion of the ancient music movement. Series like the Concert of Antient Music were patronised by the aristocracy as well as the gentry, and the arrival of the ancient music tradition in London accompanied the return to the mainstream of British politics of some central tenets of Toryism. As Weber writes, the 'ideas of non-resistance to the monarch and the centrality of the church within the state came into their own once again, but now as the groundwork of the status quo rather than as the rallying cry of a long-out-of-power Opposition.'[69] The entry of the traditionally Whiggish aristocracy, and of the royal family themselves, into the Tory gentry's Ancient Music tradition is an index of this shift. The gargantuan 1784 Handel Commemoration, organized by members of the aristocracy and the gentry, members of conflicting party interests, and

[68] 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', *Journal of British Studies* 28/1 (1989), 43-69, and *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
[69] Weber, 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', 50-51.

presided over by the newly Handelomaniac George III served to celebrate the newfound unity of the political establishment – bound together by loyalty to the monarch and the established church – in the face of a political emergency: this was the establishment closing ranks following the resolution of the constitutional crisis precipitated by the Fox-North coalition's brief spell in government in 1783.

Weber paints this picture with broad brush-strokes. Sources are not quoted at length, and links between musical and political culture are made with a freedom and lack of methodological self-consciousness that would be almost impossible to find in musicological writing on similar topics. The focus is on music making as a political event or 'ritual', and the nature of the works actually being performed figures relatively little in Weber's account. More work therefore needs to be done on Handel reception in Britain during this period to supplement Weber's efforts, in particular paying more attention to the varying associations audiences might have brought to specific works – Weber's Handel emerges as a potent political force, but also as a phenomenon whose effects were implausibly uniform – and exploring his source material more closely to put pressure on the inferences Weber draws so freely from them. Nonetheless Weber's work is vital for this study in providing a forcefully reconstructed narrative of Handel reception in Britain during the years its chapters cover. The politics at the centre of this narrative – Handel as the focus of a conservative cultural movement linking British patriotism and royalism – offer an intriguing comparison with the cultural politics of Handel performances in revolutionary America: an inherited complex of meanings which American audiences were forced to negotiate, particularly in the early years of the independent United States (see this study's third chapter).

Daniel O'Quinn's take on the 1784 Handel Commemoration provides an example of how some of the details of Weber's large canvas might be filled in.[70] This is achieved by joining aspects of Ruth Smith's approach with Weber's: his focus on the political significance of the events in which Handel's music was performed is combined with Smith's reconstruction of audience responses to individual works. The fruitfulness of this approach makes O'Quinn's work a valuable source for this study. O'Quinn's writing is also stimulating in its explicit methodological ties to 'circum-Atlantic' historiographical accounts of the relationship between Britain and its American colonies during these years.[71] This approach allows O'Quinn to build on Weber's analysis of the Commemoration by seeing it not just as a response to the domestic emergency of Fox's government and the constitutional crisis it precipitated, but also to losing the war in the American colonies, formalised by the signing of the Treaty of Paris the previous year. O'Quinn approaches the performances of the Commemoration as an extended series of exercises in the creation and containment of subversion and anxiety by the court and government: a critical manoeuvre borrowed from the pomp of New Historicism.[72] The Commemoration's first performance is, for instance, read as an attempt to 'reconstitut[e] the king as a martial figure' after the catastrophic blow to his image dealt by the loss of the American war.[73] The combination and order of the music performed reshapes

[70] Daniel O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis in the Atlantic Imperium, 1770-1790* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 302-357.
[71] Roach's *Cities of the Dead* is a methodological cornerstone, and Roach's study's keyword, 'surrogation' – a theory of cultural reconstruction and healing in response to the violence of colonialism – is frequently employed by O'Quinn: see Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 2, and O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis*, 198-199.
[72] See Stephen Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion, *Henry IV* and *Henry V*', in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 18-47.
[73] O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis*, 338.

the political meanings the works conveyed in Handel's lifetime in order first to acknowledge the crisis in George's military leadership and then to contain that anxiety. It would have been impossible, O'Quinn argues, in the political climate of the Commemoration not to associate the lamentation of the texts of *The Ways of Zion Do Mourn* (HWV 264) with Britain's humiliation before the imperial powers of Europe after the Treaty of Paris. The careful excision for the Commemoration performances of the movements setting the text 'How are the mighty fall'n. She that was great among the nation and princess of the provinces?' is offered as evidence for the likelihood of this reading of the text by the Commemoration audience; yet, as O'Quinn notes, this would only have made these stark lines conspicuous by their absence. Yet the programme concluded with the 'Gloria Patri' from the Utrecht *Jubilate* (HWV 279), written originally to celebrate the victorious conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. O'Quinn argues that just as the words of the Funeral Anthem would have been understood typologically as applying to Britain's colonial predicament in 1784, the use of the Utrecht *Jubilate* would have suggested the typological identification of the humiliating Treaty of Paris with the triumphant Treaty of Utrecht. The juxtaposition of the Funeral Anthem with the *Jubilate*, means for O'Quinn that through 'careful selection, segmentation, and suturing, […] mourning has been transformed into a remarkable declaration of national election that attempts to suppress the recent history of loss in the empire and surrogatively refigure the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783 as the Peace of Utrecht. Not only has loss been tendentiously refigured as gain, but the political and economic turbulence of the present peace has been figuratively quelled.'[74]

[74] ibid., 322-323.

The same argumentative strategy is employed in O'Quinn's discussion of an East India Company performance of extracts of *Judas Maccabaeus* in Calcutta in 1792.[75] Ruth's Smith's observations on early audiences' typological identification of the Maccabees with the British nation and the Syrians with the French in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rising are the springboard for O'Quinn's exploration of the Calcutta performance, where, he suggests, audiences would have understood the Maccabees as the types of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis and the Syrians as the French-backed subjects of Tipu Sultan in the recent Mysore War.[76] The background in 1 Maccabees to the story dramatized in Morrell's libretto – the religious persecution of the Maccabees by the Syrians and Hellenized Jews – would have been understood, in the same light, as the type of the events preceding Cornwallis's eventual victory over Tipu Sultan: 'Tipu's forcible conversion of British soldiers to Islam [by circumcising them] is implicitly compared to Antiochus's demand that the Maccabees take up pagan worship'.[77] The Calcutta performance therefore again represented an exercise in the 'activation and containment of anxiety': fears of a collapse in British authority in India following that in America – synecdochically represented by the circumcision of British soldiers – assuaged by a resounding victory. While O'Quinn's work has more in common with Smith's than Weber's in attending to the political implications of individual works, he goes further in the speculative reconstruction of audience reactions than Smith ever does. While Smith's reconstruction of 'available' interpretations are always supported by

[75] ibid., 341-357; Daniel O'Quinn, 'Projection, Patriotism, Surrogation: Handel in Calcutta', *Romantic Praxis* (May 2006) [http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/patriotism/oquinn/oquinn_essay.html].
[76] Ruth Smith, 'The Meaning of Morrell's Libretto of *Judas Maccabaeus*', *Music &`Letters* 79/1 (1998), 50-71 (61-62).
[77] O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis*, 353.

evidence of contemporary patterns of response to similar cases, on nearly all occasions O'Quinn simply asserts that a particular pattern reception was likely without reference to other parallel eighteenth-century material. The political meanings O'Quinn teases out from potpourri concert programmes, where the political connotations of a variety of works combine to form elaborate commentaries on contemporary events, are also a good deal more involved than Smith's readings. Such complexity often requires that an audience should read every component of the programme in the way O'Quinn suggests, lest the overall interpretive structure collapse. The result, as David Taylor has noted, is that O'Quinn's readings, though 'intricately and brilliantly constructed […] sometimes develop to an endpoint that feels a little tenuous.'[78] It is often unclear whether O'Quinn imagines that the audiences at the performances in question could have apprehended the political meanings he teases out, or that the process was originally subliminal – a fact perhaps connected to the Foucauldian conception of the workings of power that underpins the book.[79] The influence of Foucault's omnipresent and numinous view of power on the 'tightly locked' meanings of O'Quinn's critical style means little interpretive agency is ever afforded to eighteenth-century audiences.

This study builds on O'Quinn's exploration of the entanglement of Handel's reception with issues of imperial politics by investigating performances in the Atlantic colonies to set alongside his work on Britain and India. His focus on the political entanglements of individual works offers a

[78] David Francis Taylor, 'Performative Subjects', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75/1 (2012), 113-121 (120).
[79] The conception of power of as an impersonal force immanent in all social interactions that develops in Foucault's mature writings such as the *Histoire de la sexualité*: 'not something that is acquired, seized, or shared [but] exercised from innumerable points'. Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality, Volume One* [1976], trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, 1978), 95.

model for extending Ruth Smith's style of scholarship to the second half of the eighteenth century and adding necessary detail to Weber's sweeping narrative approach to Handel reception during these years. O'Quinn's insistence that Handel's music meant what it did in particular temporally and geographically specific performance contexts informs this study's approach of analysing tightly focused clusters of performances in New York and Boston. But the house-of-cards quality of O'Quinn's involved arguments, and his readings' frequent lack of clarity on the issue of interpretive agency both offer reminders that audiences' horizons of expectations are crucial considerations when considering what was 'perceptible and available' to them in Handel's music.

Music and meaning

Nor do O'Quinn, Weber, Smith, or many of the other scholars who have published on Handel reception during the composer's lifetime or after his death (with the principal exception of Ellen Harris) attempt to address the issue of the music's own contribution to audiences' responses to the works. Much scholarship on 'Handel reception' has therefore been principally work on the 'reception of the texts Handel set', which therefore sidesteps methodological questions about the relationship between music and text and about the way music itself is meaningful.[80]

The question of music's meaning-making has been the subject of extensive debate within Handel scholarship following publications by Michael Marissen on potential anti-Jewish representation in *Messiah*

[80] Very much understandably in the case of O'Quinn, Weber and Smith, for instance, all of whose disciplinary backgrounds are not within musicology.

(discussed in this study's second chapter).[81] It has also generated considerable disagreement within historical musicology more broadly following the 2004 intervention of Carolyn Abbate, 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?'.[82] Abbate employed insights drawn from the philosophy of phenomenology to point out that much work within the broad tradition that grew from the 'New Musicology' of the 1980s, in its attempt to interrogate the musical score for evidence of historical repertories' involvement with historical, social and political phenomena, held *music* at arm's length, engaging with it through a set of abstractions. The platonically imagined work object, the score studied in silence, and in particular the often quasi-cryptographic processes of musical hermeneutics – none of these have much to do with music as it is actually experienced: as a live, embodied event, unfolding in time, felt as much as understood. This study aims to give Abbate's challenge the consideration it deserves while also accounting for the ways Handel's *music* was meaningful to its early American audiences, rather than just the texts it set. Throughout this study, the focus is on specific performances of Handel's music, and the kinds of meaning those specific performances created. Especially in the study's second chapter, I attempt an account of musical semiosis which interacts with the particular circumstances of the performances in question to reconstruct what kinds of sense Handel's music might have made 'perceptible and available' to listeners at those events. I draw on soundscape studies and cultural geography, and connect these approaches with insights from Topic Theory, which attempts to reconstruct historical codes of musical semiosis

[81] Michael Marissen, 'Rejoicing Against Judaism in Handel's *Messiah*', *The Journal of Musicology* 24/2 (2007), 167-194. The many responses and rebuttals are discussed below in chapter 2.
[82] *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004), 505-536.

through connections to broader culture and society.[83] The spatial and sonic dynamics of the events in which Handel's music was performed provide the locally specific sonic intertexts through which Handel's music made the sense it made. It is then possible, I hope to demonstrate, to draw meaningful connections between the *sound* of music such as *Zadok the Priest* and the 'Hallelujah!' chorus, as performed in a specific time and space, and the 'high' politics of the discourse and ideas of the revolutionary period: in this case the contested meanings attributed to the imperial celebrations of late colonial Boston, expressing clashing understandings of monarchy and the imperial constitution, by the city's hostile factions on the eve of the 'Tea Party' and outbreak of fighting in the Revolutionary War.

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[83] Soundscape studies were pioneered by R. Murray Schafer in the 1970s: see his *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977). Within historical musicology, the project of reconstructing historical urban soundscapes was brilliantly launched by Reinhard Strohm in his *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), and has subsequently been pursued in relation to numerous periods and locations including medieval France, early modern Germany and the twentieth-century United States: see Gretchen Peters, *The Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities: Players, Patrons, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, & Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). The 'new cultural geography' of the 1980s and 90s – exemplified by work such as Peter Jackson's *Maps of Meaning* (London: Routledge, 1989) – has influenced various kinds of recent work in historical musicology, including work on musical representations of landscape and the place of musical institutions in urban settings: see for instance Daniel Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006); idem, *Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); and the essays collected in Suzanne Aspden (ed.), *Operatic Geographies: The Place of Opera & The Opera House* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019). For a brief overview of Topic Theory and the body of scholarly literature, see Danuta Mirka, 'Introduction', in eadem (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-60; classic texts in the field include Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980); Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: 'Le nozze di Figaro' and 'Don Giovanni'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), and his *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010). The version of Topic Theory on which I draw here is closer to Monelle's 'archaeology' of the style markers which would emerge as the topics of late eighteenth-century instrumental music, whose uses scholars following Ratner and Allanbrook have explored.

1. New York, 1770

The first performances of *Messiah* (HWV 56) – indeed, the first of any oratorio – on the continent of North America took place in New York City in the year 1770. This was a deeply divided period of the city's history: the fractious years of escalating political tension between the Stamp Act Crisis of the mid- 1760s and the outbreak of war in the colonies in 1775. New York, wrote Gouverneur Morris in 1774, had undergone 'a great metamorphosis, without the help of *Ovid* or his divinities, but entirely effectuated by two modern Genii, the god of Ambition and the goddess of Faction'.[1] Yet until the sound of cannon fire drifting across the East River and the sight of British ships of the line at anchor off Staten Island in late August 1776 signalled to New Yorkers the beginning of seven years of British military occupation and martial law for the city, its cultural life remained energetic. Just as the city's economy depended on its role as a hub of transatlantic flows of people and goods, it continued in the decade preceding the outbreak of war to import artistic and cultural products and practices from Britain as industriously as it had in the preceding decades. For New York, as for the other urban centres of the colonial Atlantic world, the middle years of the century were ones characterised by an accelerating process of material and cultural Anglicisation, which continued unabated until the beginning of the military mobilisation which would result in the War of Independence.

Handel's music represented one such import, crossing the Atlantic not just as scores in musicians' sea-chests but as a set of associated British traditions and modes of performance. Though the two New York *Messiah* performances in 1770 were directed by the same musician and probably featured many of the same performers, they represented initial moments of transatlantic transfer of distinct Handelian

[1] Gouverneur Morris to John Penn, 20 May 1774: quoted in Michael G. Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 343.

traditions. The way these practices were first absorbed into the cultural life of the colonial city reveals how the social fractures exposed by the Stamp Act crisis were reproduced in New Yorkers' leisure time, and the differing attitudes colonists held to the process of the city's ongoing Anglicisation. They reveal how Handel's music became a site of contestation, as diverging political interests, clarified by the increasing tension between colony and colonial government, sought to appropriate it for partisan ends. This chapter shows how the performance of *Messiah* in the long room of one of the city's most prestigious taverns in January 1770 can be seen as part of the efforts to reform New York's notoriously rowdy tavern culture from the middle years of the century onwards to bring them into line with colonial perceptions of metropolitan standards of gentility and sophistication. This performance, the chapter reveals, can shed light on the paradoxical relationship between Anglicisation and the political developments which increased tensions between the colonies and Britain in the 1760s and 1770s and resulted eventually in war and independence, since New York's taverns were also a crucial *locus* for political organisation among members of the city's Whig elite. Likewise, the relationship between the *Messiah* given at Trinity Church in October 1770 and New York's Tory circles is disclosed. This was a liturgical performance of Handel's music, framing a long sermon recommending the cause of a new church charity. The sermon, the nature of the performance, and the institutional contexts of the colonial church and the new charity all shed light on the significance of the act of cultural transfer for the performers and audience at Trinity. That Handel's music should so early in its American history of performance and reception become embroiled in the

factional divisions of late colonial society and politics demonstrates emphatically how 'to transfer is not merely to transport, but rather to metamorphose'.[2]

Colonial Anglicisation

Much scholarship, beginning with the paradigm-shifting work of John Murrin in the 1960s, has served to demonstrate convincingly the apparently counterintuitive thesis of the accelerating Anglicisation of the late colonial period in the future United States.[3] The degree to which the economic and cultural ties between Britain's American colonies and the imperial core grew increasingly close throughout the eighteenth century can be quantified through the study of colonial imports. Bernard Bailyn has calculated that 'England's exports to North America increased almost eightfold from 1700 to 1773; between 1750 and 1773 it rose 120 percent; and in the five years from 1768 to 1772 it rose 43 percent' cumulatively.[4] The makeup of these imports was overwhelmingly manufactured goods rather than raw materials: these items, such as glass, china and textiles, comprised almost ninety per cent of total colonial imports during this period.[5] The material culture of British America was

[2] 'Transférer, ce n'est pas transporter, mais plutôt métamorphoser': Michel Espagne, 'La notion de transfert culturel', *Revue Sciences / Lettres* 1 (2013) [http://rsl.revues.org/219].
[3] John M. Murrin, 'Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts' (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1966); idem, 'The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts', in Stanley N. Katz and John M. Murrin (eds.), *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, 3rd edn (New York: Knopf, 1983), 540-572; idem, 'A Roof without Walls: The Dilemma of American National Identity', in Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein and Edward C. Carter II (eds.), *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Murrin's most recent articulation of this interpretive framework is found in idem, *Rethinking America: From Empire to Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Notable studies drawing on the Anglicisation model include Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 175ff.; idem, *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation and Continuity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 323-362; T. H. Breen, 'An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776', *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986), 467-499; Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992); Woody Holton, 'How the Seven Years' War Turned Americans into (British) Patriots', in Warren R. Hofstra (ed.), *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America* (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 127-144.
[4] Bernard Bailyn, '1776: A Year of Challenge—a World Transformed', *Journal of Law and Economics* 19 (1976), 437-466 (447).
[5] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 286.

thus transformed during the half century before the revolution. While 'the average American in 1720 probably experienced a material culture closer to that of the original settlers than that of the revolutionary generation', the flood of British goods into colonial markets from the 1740s onward drew British America closer than it had ever been before to the imperial core economically, materially and culturally.[6] The acceleration of colonial imports from Britain can in part be explained by the 'snowballing', self-propelling nature of this kind of consumption: 'Americans were increasingly drawn into the marketplace' as increasing familiarity with the cultural practices associated with British goods revealed the still-existing gap between colonial and metropolitan practices and standards. 'Taking tea became a recognized ritual requiring the correct cups and saucers, sugar bowls, and a collection of pots […] English glasses held imported wines. English cloth fashioned into dresses and coats looked better with imported metal buttons. One had to serve imported sugar in the appropriate imported pewter or silver bowl'.[7] As knowledge of metropolitan culture grew in the colonies via consumption, so 'the standards of the metropolis increasingly came to be the primary model for colonial behavior' in multiple spheres, 'the one certain measure of cultural achievement for provincial societies at the outermost peripheries of the British world'.[8]

Crucial work has also illustrated the paradoxical but demonstrable relationship between the colonies' accelerating Anglicisation and the increasing tensions between sections of the colonial population and the imperial administration which would eventually result in rebellion, war and independence.[9] The increasing

[6] Breen, 'An Empire of Goods', 486.
[7] ibid., 488.
[8] Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 175.
[9] T. H. Breen, '"Baubles of Britain": The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* 199 (1988), 73-104; idem, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

economic, material and cultural integration of the colonies with Britain, and the concomitant increase in colonial knowledge of, and efforts to keep up with, perceived metropolitan standards of taste, had the dual effect of increasing colonists' perceptions of themselves as English, and of increasing their anxieties about their entitlement to this status. While 'Americans looked at eighteenth-century England with new eyes, admiring its cosmopolitan culture', they also 'worried that the English generally held them in low regard', fearing that 'from the perspective of a cosmopolitan capital such as London the colonists might appear an inferior class of people, perhaps like the Scots or the Irish'.[10] As colonists came to see themselves as Britons, they grew more jealous of the rights and liberties this entailed, especially when they perceived those as under threat from the imperial administration: 'a thorough embrace of British ideals produced a revolutionary political culture and sensibility in conflict with the British state'.[11] The 'defence of the rights of Englishmen' came to provide the ideological underpinnings of resistance to the imposition of unwelcome imperial policy almost until the moment independence was declared.[12] The assertion of the New York Assembly in their petition to parliament in 1768 in response to the imposition of the Townshend Duties – '*My Lords*, we are *Englishmen*, and as such, presume ourselves intitled to the Rights and Liberties, which have rendered the Subjects of *England* the Envy of all Nations' – was typical of colonial Whig discourse during this period.[13]

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[10] Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 82. The way consumption structured the racist ideological underpinnings of colonial society – whose economic foundations lay on the labour of enslaved people – emerges with striking clarity in Breen's work.
[11] Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, Andrew Shankman, and David J. Silverman, 'Introduction', in idem (eds.), *Anglicizing America: Empire, Revolution, Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1-8 (4).
[12] P. J. Marshall, 'Introduction', in P. J. Marshall and Alaine Low (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II, The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1-27 (12-14).
[13] 31 December 1768: quoted in John Phillip Reid, *Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority of Rights* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 14.

The dramatic acceleration of American colonists' consumption of transatlantic imports during the pre-revolutionary decades was mirrored in their growing taste for British cultural products. American theatrical life offers a striking example of this phenomenon. The quarter-century before the outbreak of revolutionary violence in the colonies saw a dramatic increase in the number of professional theatrical performances taking place and theatre buildings and companies established, with British repertory in the greatest demand.[14] Following the first professional performance of a Shakespeare play in America, in 1750 – *Richard III*, given in New York by the company of Walter Murray and Thomas Kean – there was an explosion of colonial performances of his work.[15] According to Frances Teague's calculations, while from '1600 to 1750, no performances of Shakespeare occurred' on American stages, 'between 1750 and 1776 there were 500, by conservative estimate'.[16] As his works were performed on an unprecedented scale, Shakespeare's influence on colonial culture spread beyond the theatre: 'In the twenty-five year period between 1750 and 1775, his plays are suddenly […] read and cited, while his image appears in household furnishings and his authority crops up in political discourse'.[17] This kind of consumption was of a piece with the transformation of the material world of the colonies with British imports, since it also represented, in Odai Johnson's words, a 'transatlantic […] simulacrum of urbane refinement for those who could not participate in the original'. Like imported 'tea, equipage, porcelain, pewter ware, carriages, silk, or Turkish carpets, the theatre became an acquired, expensive, but

[14] See Odai Johnson, 'The Georgian Theatre in Colonial America', in Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre: 1737-1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 656-672 (660-1).
[15] On the Murray-Kean company, see Odai Johnson, 'Theatre Companies before the Revolution', in Jeffrey H. Richards and Heather S. Nathans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 16-31 (19ff.).
[16] Frances Teague, *Shakespeare and the American Popular Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 17-18.
[17] ibid., 17. See also Michael A. Morrison, 'Shakespeare in North America', in Stanley Wells and Sarah Stanton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 230-257 (231ff.).

necessary habit of the new Georgian taste that redefined "gentility" in material terms of consumption and display'. Theatrical impresarios 'sold the culture of gentility' to colonial 'gentry uneasy about their social positions' and the position of the colonies within the empire, since 'to go to the theatre was to be a little closer to London'.[18]

These different forms of importation – domestic and artistic – were both expressions of colonial elites' 'self-conscious effort to anglicize colonial life through the deliberate imitation of metropolitan institutions, values, and culture' with the aim of reducing the distinctions between colony and metropolis, 'so that they might – with more credibility – think of themselves and their societies – and be thought of by people in Britain itself – as demonstrably British.'[19] For the inhabitants of a city such as New York, who, its inhabitants boasted, 'through our Intercourse with the *Europeans* […] follow *London* Fashions', the 1770 New York *Messiah* performances – as American premieres of a cornerstone of contemporary British culture – were as central to this process as the first New York performances of Shakespeare's *King John* and *The Tempest* in the city's John Street theatre in January 1769 and May 1773 respectively.[20]

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[18] Odai Johnson, *London in a Box: Englishness and Theatre in Revolutionary America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 54, 42-4.
[19] Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness,* 175. Another fine account of the Anglicisation of colonial life through the acquisition of the 'accoutrements of shared civilization, British-style' – in this case in relation to medical discourse and the notion of sensibility – and its counterintuitive political consequences can be found in Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), quote at 23.
[20] William Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York, from the First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXXII. To which is Annexed, a Description of the Country, with a Short Account of the Inhabitants, their Trade, Religious and Political State, and the Constitution of the Courts of Justice in that Colony* (London, 1757), 211; Odai Johnson and William J. Burling, *The Colonial American Stage, 1665-1774: A Documentary Calendar* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 324, 439.

Transatlantic migrants

The consumer-driven phenomenon of Anglicisation is also visible in the musical life in the American colonies. In New York, the career of a figure such as James Rivington (1724-1802) is emblematic of these changes. Born in London, Rivington inherited a profitable publishing business but was driven to bankruptcy in 1760 by profligate spending, gambling and lawsuits relating to illegal printing. He elected to make a fresh start in the American colonies, opening a bookshop in New York's Hanover Square, in the prosperous commercial district of lower Manhattan east of Broadway. Rivington overextended himself financially once more with branches of his bookselling business in Boston and Philadelphia and land speculation near Annapolis, Maryland; but by the late 1760s he had established himself successfully as a prestigious New York bookseller.[21] He had spotted a niche in the market resulting from the voracious appetite for transatlantic cultural imports in other spheres, advertising himself from his arrival in New York as 'the only London bookseller in America'.[22] Fashioning an image of himself, and (they hoped) his customers as 'discerning cosmopolitans' involved maintaining a stock more up-to-date than his competitors could manage, carrying material other New York booksellers did not, and advertising these facts aggressively in the press.[23] Rivington's offerings of music published in London were crucial to cultivating this impression: he became 'among the most prolific advertisers of printed music' in the American colonies, 'emphasizing secular songs, chamber music, and [named] composers to a degree that was novel in the American market' and which allowed

[21] Carol Sue Humphrey, 'Rivington, James' [2000], *American National Biography* [https://doi.org/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.article.0100783].
[22] See James N. Green, 'English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin', in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (eds.), *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 248-297 (282).
[23] ibid., 282.

customers to buy into a 'musical-cultural connection to London'.[24] Rivington's advertisement of 31 January 1762, listing among a consignment of recently imported musical materials 'Handel's 400 Songs' – among the earliest documented publications of Handel's music available for sale in the American colonies – evidences how Handel's music, in printed form, formed part of the contemporary colonial fixation for luxurious transatlantic imports.[25] As was typical of Rivington's press advertisements and printed catalogues, Handel's music was offered alongside a selection not only of literary publications but also a host of other luxury imported consumer goods: the airs from Handel's oratorios and 'the favourite Songs in the late entertainment Thomas and Sally [1760], by Arne' were offered alongside 'Fencing Foyles, Sword-Belts and Sword-Knotts, Scabbards for ditto', 'The best German Flutes […] Variety of Fifes. Excellent Guitars' and 'jewelary, &c. &c. &cc.'[26]

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[24] Lance Boos, 'James Rivington: Music Purveyor in Revolutionary New York', *Gotham* blog from *The Gotham Center for New York History* (2 September, 2021) [https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/james-rivington-music-purveyor-in-revolutionary-new-york]. Kate van Winkle Keller and John Koegel set Rivington's operation in the context of other musical booksellers, publishers and entrepreneurs operating in colonial cities during these years in 'Secular Music to 1800', in David Nicholls (ed.), *The Cambridge History of American Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 49-77 (62-5).

[25] *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, 31 January 1763; advertisement repeated in the same publication 3, 7, 10, 17 February, 14 March. The earliest documented item of Handel's music advertised for sale in the American colonies came a few months earlier, as part of a 'large and curious collection' of manuscript and print 'sonata's, solo's, duets, and opera songs' sold by an anonymous 'gentleman lately arrived from London': *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, 5 August 1762. 'Handel's 400 Songs' must refer to John Walsh's *Handel's Songs Selected from His Latest Oratorios: For Harpsichord, Voice, Hoboy, or German Flute*, published in 5 volumed between 1748 and 1758: see James J. Fuld, 'Songs from Messiah Published during Handel's Lifetime', *Notes* 45/2 (1998), 253-7 (253-4) and William C. Smith, *Handel: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 190-200.

[26] *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, 31 January 1763. A typical Rivington advertisement might include, alongside musical and literary publications, 'A Fine Assortment of Musical Instruments, consisting in Guittars, German Flutes on all Constructions, tip'd with Silver Key, Ivory, Voice and Octavo Sorts; Violoncellos, French Horns, Bagpipes, best Violins, and of very low Prices; Hautboys; Bassoon, Hautboy and Clarinet Reeds; the best Roman Fiddle Strings and Guittar Strings, an Assortment of new Musick and Cotillion Cards; Turlington's Balsam […] Anderson's Scots Pills […] Essence of Pearl, Pearl Dentrifice, and the two new fashioned Teeth Brushes invented by Mr. Hamet, imported from Bailey, in Cockspur-street, and warranted genuine; improved Soap Boxes for Shaving, Patent Cake for blacking Shoes; superfine ribb'd Worsted Stockings for the wear of Gentlemen, of the best and newest Fashion and everlasting; Silk Stockings and Shoes; Pocket Books with Instruments for Ladies and Gentlemen, twenty six different sorts, very beautiful. Those Gentlemen who propose to take the Field, may be provided with elegant small Swords of all kinds, and the most beautiful Cutteaus De Chase, Scymaters, Light Infantry, Cut and Thrust, &c. that ever were offered to Sale in this City'. *Supplement to the New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 26 October, 1772.

The 1770 New York *Messiah* performances were directed by William Tuckey (1709?-1781), himself a transatlantic migrant who, as the headstone of his grave in the burial ground of Christ Church, Philadelphia records, had been 'born in Sommersetshire in England.'[27] Like Rivington, Tuckey had left England in order to exploit the Atlantic colonies' accelerating appetite for British culture and so – he hoped – make his fortune. By the time he arrived in New York in late 1752 or early 1753 his career as a church musician in England was already well advanced: he had served as the parish clerk of the church of St Mary le Port near the waterside in Bristol and later as a vicar choral at the cathedral. On his arrival in New York he took out an extensive advertisement in the local press advertising his skills as a teacher and composer and his pedigree as an English cathedral musician:

> WILLIAM TUCKEY, Singing Master, desires to inform all lovers of *Psalmody* that in order to encourage and amend the singing in publick congregations in this city, all persons may be taught by him on very reasonable terms. As a great expectation of encouragement in this way, was the only motive which induced him to leave the cathedral of *Bristol*, where of he was for several years a vicar choral […] And as there is no person in this country duly qualified in the musical way, who has made a practice of teaching but himself, not only in church musick, in all its branches, viz. services, anthems, chaunts, responses and psalms, according to the English, Dutch, French, or Italian method; but also in the knowledge of a thorough base, and composing musick in parts both vocal and instrumental […] he humbly hopes, through this information, to meet with better encouragement, or at least to establish the singing of parochial Psalms on a better and perfecter foundation than it hath been for some time past. He will undertake to compose, or set to musick, any piece on any subject, divine or moral, either in prose or verse, and adapt the musick according to the sense of the subject, for either a single voice; two, three, four, or more voices, and for any sort of instruments, with or without a thorough base, for the organ, harpsichord, or spinnet, on application to him, and a moderate satisfaction.[28]

Tuckey thus set out to offer his services in aid of a project to improve the standard of Anglican parish music-making in New York to one which might be compared with the standards of the Old World institutions with which he had been associated, and

[27] See Amy Aaron, 'William Tuckey, A Choirmaster in Colonial New York', *Musical Quarterly* 64/1 (1978), 79-97, and Arthur Messiter, *A History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church, New York* (New York: Gorham, 1906; reprinted New York, American Musicological Society, 1970), 19-31.
[28] *New York Mercury*, 11 March 1754.

to be the first musician to bring Anglican cathedral-style choral worship to New York's parish churches, in the same fashion other English émigrés would attempt in the wealthy Anglican churches of Philadelphia, Boston and Charleston in the following years.[29]

On 31 January 1753 Tuckey was appointed clerk (effectively organist) of Trinity Church on Wall Street, the city's grandest Anglican parish church, then and now. Like all colonial Anglican parishes, music at Trinity had been limited until this point largely to congregational psalmody with organ accompaniment, in the style of most contemporary English urban parish churches.[30] A new organ had been installed in 1741 and from 1739 boys from the church's charity school had been used to lead the congregation in their efforts. When Tuckey took over he was more ambitious, attempting to train the boys to be part of an English cathedral-style choir of boys and men: 'the earliest known […] in the colonies'.[31] His emphasis on chant and psalmody in his printed statements have led Ruth Wilson to conclude that he may have attempted to introduce Anglican chant – the characteristic style of psalmody in English cathedrals as opposed to parish churches – to services at Trinity: this would

[29] On the attempts of 'the network of Anglican cathedrals and urban parish churches outside of London and in the New World […] to copy the "cathedral" style' despite the challenges presented by lack of resources and personnel, see Charles Brewer, 'Protestant Church Music in England and America', in Simon P. Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 168-180 (169ff.). On James Bremner's efforts in Philadelphia, William Selby's in Boston, and Henry Purcell, Benjamin Yarnold and Peter Valton's in Charleston, see John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620-2000* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 77-103.

[30] Nancy Saultz Radloff, 'The Organist's Role in the Colonial Anglican Church', *Anglican and Episcopal History* 73/3 (2004), 266-293 (268-271); Ogasapian, *Church Music in America*, 85-6; and Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), I: 120-4. Tuckey was swiftly dismissed from his official role as clerk at Trinity, but maintained his position as an unofficial 'director of music' until the revolution: see Ogasapian, *Church Music in America,* 87-8, and idem 'Tuckey, William' [1999], *American National Biography* [https://doi.org/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.article.1801163].

[31] Leonard Ellinwood, 'English Influences in American Church Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 80 (1953-4), 1-13 (6).

predate by more than thirty years the first recorded instance of the use of Anglican chant in the United States, in Massachusetts in 1787.[32]

In August 1762 Havana de Cuba was captured by British naval forces in a crucial victory in the Seven Years War, prompting rejoicing throughout the empire.[33] When news of the victory reached New York the following month Tuckey advertised for subscribers and additional musicians to mount a performance of an instrumentally accompanied choral Te Deum – as 'is a custom in Protestant congregations in Europe in times of rejoicing, as well on annual as particular days of thanksgiving' – and promised that the result would be 'as good a piece of music, as any of the common Te Deums sung in any cathedral church, in England'.[34] Tuckey continued to exploit New Yorkers' appetite for this so-far unknown aspect of English cultural life in 1766 when he again sought help from instrumentalists, this time for a 'concert […] of nothing but church-musick; in which will be introduced, a new Te-Deum, Jubilante [sic], Contata [sic] Domini [sic]; and Deui [sic] Miseratur [sic], accompany'd with a sufficient number of proper instruments'.[35] The *New York Mercury*'s mangling of the Latin names of these canticles – properly Te Deum, Jubilate, Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur, which together amount to a complete service for Matins and Evensong – vividly testify to the unfamiliarity of this cathedral tradition to New Yorkers. These canticle settings are probably the same as those Tuckey signalled his intent to publish by subscription in 1773 along with other cathedral compositions:

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[32] Ruth Mack Wilson, 'Anglican Chant and Chanting in England and America, 1660-1811 (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 1988), 250-51.
[33] Robert Monckton, the royal governor of New York, spoke of Havana in November 1762 as 'key to the settlements and treasures of Spain, fortified by all the advantages of art […] gloriously subjected to his Majesty's dominion, and by the capture of all the ships in that port, the marine of our enemy most essentially debilitated': Nelson Vance Russell, 'The Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 9/3 (1929), 303-316 (313).
[34] *New York Gazette & Weekly Post-Boy*, 9 September 1762. The news of the victory at Havana had reached New York on 6 September.
[35] *New York Mercury*, 29 September 1766.

> Church Music, Ready for engraving, and to be published by subscription, the following select pieces, consisting of a compleat sett of church service, viz. A Te Deum laudamus; Jubilate Deo; Benedicite omnia opera Domini; Cantate Domino; and Deus misereatur; a burial service, and an anthem for any grand funeral; a compleat and well adapted anthem to be sung at the time of any charitable contribution […] N.B. There never was any compleat set of church service made public, nor can any be procured but by friendship and a great expence; neither is any burial service of the kind to be purchased, unless it be that in Dr. Croft's anthems, which is sold by two guineas.[36]

Again, Tuckey's marketing of these publications stressed the uniqueness of his 'offer' in a market which was still consuming British culture at an escalating rate. On this occasion Tuckey's advertisement alerted potential subscribers to his agents in Philadelphia, Boston, Williamsburg, Baltimore, and Annapolis, indicating expanding ambitions: ambitions which were however soon to be curtailed by the outbreak of war.

'Never performed in America': *Messiah* at the City Tavern, Broadway

On Christmas Day of 1769 Tuckey again took to the pages of the New York press to promote his latest venture:

> Concert of Church Music, will be performed at Mr. Burns's Room, on Tuesday the 9th of January 1770. For the benefit of Mr. Tuckey. First Part. Some select instrumental pieces chosen by the gentlemen who are performers; particularly a Concerto on the French Horn, by a gentleman just arrived from Dublin. Second Part. A sacred oratorio on the prophecies concerning Christ, and his coming; being an extract from the late Mr. Handel's grand oratorio, called the MESSIAH, consisting of the overture, and 16 other pieces, viz. airs, recitatives, and choruses. Never performed in America. The words of the oratorio will be delivered gratis (to the ladies and gentlemen) who are pleased to patronize and encourage this concert, or may be purchased of Mr. Tucky by others, for six pence. As it is impossible that a performance of this sort can be carried on without the kind assistance of gentlemen, who are lovers of music and performers on instruments Mr. Tucky will always greatfully acknowledge the favours of the gentlemen who assist him. Tickets to be had of Mr. Tuckey, at eight shillings each.[37]

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[36] *Rivington's New York Gazette*, 24 July 1773. Tuckey also solicited subscribers for the publication of 'two select pieces of church music' in 1771: anthems and a burial service. See *New York Mercury*, 11 March 1771.

[37] *New York Chronicle*, 25 December 1769. A facsimile of the largely identical concert bill is reproduced in Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York: Part 1, to the Close of the Rectorship of Dr. Inglis, A. D. 1783* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), 31.

A subsequent notice postponed the date of the performance to 16 January, on account of 'a considerable number of Ladies and Gentlemen' who wished to attend but were engaged on the 9th, and named the performance time: 6 o'clock.[38] The venue, 'Mr. Burns's Room', was the long room of a tavern on Broadway, between the street's junctions with Little Stone Street and Little Queen Street (modern Cedar and Thames streets), directly to the north of Trinity Church's burial ground, in the heart of the city. (**Figure 1** shows a detail of a contemporary map of lower Manhattan, with Trinity Church marked as 'b' and the streets directly to the north named.) The tavern went by a variety of names in the eighteenth century – perhaps most often the City Tavern, but also the City Arms, the Province Arms, the New York Arms, the York Arms, Burns's Coffee House, Bolton's Tavern, Hull's Tavern, and the State Arms – until the City Hotel, New York's first, was built on its site in 1794.[39] The establishment was the colonial city's 'principal tavern', comparable to the 'principal inns' of large provincial towns and cities in contemporary England: the largest, the grandest, the most central, and the one with the wealthiest clientele.[40] It sat at the centre of the colonial city's most exclusive neighbourhood, which stretched from Bowling Green north of the fort at Manhattan's southern extreme up Broadway to the Fields, the town common. Smart houses lined these streets, with the City Tavern – formerly the residence, until 1754, of James De Lancey, lieutenant governor of the province – no exception.[41] It was 'not only the best accommodated with stables and

[38] *New York Journal*, 11 January 1770.
[39] George Burns, the landlord, took over the City Arms in 1765. Before this date contemporary references to 'Burns's Room' refer to the long room of a different inn, the King's Tavern, at Whitehall Slip at the southern tip of the city near the Battery: see César Saerchinger, 'Musical Landmarks in New York', *Musical Quarterly* 6/1 (1920), 68-90 (72).
[40] On the City Arms, see John Austin Stevens, *Progress of New York in a Century, 1776-1876: An Address Delivered before the New York Historical Society, December 7, 1875* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1876), 22-3. On provincial English 'principal inns', see Daniel Maudlin, 'The Urban Inn: Gathering Space, Hierarchy and Material Culture in the Eighteenth-Century British Town', *Urban History* 46/4 (2019), 617-648.
[41] On the urban geography of late colonial New York and its neighbourhoods, see Joseph S. Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763-1776* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 13-41.

all things necessary to the entertainment of travellers, but the best situated of any house in that business in this city, being nearest the centre; and in a direct line with the eastern road, and very handy for both the North River, Staten Island, and Long Island Ferries'.[42] The high ticket price of the *Messiah* performance makes clear that this was an elite event – 8*s* 6*d* represented a whole day's wage for a white journeyman artisan in New York in this period[43] – as do the performing forces of gentleman amateur instrumentalists accompanying Tuckey's choir.

The principal inns of provincial English towns served 'polite society or "the better sort": a broad subcultural group which on any given evening in the same inn could extend from the parson to merchants, urban professionals and town alderman upwards through the local gentry, government officials and military officers to elite "persons of consequence", such as county court judges and the aristocracy' (**figure 2**).[44] Their function encompassed not only providing the obvious facets of hospitality – drink, food, accommodation – 'in a grand way', but also as 'social stages' for gatherings of various kinds.[45] These might stretch from informal meetings with friends to 'commercial activities […] meetings of clubs and societies, legal proceedings as well as leisure activities such as dancing or […] billiards'.[46] While

[42] Notice of 15 April 1754, quoted in Stevens, *Progress of New York*, 22.
[43] Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 77. The price is comparable to that of theatrical oratorio tickets and tickets at the Haymarket Opera House in London, which remained largely constant across the eighteenth century: box or pit tickets at the oratorio and opera cost around 10*s* 6*d*, and first balcony seats 5*s*; both would have priced out the 'middling sort' in England. The exchange rate between colonial and British currency of the same denomination meant that tickets to Tuckey's *Messiah* would have cost something between the cost of a box and gallery seat to the oratorio or opera in London. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46/1 (1993), 26-83 (79); David Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), 17; and Markus A. Denzel, *A Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 401-403.
[44] Maudlin, 'The Urban Inn', 620-1.
[45] Christel Lane, *From Taverns to Gastropubs: Food, Drink, and Sociality in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 20-21. On the flexible and overlapping distinctions between inns and taverns in the period, see ibid. 44. On the social function of inns and taverns, see also Paul Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 70ff.
[46] Maudlin, 'The Urban Inn', 619.

Figure 1: detail from Bernard Ratzer, *Plan of the City of New York in North America: Surveyed in the Years 1766 and 1767* (London, 1776). Engraving. 105 x 91 cm. New York, New York Public Library.

Figure 2: attributed to Joseph Highmore (1692-1780), *Figures in a Tavern or Coffee House*, mid-eighteenth century. Oil on panel. 19.7 x 46.4 cm. Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. The expensive dress of the assembled figures – particularly the figure with his back turned to the viewer on the right, whose sword and gilded sheath are visible, and the figure conversing with the landlady whose bright silver shoe buckles can be discerned – conveys something of the exclusive atmosphere of the eighteenth-century principal tavern. On this painting, formerly attributed to Hogarth, see also Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 80-81.

a number of an inn's parlours might serve for these sorts of spontaneous gathering, principal inns often possessed the capacity to host events more formally in their 'long rooms', ballrooms or assembly rooms. These synonymous terms referred to grandly proportioned and 'highly decorated rooms with large, light-bringing windows on [the] first floor' of the inn.[47] These spaces would host large 'dinners for all sorts of celebratory occasions, as well as dances […] concerts, plays, and exhibitions, with appeal mainly to those classes possessing cultural capital […] i.e. the well-to-do urban and local landed gentry'.[48] In particular, the long rooms of principal inns often represented many provincial towns' main (or only) concert venue and non-domestic formal dance space before the spread of purpose-built assembly rooms, separate from inns, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century.[49] The long rooms of inns and taverns were also the principal venue for the 'Infinity of CLUBS, or SOCIETIES' which sprang up in eighteenth-century Britain, whose aim often involved the combination of 'the Improvement of Learning' of various sorts with 'keeping up good Humour and Mirth'.[50] While some of the functions of inns and taverns differed in the properly urban context of London, with accommodation and sociability separated between different establishments, 'polite city-dwellers' frequently used the long rooms of taverns for club meetings and concerts.[51] These activities were combined in the semi-private concerts of clubs such as the Anacreontic Society (founded 1766; dissolved by 1792) and Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802), both of which met throughout much of the century in the

[47] ibid., 645.
[48] Lane, *From Taverns to Gastropubs*, 44.
[49] Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Places for Dancing: Assembly Rooms in Eighteenth-Century Essex' (unpublished conference paper, Oxford Dance Symposium, New College Oxford, 2022) provides an excellent case study of ballrooms in eighteenth-century Essex, 'almost all [of which] were attached to inns'. With thanks to Olive and Thelma for sharing the text of their paper.
[50] John Macky, *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters. From a Gentleman Here, to his Friend Abroad*, 3rd edn (London, 1723), 255. See Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[51] Maudlin, 'The Urban Inn', 622.

long room of the Crown and Anchor tavern on London's Strand. The Crown and Anchor's long room, also 'a prime site for dinners and political meetings', hosted evening meetings for these clubs which began with performances combining gentleman amateur and professional musicians and concluded with supper, drinking and socialising.[52] Though originally open only to male members, auditors, both men and women, were admitted by the third quarter of the century (even if this was not welcomed by all male members).[53]

By the middle of the eighteenth century the long room of Burns's City Tavern was the focal point of much of New York's elite social life and political organising.[54] The establishment therefore shared many of the features of its equivalents in England. However the extent to which it might be compared with them was, like many other aspects of contemporary colonial culture, a frequent source of anxiety during the mid-eighteenth century's rush to anglicise American life. It was widely acknowledged that colonial New York had a drinking problem. According to Benjamin Carp's calculations, 'drinking alcohol was almost certainly more prevalent in colonial New York City than in Boston or Philadelphia', the other two major colonial urban centres in the north.[55] Distilling rum from imported sugar was a major component of the province's economy, with seventeen working large

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[52] Simon McVeigh, 'Trial by Dining Club: The Instrumental Music of Haydn, Clementi and Mozart at London's Anacreontic Society', in Bennett Zon (ed.), *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 105-138 (111). See also Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 8-9, on the 'role of drinking in the convivial club environment' of the Academy of Ancient Music.

[53] See Eggington, *The Advancement of Music*, 9, and Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32-35. McVeigh's account emphasises the initial distinctiveness of the City of London's bourgeois associational music life, centring on tavern long rooms (and so its similarity to provincial music making) from the smarter world of music in the West End, before their eventual convergence through clubs like those mentioned.

[54] See Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, 20, and George C. Rogers, Jr., David R. Chesnutt and Peggy J. Clark (eds.), *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Seven: Aug. 1, 1769 – Oct. 9, 1771* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 576, n. 7.

[55] Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63. I draw on Carp's account of colonial New York's tavern culture in the following two paragraphs.

distilleries by the late 1760s. Much of this was for local consumption (to which New Yorkers added substantial volumes of imported drink), as travellers to the city and province frequently pointed out, often in tones which mixed admiration with trepidation. Alexander Mackraby, who had travelled from Britain, reckoned New York in 1768 'a better place for company and amusements than Philadelphia; more gay and lively'.[56] A visitor from Philadelphia noted in 1754 that 'I make not the least doubt in a few years to read the Province of New York consumes the whole vintage [of Madeira]. Never did I see the like, never do I believe there [could be] a city more thoroughly devoted to Bacchus. He orders [where] ever they meet. But what amazes me the more [they devote] themselves to him the healthier they appear […] Madeira is the remedy for all disorders and they tell me [that if I should] turn off my doctors and drink more of it, it would be better for me'.[57] Alexander Hamilton of Maryland 'tired of nothing' in New York 'but their excessive drinking, for in this place you may have the best of company and conversation'. He was however later 'glad to remove from a place where the temptation of drinking […] threw it self so often in my way'.[58]

New Yorkers themselves often expressed discomfort with the mores of the taverns of their city and province. Often this was expressed in the form of good-natured self-satire, such as the extended depiction of the city as 'Drinkallia' printed in 1749: a town where 'They generally discuss Points of Religion when they have drank most, and settle the State best when they can stand least'.[59] It could also manifest itself as invective, directed against the 'Obscene toasts' of tavern-goers

[56] Quoted in Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), 32-3.
[57] William Gordon to William Allen, 9 March 1754, quoted ibid., 201-2.
[58] Carl Bridenbaugh (ed.), *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 89, 185.
[59] 'A Discription of the Inhabitants, and Customs of the Province of Drinkallia', *New-York Weekly Journal*, 5 June 1749.

which serve only to 'disgust the sensible, to disconcert the modest, and to expose the depravity of taste as well as manners' in the city. 'Many a sober inclined man', an anonymous correspondent of the *New-York Chronicle* lamented, 'is forced into excesses he dreads and detests, by fear of offending the company, or appearing wanting to the sentiment the toast conveys'.[60] This anxiety also stood behind the imposition of nakedly racist legislation such as the measures strengthened in 1741, attempting to prevent the sale of alcohol to enslaved people.[61]

The well-to-do inhabitants of the colonial city were perturbed by the thought of the damage their reputation for hard drinking and disorder in social life might cause with outsiders. They dreaded views of the kind expressed by John Adams on a visit to New York in 1774: 'I have not seen one real Gentleman, one well bred Man, since I came to Town. At the Entertainments there is no Conversation that is agreeable; there is not Modesty, no attention to one another. They talk very loud, very fast, and altogether'.[62] 'Insecure about their provinciality', in a time of rapid Anglicisation across the American colonies, the well-to-do patrons of New York's more prestigious taverns and inns attempted to reform the city's social life to distinguish the kinds of leisure activity they enjoyed from the disorderly behaviour of those they imagined their social inferiors, and 'set it on a more equal footing with the metropolitan standards of Great Britain'.[63]

One manifestation of 'colonial elites' […] quest for cosmopolitanism' was the proliferation of clubs and societies gathering on a regular basis in New York's

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[60] *New-York Chronicle*, 13 July 1769.
[61] See Serena R. Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 73.
[62] L. H. Butterfield (ed.), *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1961), II: 109 [23 August 1774].
[63] Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 72. On the efforts made by 'elitist tavern goers' to 'nurture their cosmopolitan identities' in response to 'anxieties surrounding the social repercussions of imperial development' across the American colonies, see also Vaughan Scribner, *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society*, Early American Places 8 (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 21-63 (43), and idem, 'Cosmopolitan Colonists: Gentlemen's Pursuit of Cosmopolitanism and Hierarchy in British American Taverns', *Atlantic Studies* 10/4 (2013), 467-496.

taverns, in imitation of similar organisations in Britain, which sprang up in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.[64] William Smith, later Chief Justice of New York, writing in 1757 linked that fact that '*New-York* is one of the most social Places on the Continent[, where] The Men collect themselves into weekly Evening Clubs' with the city's integration into a transatlantic model of cultivation: the fact that, as noted above, 'In the City of *New-York*, through our Intercourse with the *Europeans*, we follow *London* Fashions'.[65] Societies such as the Moot club and the Society Library club used the City Tavern's long room for meetings which combined culture and learning – legal matters and literature respectively – with drinking and conviviality like their models across the Atlantic.[66] Another aspect of the elevation of tavern culture at the City Arms were the semi-theatrical and musical performances frequently hosted in the long room. The space was used by theatre performers and companies to introduce themselves to potential audiences outside of the season at John Street with one-off benefits, evenings of readings or entr'acte pieces.[67] Musical entertainments at the City Tavern in the middle part of the century included the introduction of New York's first subscription concert series, beginning in 1762 at George Burns's previous establishment at Whitehall Slip and moving to the City Tavern when Burns took over as landlord in 1765.[68] A 'Harmonic Society' of gentlemen amateurs was active in the early 1770s, giving concerts at the City Tavern (by then under the management of Robert Hull).[69] Many of New York's growing number of individual benefit concerts in the years around Tuckey's *Messiah* were also held in the long room at the City Tavern, with a repertory which aimed to

[64] Scribner, 'Cosmopolitan Colonists', 469.
[65] Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 211.
[66] Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 76-77.
[67] See Johnson and Burling, *The Colonial American Stage*, 60-62.
[68] See O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 163-5. The series was discontinued in 1767 and revived in 1773, before it was curtailed by the outbreak of war.
[69] ibid., 170-171; Rogers, Jr., Chesnutt and Clark (eds.), *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Seven*, 576, n. 7.

reflect 'sophisticated English tastes'.[70] In 1769 and 1770 these included an 'Attic Evening's Entertainment' of poetry and songs; a concert of instrumental music including the overture from *Saul* (HWV 53) and concertos by Avison and Corelli; and a solo French horn recital by the Irishman Mr. Stotherd (in all likelihood the performer mentioned in the advertisement for Tuckey's *Messiah*).[71] That the latter two concerts were followed immediately by 'a ball for the ladies' included in the ticket price suggests they are likely to have partaken of some of the atmosphere of club meetings in the same room: an evening in which, as one New Yorker put it, it was both 'possible to be *merry* and *wise*.'[72]

The connections contemporaries perceived between the reform of New York's tavern culture through musical performance and the anxieties about provinciality and want of sophistication generated by the Anglicisation of colonial life are clear in an anonymous letter published in the *New York Post-Boy* on 27 December 1764:

> It is a very just observation that a gentleman is to be known by his politeness—this qualification, wherever it is to be found, convinces us that it's possessor has seen the world and has had his manners formed by a good education.—The polite man is always received with pleasure, while the contrary character, tho' under every advantage of a gay appearance, never fail to strike with the disagreeable emotions of contempt and disgust. I am led into this short

[70] John Ogasapian, *The Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era,* American History Through Music 1 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 79.
[71] *New York Gazette & Weekly Post-Boy*, 10 July 1769; *New York Journal*, 8 February 1770; *New York Journal*, 15 March 1770. On Stotherd, see Jeffrey L. Snedeker, 'The Horn in Early America', in Stewart Carter (ed.), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1997), 151-170 (156-158).
[72] *New York Weekly Journal*, 20 March 1749. Developments in the concert life of the City Tavern can be set alongside the introduction of pleasure garden concerts to New York during the same period. Concerts began at Ranelagh Gardens in 1765 and Vauxhall Gardens in 1769. In both locations (each named in imitation of established pleasure gardens in London), audience members were entertained with a combination of rural surroundings, fireworks, music and plentiful food and drink (at New York's Ranelagh, 'the very best of wine and other liquors, mead, silabubs, etc. with gammon, tongues, alamode beef, tarts, cakes, etc': *New York Mercury*, 30 June 1766). Pleasure gardens in England had moderate entrance charges, but were primarily exclusive affairs due to the substantial costs associated with travel, appropriate dress, and the notoriously expensive refreshments. The proprietors of New York's pleasure gardens marketed them by emphasising their supposedly metropolitan sophistication and novelty ('the first attempt of the kind ever known in these parts': *New York Mercury*, 3 June 1765). See, on New York, Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, 166-8, and on a slightly later period, Naomi J. Stubbs, *Cultivating National Identify Through Performance: American Pleasure Gardens and Entertainment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), and on London, Peter Borsay, 'Pleasure Gardens and Urban Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Jonathan Conlin (ed.), *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 49-77.

> reflection by a circumstance, I can scarcely think of without indignation. What I mean is the strange behaviour at the Concert, of a certain set of males and females to whom, out of mere complaisance to their appearance, I will give the soft appellation of gentlemen and ladies.—I am a dear lover of music and can't bear to be disturbed in my enjoyment of an entertainment so polite and agreeable.—How great then is my disappointment and vexation, when instead of a modest and becoming silence nothing is heard during the whole performance, but laughing and talking very loud, squawling, overturning the benches, etc.—Behaviour more suited to a *broglio* than a musical entertainment. What is meant by so ill-timed an interruption—I know not: for tho' it may be true that to *Kick up a riot*, is a liberal amusement, and particularly adapted to *some* ladies, as it serves to attract the eyes of the other sex I am notwithstanding, pretty certain there might be a more proper place than the concert room found out for that purpose, for I cannot conceive that either the audience, or the gentlemen performers are under any obligations to bear those impertinencies—and I have an authority to assure those offenders against decency that if they don't resolve to behave better for the future; the managers and performers will be forced, either to leave all the performance or be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of insisting on their absenting themselves […] It is presumed what I have wrote will not be taken amiss by the persons hinted at—it is not their *persons* but their *follies* which are become obnoxious.—While we are entering into laudable schemes for our improvement in the acts of oeconomy in private life, a hint for the better regulation of our conduct in public, cannot be unacceptable.—It may at least tend to guard us from those improprieties, which very deservedly expose us to the ridicule of every sensible stranger.[73]

The correspondent's complaints reflect the dynamics of escalating Anglicisation more broadly noted above: the introduction of subscription concerts to the city's taverns merely serving to expose the perceived gap between colonial and metropolitan knowledge of how audiences at such events should conduct themselves. The well-to-do urban colonists of New York still relished merriment overmuch, and wisdom too little.

As in the case of his activities as a cathedral musician – where he positioned himself as uniquely placed to introduce New Yorkers to metropolitan cultural traditions so far absent from their city – William Tuckey's performance of *Messiah* at the City Tavern in January 1770 exploited a gap in the market produced by the

[73] The applied sense of *broglio* as 'commotion' was derived in this period from an area of St. Mark's Square in Venice where the city's patricians 'converse about state affairs, and form parties for obtaining public employments'. *Broglio* or *imbroglio* therefore signified 'the bustle, cabals, and intrigues which are commonly carried on in this place': John George Keysler, *Travels Through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, Lorrain. Giving a True and Just Description of the Present State of those Countries; their Natural, Literary, and Political History; Manners, Laws, Commerce, Manufactures, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Coins, Antiquities, Curiosities of Art and Nature, &c.*, 4 vols. (London, 1756-7), III: 280-281.

perpetually incomplete process of colonial Anglicization. The 'late Mr. Handel' was already a figure of some cultural authority in colonial discourse before the beginning of the performing tradition of substantial portions of his music inaugurated at the City Tavern. For Benjamin Franklin, writing to his brother Peter in Newport, Rhode Island in the mid-1760s, to speak of 'one of our greatest masters, the ever famous *Handel*' was axiomatic.[74] Two publications of 1765, during the heat of the Stamp Act crisis, also invoke the composer as a guarantor of metropolitan cultural values. A poem imagines the longed-for repeal of the act, when:

> ALL SAINTS and Sinners join to hail the Day
> Relief arrived to *America.*
> *The Act's repeal'd*! they cry, with one Accord,
> *The Act's repeal'd*---and blessed be the Lord!
> God bless the King and Parliament, they cry;
> They heard the Truth, confirm'd our Liberty.
>
> […]
>
> Rejoice! and grieve no more,
> For FREEDOM comes from fair *Britannia*'s Shore.
> Were *Handel*'s Self to hear the charming Strain,
> He'd strive and strive to imitate in vain.[75]

Similarly a broadside imagines a host of British worthies collaborating to produce an artwork that would do justice to the gravity of the situation precipitated by the imposition of the Stamp Act:

> The reigning Question now is, *Whether* Americans *shall be Freemen or Slaves?*
> […] Behold SLAVERY afar off! he bends his Course this Way from LOUIS*iana!*
> Let us suppose he is already arrived, and that proper Artisans are appointed
> to dissect him *alive*, with the Spirit of *Hogarth* drawing his Picture, in order to

[74] 'Letter LVI. [*recte* LVIII] To Mr. P. F. Newport, *New England*', in *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Made at Philadelphia in America, by Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. and F. R. S. To which Are Added, Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects* (London, 1769), 472-8 (475). The manuscript of the letter does not survive, but Peter Franklin's move to Philadelphia in October 1764 gives the letter a *terminus ante quem*. Despite Franklin's respect for Handel, he nevertheless points out numerous faults in his English word setting in relation to the aria 'Wise men flatt'ring may deceive us' from *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV 63) in a manner reminiscent of the often exasperated corrections on this point offered to Handel by Charles Jennens: see Donald Burrows, *Handel: 'Messiah'*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 75-82.

[75] *A New Collection of Verses Applied to the First of November, A.D. 1765, &c. Including a Prediction that the S—p A—t Shall not Take Place in North-America. Together with A Poetical Dream, Concerning Stamped Papers* (New Haven, 1765), 15, 18.

> disperse it among all the Freemen in *America*; while the Shades of Dean *Swift* and Dr. *Young*, with those Messrs. *Pope, Addison* and *Gay* are describing his abominable Actions in all the different Kinds of loyal and literary Composition. I have now only Time to insert *Swift*'s suppositious Description of his corporal Parts, in order to forward the supreme Performance of *Hogarth*. I had forgot to mention that the Shade of that excellent Master of Musick (Mr. *Handel*) is also supposed to be present, carefully composing Tunes to the different Productions of his Fellow-Spirits.[76]

In both cases Handel's authority is invoked as the British musician *par excellence* to intervene in colonial political discourse.[77] Those who attended *Messiah* at the City Tavern could buy into this emblem of cosmopolitan culture, reassuringly expensively, just as they could at James Rivington's bookshop in Hanover Square. Handel's music was also central to the most prestigious forms of contemporary British tavern music-making, as at the Academy of Ancient Music, where Handel's music made up the greater part of concert programmes throughout most of the century, and complete oratorios were performed on several occasions.[78] By introducing *Messiah* into the round of musical soirees, theatrical tableaux and political gatherings which occupied City Tavern's long room in the 1760s and early 1770s, Tuckey was able to supply moneyed New Yorkers with multiple facets of desirable metropolitan culture the city so far had lacked. *Messiah*, 'never performed in America', was sold as a corrective to an unconscionable omission in New Yorkers'

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[76] *To the Publick of Connecticut* ([New Haven], [1765]), 1. The broadside was probably the work of Benjamin Mecom: see Jared Gardner, *The Rise and Fall of Early American Magazine Culture: The History of Communication* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 62-68.

[77] To compare with the composer's emerging status as national composer in Britain itself during the eighteenth century, see the account of the two statues of Handel by L. F. Roubiliac (one of 1738 and the other of 1762) by Suzanne Aspden in '"Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone": The Composer as Monument', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55/1 (2002), 39-90; and Ellen T. Harris, 'Handel's Ghost: The Composer's Reputation in the Eighteenth Century', in John Paynter, Tim Howell, Richard Orton and Peter Seymour (eds.), *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1992), I: 208-225.

[78] See Eggington, *The Advancement of Music*, 40-41, 96-97. A tavern music club run on the same lines, the Apollo Academy, which met in the 'Great Room' of the Devil Tavern at London's Temple Bar, founded in 1726 and dissolved in 1792, was set up to compete with the Academy of Ancient Music and to perform music by Handel's rivals. It featured performances of complete oratorios on Handelian lines by Handel's competitors such as Maurice Greene: see Matthew Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy: The Music and Intellectual Contexts of Oratorios, Odes and Masques* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008).

ongoing efforts to bring the city's social and culture life into closer alignment with the fashions and standards of the imperial core.

To situate the first American performance of a substantial portion of Handel's music within the Anglicisation of its tavern culture is also to show how it was at once drawn into the factional politics of the late colonial period. As historians of the period such as Benjamin Carp and Vaughan Scribner have demonstrated, the connections observed above between colonial Anglicisation more broadly and the growing tensions between sections of the colonial elite and the imperial government were experienced in microcosm in the taverns of New York. The frequent political meetings among the city's burghers in the City Tavern's long room were a natural consequence of the centrality of the space to their social lives, and represented an obvious outgrowth of the associational world of clubs and societies whose meetings took place in New York's taverns in imitation of '*London* Fashions'. The most famous such meeting held in the long room took place on October 31 1765, when around two hundred of New York's wealthiest merchants gathered to pledge to boycott British goods until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act:

> the Merchants of the City met at Barns's [sic] Tavern, the House of James Delancy […] and came to a Resolution, to send for no goods from England, and sell none, should they be consigned to them, except the Stamp Act was repealed. At the door of this house, a number of boys & sailors appeared, imagining that there was a design to execute some foolish ceremony of burying Liberty; which it seems had been talked of; but when they found that the Merchants peaceably separated, and that there was no shew to be exhibited, they proceeded through the streets, in a mobbish manner, whistling and hurraing.[79]

This meeting – with its characteristic combination of genteel resolution and popular crowd action – sparked the many similar assemblies (and riots) across Britain's

[79] Robert R. Livingston to Robert Monckton, 8 November 1765, in Thomas Aspinwall, George E. Ellis, William S. Bartlet and John Langdon Sibley (eds.), 'The Aspinwall Papers: Part II', in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. X—Fourth Series* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871), 559-567 (560-1).

American colonies in the following months which constituted the beginning of the Stamp Act crisis.[80]

The group of New York Whigs who became known as the local Sons of Liberty were known for co-ordinating their response to the successive imperial crises of the pre-revolutionary decade in the city's taverns. 'New York has drunk the deepest of the baneful cup of infatuation', remarked William Pitt in 1767: 'It is a literal truth to say that the stamp act, of most unhappy memory, has frightened those irritable and umbrageous people quite out of their senses'.[81] A well-known contemporary depiction of New York's 'Liberty Pole', erected by the local Sons of Liberty in celebration of the Stamp Act's repeal and a physical focus for demonstrations against subsequent imperial policy, illustrates the association (**Figure 3**). It represents the events of January 1770, when on the night of Saturday the 13th (three days before the City Tavern *Messiah*) a group from the 16th regiment of the imperial garrison would attempt to fell the pole (as they had the previous three that stood in its place). The pole was placed opposite de la Montagne's tavern, at the southern end of the Fields (marked as 'Common' on **Figure 1**): a ten-minute walk up Broadway from the City Tavern, and the customary meeting place of the New York Sons of Liberty by the late 1760s. The Sons would watch from inside the tavern as the soldiers emerged from the Upper Barracks across the Fields and attempt to blow up the pole with gunpowder; their jeers prompted the garrison to lay siege to de la Montagne's house, smashing windows and furnishings. The skirmish set in motion a series of armed clashes between colonists and the imperial garrison in the

[80] See Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 223. Further such meetings were held at the City Tavern during the same period, notably in January 1764 and November 1765. The opponents of the Stamp Act gave assurances that the latter meeting would be conducted 'with the utmost Solemnity and good Order' and 'the strictest Rules of Society': see Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 81-85.
[81] Earl of Chatham (Pitt) to the Earl of Shelburne, 7 February 1767, in William Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle (eds.), *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Published from the Original Manuscripts*, 4 vols. (London: J. Murray,1838-40), III [1839], 193-4 (193).

surrounding streets on 19 and 20 January.[82] The pen-and-ink satirical drawing by the Swiss *émigré* Pierre Eugène du Simitière represents the tavern – which can be identified as such by its sign advertising 'Beef Stakes Hot & Hot' – as the 'residence' of the assembled Sons of Liberty, equivalent to the garrison's barracks at the opposite side of the composition.[83]

[82] See Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 89-91; Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 145-6; Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 42-8; and John Gilbert McCurdy, *Quarters: The Accommodation of the British Army and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 167-174.

[83] See Graham Russell Gao Hodges, *New York City Cartmen, 1667-1850,* 2nd edn (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 58-9. 'Hot and hot' was how eighteenth-century diners preferred tavern cooks to prepare and serve their steaks. 'I take this opportunity to send you the history of this day, which has been remarkably full of adventures; and you will own I give you them like a beef-steak at Dolly's, *hot* and *hot*, without ceremony and parade, just as they come': [Tobias Smollett], *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. By the Author of Roderick Random,* 3 vols. (London, 1771), III: 200. Cf. Richard Briggs, *The English Art of Cookery, According to the Present Practice […] With Bills of Fare for Every Month in the Year* (London, 1788), 181: 'put your gridiron over a clear fire, and rub it with a little beef-suet, put on your steaks, and turn them quick till they are nearly done, then pepper and salt them, and turn them quick till done; have a hot dish, put them in, cover them up, and send them away hot, with chopped shallots, horse-radish, and pickles in saucers'.

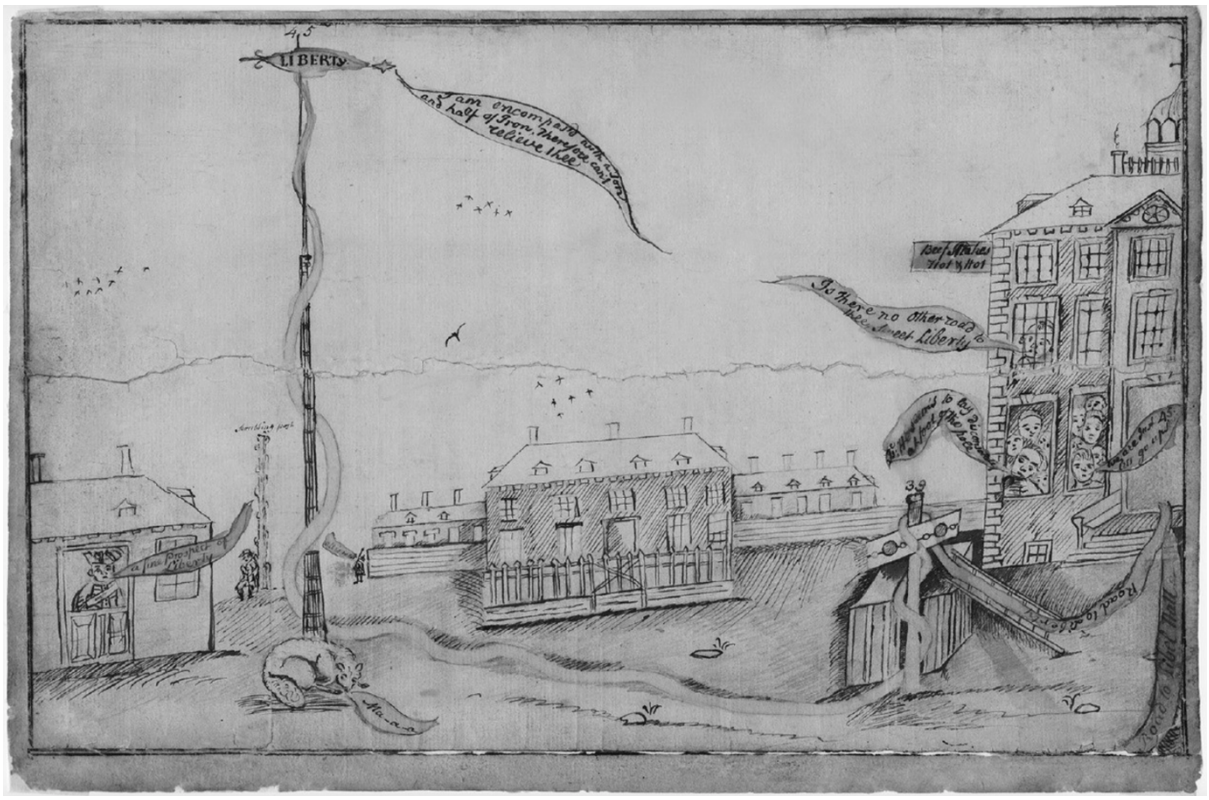

Figure 3: Pierre Eugène du Simitière, *Liberty Pole Erected in New York* (ca. 1770). Pen and ink with pencil. 12.6 x 33 cm. Philadelphia, The Library Company of Philadelphia, Collection of Pierre Eugène du Simitière, Print Department (296.F Vol. III).

That New York's tavern-goers perceived the connection between the reform of the city's musical culture along metropolitan lines and the organised resistance to imperial policy which characterised colonial Whigs' response to the crises of the pre-revolutionary decade is made clear by the bad-tempered letter to the *New York Post-Boy* quoted above. The correspondent signed off the note of December 1764 by suggesting that 'While we are entering into laudable schemes for our improvement in the acts of oeconomy in private life, a hint for the better regulation of our conduct in public, cannot be unacceptable'. The 'laudable schemes' referred to are the activities of the 'Society for the Promotion of Arts, Agriculture and Oeconomy' founded by New York merchants in December 1764: another part of the first wave of colonial boycotts of British imports in response to the Stamp Act and associated legislation (like those agreed in Burns's long room the following year) which would

set the pattern for resistance to the Townshend Duties and Tea Act in the coming years.[84] The Society aimed to encourage monied colonists to briefly give up on the metropolitan imports they valued so much in the service of the colonies' economic and constitutional future, and replace them with colonial products in the hope that if 'exports to the colonies fell off sharply, the cries of distress throughout the kingdom would […] be heard inside the House of Commons'.[85] For the anonymous writer, the transformation of New York's cultural life based on transatlantic standards of refinement which would bring *Messiah* to the City Tavern in 1770, and the struggle for the protection of the liberties and rights colonists were due as Englishmen, were two sides of the same coin.

Trinity Church, Wall Street

At the junction of Broadway and Wall Street, Trinity Church stood just a stone's throw from the City Tavern. Its steeple, rising high over the colonial city's rooftops, and the inscription set over its entrance served as imposing physical reminders of the authority of the King's Church:

> Hoc Trinitatis Templum fundatum est Anno Regni illustrissimi, supremi, Domini Gulielmi tertii, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Octavo, Annoq; Domini 1696.[86]
>
> [This church of the Holy Trinity was established in the eighth year of the reign of the most illustrious and supreme monarch William the Third, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and defender of the faith: A.D. 1696.]

Trinity sat at the heart of the same exclusive district the City Tavern served (the building and its large churchyard are marked 'b' on **Figure 1**). It was the place of

[84] Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918), 63-7.
[85] Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution*, new edn. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 32-3 (33). See also Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, 44-45, and Joseph A. Ernst, 'The Currency Act Repeal Movement: A Study of Imperial Politics and the Revolutionary Crisis, 1764-1767', *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (1968), 177-211.
[86] Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 190.

worship of the city's colonial administrators and gentry: 'the church that the quality chiefly resort to'.[87] Traffic jams of handsome conveyances plagued the stretch of Broadway outside the church around services: one traveller 'counted 13 coaches and chariots waiting at the door of this church for their owners, and in truth the number of Equipages in this town, considering the extent of it, is surprising, and most of them exceeding fine ones too'.[88] The church was geographically and socially proximate to the City Tavern, yet politically strikingly distant: Trinity was a notable centre for Tory political organising in New York during the pre-revolutionary decade. While Tuckey's performance of *Messiah* at the City Tavern can be understood in relation to the process of colonial Anglicisation which counterintuitively would set in motion the events of the revolutionary war, the Trinity *Messiah* in October 1770 formed part of a charitable festival which was also plainly a vehicle for colonial Tory political mobilisation. Tracing *Messiah*'s short journey along Broadway in 1770 allows us to see clearly how, as recent historians have pointed out, the divisions of the late colonial period which resulted in the revolutionary war in the 1770s were principally internal conflicts within (elite) colonial society: how the rebellious colonies were 'not a nation at war with another nation, but a country in a state of *civil war*'.[89] The New York *Messiah*s of 1770 also show how Handel's music was co-opted by opposing factional actors for reasons that were distinctly local in the context of late colonial British America: Handel was 'drafted in' to speak on behalf of colonial social and political positions which, by virtue of their Americanness, did not exist in the same form in the Britain of

[87] Philip Sidney Padelford (ed.), *Colonial Panorama, 1775: Dr. Robert Honyman's Journal for March and April* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1939), 30.
[88] ibid.
[89] Quotation from Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, in 1781: quoted in Robert McCluer Calhoon, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 399. See also Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 102-125.

Handel's lifetime or of the later eighteenth century.[90] The mobility of Handel's music, even at this very early stage of its American afterlife, is a clear instance of the phenomenon identified by Michaël Werner and Michel Espagne: that cultural transfer works not merely through relocation but continuous 'reinterpretation'.[91]

In the colonies of the mid-Atlantic and New England in the years after the Stamp Act crisis, the King's Church emerged as the principal institutional representative of the Tory, or Loyalist, cause. Nancy Rhoden has calculated that over eighty per cent of Anglican clergy in the colonies of New England, New York and New Jersey took the ministry's side in the constitutional disputes that began with the Stamp Act crisis and the outbreak of war which followed the formation of the Continental Congress in 1774.[92] Something of the political climate at Trinity from mid-century onwards can be sensed in the surviving sermons of Henry Barclay (1711-1764), rector from 1746 until his death, and Samuel Auchmuty (1722-1777), assistant priest at Trinity since his ordination in 1747 and rector from 1764. Taken together they form a notable example of the durability of 'classical' Tory ideological positions in colonial America, with '[d]ivine-right strains in colonial thought remain[ing] strong until 1774 and 1775'.[93] During the Seven Years War prayers were frequently offered for the success of the King's forces in the West and Canada against France. In July 1763 Barclay urged

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[90] See Matthias Middell, 'European History and Cultural Transfer', *Diogenes* 48/189 (2000), 23-30 (26): 'The methodological starting point is a truly radical change of perspective: instead of the magical category of influence, here we have an integration of foreign cultural elements into a culture defined as native. Replacing a perspective that describes exportation, there is a picture of the motives and circumstances of importation'. For a parallel case of the music of the emerging canon's being 'drafted in' to speak on behalf of political positions in the late eighteenth century, see Nicholas Mathew, 'Heroic Haydn, the Occasional Work, and "Modern" Political Music', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4/1 (2007), 7-25 (23-24).

[91] 'Un transfert culturel correspond à une tentative de réinterprétation': Michel Espagne and Michaël Werner, 'La construction d'une reference culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750-1914)', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 42/4 (1987), 969-992 (972).

[92] Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 88-89.

[93] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 258.

> praise & thanksgiving, for the restoration of peace whereby an emmense acquisition of Territory is ceeded to his Maj^{y}, for w^{ch} we ~~in~~ Americans ought in a particular manner to rejoice, [which] proclaims to y^{e} astonished World, y^{t} y^{e} L^{d} hath been again gracious to his unworthy Serv^{ts}; y^{t} he hath redeemed our Lives from destruction, & hath crowned us w^{t} mercy & loving Kindness.[94]

Congregants were encouraged to regard themselves as 'Americans & part of the British Nation'.[95] Doctrines of non-resistance and divine right were forcefully urged by Auchmuty in his Accession Day sermon in 1767:

> The great Duty of obedience to superiors whether Kings or all that are put in Authority under them, being a subject so reasonable and necessary, […] I cannot but think it proper to enforce it upon your minds and memories, that none may pretend to be so ignorant as to want instruction in this great and necessary point of Religion Obedience to Kings and princes […] Subjects are obliged in Gratitude and Ingenuity, in equity and Justice, to pray for their Princes Because they are most nearly related to us and allied by the most sacred bonds, being constituted by God in his own Room, the parents and Guardians of their Country.[96]

Prayer for deliverance from tyranny was

> the only method that St Paul did prescribe, even when Nero a most vile flagitious man a bad governour, a monstrous Tyrant and most bloody persecutor did sway the Empire. He did not advise Christians to stand upon their Guard, to contrive plots, to provide Arms, to raise mutinies, and Insurrections against him. But to offer supplications, prayers and Intercessions for him, as the best means of their Security and Comfort; and this was the course of the primitive Christians, during their heard Condition, under the Rule of the Heathen Princes, Opposers of their Religion. Prayers and tears were then the only Arms of the Church, whereby they long defended it from ruin and at last advanced it to a most glorious prosperity.[97]

When war broke out, God's protection was sought for the King, 'our much abused & most merciful Prince':

> To this supreme Maj*est*y of Heaven & Earth, by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice let us offer up also our earnest prayers, and devote supplications y^{t} he w^{d} be graciously pleased to continue & sanctify the blessings we have already received – that he w^{d} watch over his sacred Maj*est*y for our good – that he w^{d} permit his reign to be long and glorious, easy to himself, & a blessing to his Subjects – that he w^{d} bestow upon us such a meas*ur*e of his divine Grace as may teach us to live a godly & quiet life – that

[94] [William Barclay], Sermon on Psalm 27:6, 16-17: Box PAM 33 1763, Trinity Wall Street Archives, New York.
[95] ibid.
[96] [Samuel Auchmuty], Sermon on 1 Timothy 2:1-2, [1], [5]: Box PAM 1767, Trinity Wall Street Archives, New York.
[97] ibid., [8-9].

> he w[d] fill our hearts with Gratitude & Love to all that are in authority set over us for our good.[98]

God's judgment, meanwhile, was promised to rebels:

> Too many indeed there are who think courage consists in roaring and blaspheming, in swearing & tyrannizing over their Inferiors, in quarrelling, in sedition & Treason, & in trampling under foot all Laws and Constitutions both of God & man: But these things my dear Bretheren ought not to be so. True Xtian Courage is fearful to offend God has a reverend regard to all his Laws – is loyal to its Prince – obedient to all lawful Sup*erio*rs […] If then we esteem the approbation of our Lord & Master Jesus Xt – if we are desirous of happiness here thereafter – if we are truly actuated w*ith* a hearty Zeal for the welfare & prosperity of our Country, let us each exert our end*eavou*rs in the cause of God & religion by the unremitted practice of every public & private Virtue. Thus shall we become indeed a praise in the Earth – thus shall we for ever secure the favour of that Being, in w*ho*se hands are the Issues of peace & war, who is a Tower of Salvation to all those that trust in him, but, who bringeth the wicked and ungodly down to the Ground.[99]

These kind of sentiments made Auchmuty in particular notorious in Whig circles during his ministry at Trinity, and he was singled out for mockery in the Whig poet John Trumbull's widely circulated mock-epic *M'Fingal*, first published in 1775:[100]

> Have not our High-Church Clergy made it
> Appear from scriptures which ye credit,
> That right divine from heav'n was lent

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[98] [Samuel Auchmuty], Sermon on Exodus 14:13 [1777?], 12-13, 15-16: Rector's Office Box 1, File Samuel Auchmuty 1-3, Trinity Wall Street Archives, New York.
[99] ibid., 6, 14-15.
[100] On Auchmuty's biography in general, see Annette Townsend, *The Auchmuty Family of Scotland and America* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1932), 56-74; on his relationship with Trinity, Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church […] Part 1*, 307-410; and on his relationship with King's College, New York see Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 1-48. The sermon on Exodus 14:13, noted on the manuscript's cover as 'preached […] just after his return to the City after Trinity Church was burned' can be provisionally dated to 1777: in that year Auchmuty returned to New York from a period of convalescence in New Brunswick. Since war had now broken out, this entailed having to pass undetected through Congress's lines of battle. He returned successfully to the city only to find Trinity destroyed in the fighting, and died later the same year. A notorious anecdote which often serves as an emblem of Trinity's commitment to the Tory cause during the war is sometimes relayed with Auchmuty as the protagonist (as in David E. Mass, 'Auchmuty, Samuel' [1999], *American National Biography* [https://doi/org/10/1093/anb/9780198606697.article.0100037]). It is more likely, however, to apply to his successor at Trinity Charles Inglis, who recounts the incident in his diary in the first person: during the occupation of New York by Washington's forces, 'Violent threats were thrown out against us, in case the king were any longer prayed for. One Sunday, when I was officiating, and had proceeded some length in the service, a company of about one hundred armed rebels marched into the church, with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed, as if going to battle. The congregation was thrown into the utmost terror, and several women fainted, expecting a massacre was intended […] the people expected that, when the collects for the king and the royal family were read, I should be fired at, as menaces to that purpose had been frequently flung out. The matter, however, passed over without any incident': quoted in Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church […] Part 1*, 383.

To kings, that is the Parliament,
Their subjects to oppress and teaze,
Did they not write and pray and preach,
And torture all the parts of speech,
About Rebellion make a pother,
From one end of the land to th'other?
And yet gain'd fewer pros'lyte Whigs
Than old St. Anth'ny 'mongst the pigs

[…]

What warnings had ye of your duty
From our old Rev'rend Sam. Auchmuty,
From Priests of all degrees and metres,
T'our fagg-end man poor Parson Peters?

[...]

Prov'd all intrigues to set you free
Rebellion 'gainst *the powr's that be*;
Brought over many a scripture text
That used to wink at rebel-sects,
Coax'd wayward ones to favour regents,
Or paraphras'd them to obedience.[101]

The poem goes on to offer a derisory vision of potential imperial triumph in the Revolutionary War, in which the ministry in London rewards American Loyalists with titles, lands, and ecclesiastical elevations:

The day of joy, when North, our Lord,
His faithful fav'rites shall reward!
No Tory then shall set before him
Small wish of 'Squire, or Justice Quorum;
But 'fore his unmistaken eyes
See lordships, posts and pensions rise.
Awake to gladness then, ye Tories,
Th'unbounded prospect lies before us?
The pow'r display'd in Gage's banners
Shall cut Amer'can lands to manors,
And o'er our happy conquer'd ground
Dispense estates and titles round!

[…]

In wide-sleev'd pomp of godly guise,
What solemn rows of bishops rise!
Aloft a card'nal's hat is spread
O'er punster Cooper's rev'rend head!

[…]

While mitres fall, as 'tis their duty,
On heads of Chandler and Auchmuty!

[101] [John Trumbull], *M'Fingal: A Modern Epic Poem. Canto First, or the Town-Meeting* (Philadelphia, 1775), 13.

> Knights, viscounts, barons shall ye meet,
> As thick as pavements in the street![102]

Trumbull's conceit of the consecration as bishop of Auchmuty and Thomas Bradbury Chandler (1726-1790), rector of St John's Church in Elizabeth, New Jersey, is not as ridiculous as it might seem, despite the overblown charges of crypto-Catholicism he simultaneously levels at American Anglicans. Auchmuty, Chandler and a number of other prominent Anglican divines in the mid-Atlantic colonies and New England really were involved in an attempt to extend the Anglican episcopate to the New World: a deeply divisive project since it was first mooted in the early eighteenth century, emblematic of the intractable conflict between colonial Whigs and Tories, and potentially incendiary in the tinderbox of colonial politics following the Stamp Act crisis.

The Bishop Controversy at Trinity

As David Hein and Gardiner Shattuck have astutely observed, the fact of the King's Church's emergence as a stronghold of Loyalism in the years after the Stamp Act crisis can be attributed not solely to theology and ecclesiology – the monarch as the church's supreme governor, its daily liturgy laced with prayers for the sovereign – but to the practicalities of funding and legal recognition. Loyalism among the Anglican clergy of the mid-Atlantic and New England was 'linked to the relative *weakness* of the Church of England in [those] colonies'.[103] While in many of the southern colonies the King's Church was constitutionally established, in the mid-Atlantic colonies and New England Anglicans in general held no official status to distinguish them from the various dissenting groups which constituted the religious majority. In New York the King's Church had the awkward status of 'partial

[102] ibid., 35-36.
[103] David Hein and Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., *The Episcopalians* (New York: Church Publishing, 2004), 38.

establishment': fully established in the four counties around New York City (New York, Queen's, Westchester and Richmond), but with no official status elsewhere in the province.[104] Establishment, where it applied, meant financial support for the colonial King's Church in those colonies via tithing and local taxation, whereas in the north Anglican churches in general depended on the financial support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in London. Colonial priests officially fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, to whom any appeal took weeks or, more likely, months. The precarity of this position understandably led to many Anglican clergymen in areas where the King's Church was not established to fear the severance of political links with Britain and the source of their salaries. The escalation of tensions between the colonies and the ministry in London following the Stamp Act crisis produced a concomitant escalation in petitions to the SPG and the church hierarchy in Britain to abandon its policy of arm's-length control of the northern colonial churches by appointing a colonial bishop.[105] Such petitions increased in urgency as the political situation spiralled out of control and as the authorities in Britain repeatedly stalled and demurred, fearing any action they might take would extinguish what hope the ministry had of containing the problem.

For Whigs and Patriots in the colonies, proposals for the appointment of a colonial bishop were often perceived as a poorly disguised stalking horse for plans for the imposition of further colonial taxation along the lines of the hated Stamp Act. Such views were held in addition to the more predictable objection that such a move would 'import wholesale the persecuting hierarchical state churches of the Old World, the very churches that had driven England's first settlers to seek religious

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[104] See Richard W. Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Religious Diversity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 53-74.
[105] See James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607-1783* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2004), 115-120.

liberty in the wilderness'.[106] Jonathan Mayhew, a graphomaniacal participant on the Whig side in the pamphlet war on the issue of the colonial episcopate which ground on through the 1760s and early 1770s, wondered in 1765 whether 'if bishops were speedily to be sent to America, it [would seem] not wholly improbable, from what we hear of the *unusual* tenor of some late parliamentary acts and bills, for raising money on the poor colonies *without their consent*, that provision might be made for the support of these bishops, if not of all the church clergy also, in the *same way*.'[107] William Livingston, a New York lawyer and Whig, responded in 1768 to Thomas Chandler's defence of the proposals on an American bishop with the view that the project represented 'an evil more terrible to every man who sets a proper value either on his liberty, property, or conscience than the so greatly and deservedly obnoxious Stamp Act itself'.[108] The affair was vividly remembered by John Adams half a century later: 'the apprehension of Episcopacy', he wrote in 1815, 'contributed fifty years ago, as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies.'[109]

Anglicans who advocated for the consecration of an American bishop, among them Auchmuty at Trinity, often did so themselves on grounds of religious liberty. As believers in *iure divino* episcopacy and apostolic succession, American members of the King's Church's felt the continued lack of a colonial bishop as a form of

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[106] Peter W. Walker, 'The Bishop Controversy, the Imperial Crisis, and Religious Radicalism in New England, 1763-74', *The New England Quarterly* 90/3 (2017), 306-343 (312).
[107] Jonathan Mayhew, *Remarks on an Anonymous Tract, Entitled An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Being a Second Defence of the Observations, in which the Scheme of Sending Bishops to America is Particularly Considered, and the Inconveniences that Might Result from it to that Country, if Put into Execution, both in Civil and Religious Respects, Are Represented* (Boston, 1765), 69.
[108] [William Livingston], *The American Whig*, 14 March 1768, quoted in Edwin S. Gaustad and Marl A. Noll (eds.), *A Documentary History of Religion in America to 1877*, 3rd edn (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 217-218 (218).
[109] John Adams to Dr. J. Morse, 2 December 1815, in Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations*, 10 vols (Boston: Little, Brown, 1850-1856): X [1856], 185-1888 (185).

religious oppression, and it became customary to speak of the colonial church, as Samuel Johnson, President of New York's King's College did in 1759, as suffering a 'State of Persecution'.[110] The lack of a colonial bishop meant that Anglicans, despite belonging to the church of which the monarch was supreme governor, saw themselves as the only religious group not afforded toleration in the King's American colonies: as Auchmuty wrote in 1771, without a bishop, colonial Anglicans were prevented from 'the full Enjoyment of all their rites & Ceremonies, to which they have surely an undoubted title[, i]f other denominations find free indulgence.'[111] In particular, colonial Anglicans' conviction that priests might only be so ordained by bishops meant that, in the absence of a colonial episcopate, candidates for ordination were forced continually to make the dangerous, costly and time-consuming transatlantic crossing to London. Many candidates died on the voyage. Johnson's son, William, was one such, succumbing to smallpox at sea as he travelled to England to be ordained in 1755. Johnson made sense of his grief by viewing the loss of his son's life as a martyrdom: 'I should scarce have thought his Life ill-bestowed', he wrote, 'if it could have been an occasion of awakening this stupid age to a sense of the necessity of sending Bishops [to America]. This is now the seventh precious Life that has been sacrificed to the unaccountable politics of this apostatising age.'[112] The death in 1766 of two more SPG missionaries, Hugh Wilson and Samuel Giles, returning from their ordination in London, in a shipwreck in Delaware Bay prompted an impassioned plea from Auchmuty to the SPG to waste no more time in sending a bishop to the colonies, imploring the society's members to think of the 'inconsolable', 'truly pitiable' and 'destitute' condition of 'poor Giles's

[110] Samuel Johnson to Thomas Secker, 20 March 1759, quoted in Walker, 'The Bishop Controversy', 315.
[111] Samuel Auchmuty to Sir William Johnson, 4 April 1771, quoted in Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church […] Part 1*, 335-356 (335).
[112] Samuel Johnson to Thomas Secker, 5 December 1757, quoted in Walker, 'The Bishop Controversy', 316.

wife' and child.[113] Writing in 1771 Auchmuty and other Anglican clergymen in the northern colonies quoted striking statistics:

> The exact Number of those, who have gone home for Ordination from these Northern Colonies […] is Fifty-Two, Of these Forty-Two have returned safely, and Ten have miscarried; the Voyage or Sickness occasioned by it having proved fatal to near a fifth Part of them […] The true and real history of the Sufferings that some of them have undergone, in their Endeavors to obtain Ordination, would force Tears from the humane Reader, were he to consider it even in the Light of a Fiction or Romance.[114]

Despite the SPG, the church hierarchy and the ministry fearing the opposite, American Anglicans frequently gave voice to concerns that the continued absence of a bishop in the colonies encouraged colonists to imagine a future outside the empire. Their remarks testify to the sincerity with which some American Tories held to their beliefs in the vital role of the King's Church in maintaining the health of the body politic, despite its minority status in the northern colonies. The Anglican clergy of the colonies of New York and New Jersey, Auchmuty and Chandler among them, convened in 1765 to discuss the progress of their requests for an American bishop. The meeting resulted in a set of petitions, written up by Chandler, directly to the King, setting out in stark terms what they feared might result from further delay: allowed to continue to founder in her current distress, the American Church 'must finally sink, and with her the firmest Security for the Loyalty of your Majesty's American Subjects'.[115] Chandler wondered during the Stamp Act crisis whether the 'present rebellious Disposition of the Colonies' might be 'intended by Providence as a Punishment' for the ministry and the church hierarchy's treatment of its American

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[113] Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Samuel Auchmuty, 19 April 1766, quoted in Peter Walker, 'The Church Militant: The American Loyalist Clergy and the Making of the British Counterrevolution, 1701-92', (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 2016), 116.
[114] Samuel Auchmuty et al., *An Address from the Clergy of New-York and New-Jersey, to the Episcopalians in Virginia; Occasioned by Some Late Transactions in that Colony Relative to an American Episcopate* (New York, 1771), 48-49.
[115] Clergy of New Jersey and New York to King George III and Frederick Cornwallis, 2 October 1765, quoted in Thomas Bradbury Chandler, *The Appeal Farther Defended; in Answer to the Farther Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy* (New York, 1771), 21-27.

clergy: 'if the interests of the Church of England in America had been made a national Concern from the beginning, by this Time a general Submission in the Colonies to the Mother Country, in everything not sinful, might have been expected.'[116] In 1771 Auchmuty, Chandler, Charles Inglis (1734-1816) and John Ogilvie (1724-1774) – both then assistant priests under Auchmuty at Trinity – wrote in desperation to the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the American Department: they did not wish, in asking again for a bishop to be sent to the colonies, 'to interfere with the Rights or Privileges of others, or to abridge that ample Toleration they already enjoy'. But, they warned, if no steps were taken, the colonies' ongoing 'Independency in Religion will naturally produce Republicanism in the State'.[117] 'No Bishop, no King', as James I and IV is said to have proclaimed in 1604, still held across the Atlantic, nearly two centuries later.[118] It is clear they felt that, left unchecked, this process was almost inevitable. If it was to be averted, time was running out.

Messiah at Trinity

Nine months after Tuckey had directed *Messiah* at Burns's City Tavern he again took to the pages of the New York press:

> On Wednesday the third of next October, a sermon will be preached in Trinity Church, by the Revd. Dr. Auchmuty, for the benefit of that benevolent and necessary institution – The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America. To be performed on the occasion, several pieces of church music, by the most eminent composers; among others, part of the celebrated Mr. Handel's sacred oratorio of the Messiah. Divine service will begin at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.[119]

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[116] Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Thomas Bradbury Chandler, 18 January 1766, quoted in Walker, 'The Church Militant', 141.
[117] Samuel Auchmuty, Thomas Chandler, John Ogilvie, and Charles Inglis to the Earl of Hillsborough, 12 October 1771, quoted in Jack M. Sosin, 'The Proposal in the Pre-Revolutionary Decade for Establishing Anglican Bishops in the Colonies', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 13/1 (1962), 76-84 (82-83).
[118] See Gary L. Steward, *Justifying Revolution: The Early American Clergy and Political Resistance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 52-70.
[119] *New York Mercury*, 24 September 1770.

This time, despite the unseasonably bad weather, there was no need to postpone, and the second performance of *Messiah* on the American continent took place as planned:

> On Tuesday last, *The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America*, met in this City: And on Wednesday a well adapted Discourse, warmly recommending the Charity, was preached in *Trinity Church*, to a very large and respectable Audience, by the Revd. Dr. AUCHMUTY, one of the Members of the Corporation, from 2 *Kings* iv. 1. 2. Upon this Occasion, several Pieces of Cathedral Music, with Extracts from *Handel*'s celebrated Oratorio, THE MESSIAH, were performed, and a very liberal Contribution was collected for the Benefit of this benevolent Institution, which, together with several Benefactions since received from Persons who were prevent, by the Badness of the Weather, from attending at Church, amounted, we hear, to upwards of £ 200. The Corporation dined together, and were favoured with the Company of his Excellency General Gage, Sir William Draper, the Mayor and Recorder of this City, and several other Gentlemen; after which they proceeded to finish the remaining Business of their Meeting. As it is presumed that there are many charitably disposed Persons, who would be desirous to know in what Manner they may convey their Benefactions, we are desired to give Notice, that Donations to this laudable Charity will be thankfully received by Jacob Le Roy, Esq; of this City; the Revd. Dr. Chandler, of Elizabeth-Town; and Francis Hopkinson, Esq; of Philadelphia, the Treasurers; and, in general, by the Clergy and the other Members of the Corporation, in each of the three Provinces.[120]

The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America had been founded a year before following a convention of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania clergymen, with the approval of the SPG and the Bishop of London, who both sent an initial donation of £20.[121] Their aim was the support of the dependants of colonial Anglican clergymen who had died – particularly those who had done so in the process of seeking ordination. In attendance at the Corporation's meeting in October 1770 was a roll call of the three colonies' most prominent Tories. William Franklin (1731-1813), the royal governor of New Jersey, John Penn (1729-1795), the royal governor of Pennsylvania, and Cadwallader Colden (1689-1776), the lieutenant governor of New York attended as the Corporation's patrons. Also participating were prominent

[120] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 October 1770.
[121] Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church*, 122.

merchants and members of the New York Assembly Charles Ward Apthorp (1729-1797), William Axtell (1720-1795) and Jacob Walton (d. 1782), and the leading lawyer Benjamin Kissam (1728-1782). All of their signatures, along with those of Auchmuty and Inglis, would in 1776 be found on the petition by the city's Loyalists to Lord Howe, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Navy's North American station testifying to their esteem for 'the constitutional supremacy of Great Britain over these colonies and other depending parts of His Majesty's dominions, as essential to the union, security, and welfare of the whole empire' and their 'tenderest emotions of gratitude' for the 'paternal goodness' and 'shining character' of the King.[122] The guests included the Englishman Sir William Draper (1721-1787), who as Brigadier-General in command of British forces in the East Indies had presided over the capture of Manila from the Spanish in 1762, and General Thomas Gage (1719-1787), Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces in North America.[123]

Messiah was heard at the meeting as part of a service of choral morning prayer: the *Pennsylvania Gazette* records 'several Pieces of Cathedral Music' accompanying the service – possibly Tuckey's own settings of the Matins canticles – while the *New York Journal* notes that 'the celebrated Mr. Handel's Oratorio of the Messiah' followed after the sermon.[124] This probably indicates that Handel's music here acted as a (very long) anthem within the structure of the Prayer Book's Matins service, which would then conclude with prayers 'for the Kings Majesty', for the Royal Family, and for 'Bishops, and Curates'.[125] Thus just as Tuckey's performance of *Messiah* at Burns's Long Room represented the starting point of the process of

[122] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 4 November 1776. See also Ruma Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 64-67.
[123] The same Gage mentioned above, along with Auchmuty, in *M'Fingal*'s catalogue of colonial Tories.
[124] *New York Journal*, 4 October 1770.
[125] *The Book of Common-Prayer […] and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining & Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons* (1662), in Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 248-249.

transatlantic transfer of the British tradition of Handelian performance in taverns at club meetings and similar gatherings, so the Trinity *Messiah* did the same for English traditions of oratorio performance at charitable music festivals.

This tradition had its origins in the meetings of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, founded in 1655 in London for the same purpose as Auchmuty and his colleagues' organisation. By 1697 the London Corporation held an annual service in May at St Paul's, in which an elaborate service of orchestrally accompanied choral morning prayer framed a sermon commending the charity to the congregation. Henry Purcell's D major settings of the Matins canticles (Z. 232), featuring trumpets, were regularly featured until they were displaced successively with Handel's festive 'Utrecht' and 'Dettingen' settings for similar forces (HWV 278/279 and 283 respectively). Patrons of the charity dined together after the service nearby at the Merchant Taylors' Hall.[126] This combination of orchestrally accompanied services of morning prayer in cathedrals, charity sermons and associated dinners became popular throughout England in the provincial music festivals, often held triennially, which sprang up throughout the eighteenth century: at Salisbury (from 1748), Winchester (1766), Birmingham (1768), Norwich (1772), Manchester (1777), Nottingham (1782) and York (1791).[127] The oldest and most prestigious, however, remained the Three Choirs festival of the southern Midlands, held alternately at the cathedrals of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester starting in 1713. Beginning in 1724 the organisers instituted a charity collection for the widows and orphans of members of the participating choirs and diocesan clergy to a consistent programme of

[126] See Nicholas Temperley, 'Anglicanism and Music', in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 351-370 (355). A notable predecessor to the London Sons of the Clergy festivals were the St Cecilia's day festivals of the seventeenth century, which featured orchestrally accompanied church music but no charitable collection: see W. H. Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St Cecilia's Day in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (London: Bell and Duldy, 1857).
[127] Temperley, 'Anglicanism and Music', 365-366.

orchestrally accompanied Matins, set-piece sermons and evening socialising. From early in the festival's history evening concerts were held outside the cathedral in local concert venues, and from mid-century on these frequently involved complete Handel oratorios: *Messiah* was first given at the Three Choirs at Gloucester in 1757.[128] The Three Choirs, along with other provincial music festivals, represented an important date in the annual social calendar for rural gentry families alongside race meetings and assizes, and as such developed a strong association with English Tory politics.[129] An unprecedented move was made at the festival at Hereford in 1759 when *Messiah* was heard not in the evening at a separate venue but in the cathedral in the morning – the second recorded occasion this had happened in the work's history, following the performance in Bristol cathedral the previous year. Thereafter this was an annual event at the Three Choirs and frequently taken up elsewhere.[130] By the 1780s Charles Burney could note of *Messiah*: 'this great work has been heard in all parts of the kingdom with increasing reverence and delight; it has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, fostered the orphan […] more than any single musical production in this or any country'.[131]

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[128] Howard E. Smither, *The History of the Oratorio, Vol. 3: The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 216.

[129] See Andrew Pink, 'Order and Uniformity, Decorum, and Taste: Sermons Preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Three Choirs, 1720-1800', in Keith Francis, William Gibson, John Morgan-Guy, Bob Tennant, and Robert H. Ellison (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 215-226 (217-218), and William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 119-120.

[130] Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, 216-217. This step has its own pre-history in the well-known existing association, beginning in the composer's lifetime, between his oratorios, particularly *Messiah*, and charitable causes. The Bristol Cathedral performance of *Messiah* in 1758 represented the first time the work had been heard in any church other than the Foundling Hospital chapel in London: see Matthew Gardner, 'English Oratorio and Charity Benefits in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London', in idem and Alison Clark DeSimone (eds.), *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 202-220 (215-216). Though no documentary evidence survives to confirm this, it seems likely that Tuckey, with his own institutional connection to Bristol cathedral, may have learned of this performance via correspondence with his former colleagues.

[131] Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785), 27.

The implications for the assembled American Tories and colonial administrators at Trinity in October 1770 of bringing, for the first time, this English Tory tradition of charitable Handel performance across the Atlantic are made explicit in Auchmuty's sermon, preached before *Messiah* was performed. With an audience composed in large part of clergymen and lay Anglicans, Auchmuty did not have to dwell overlong on the precarious financial situation of the King's Church in the northern colonies: 'It is a certain Fact, that the *American* Clergy in general, enjoy but a very slender Maintenance; their Incomes being scarcely sufficient to support them and their Families, with a Decency suitable to their Character. But I need not enlarge on this Head, as the Observation is well known to be too justly founded.'[132] The situation was made intolerable by the ongoing lack of resolution to the dispute over the colonial episcopate. The image of the widow of the prophet from 2 Kings, Auchmuty's pericope, is used in a way that could not but call to mind 'poor Giles' wife' and the other desperate dependents of the ordinands who had died at sea during the Bishop Controversy: the

> mournful Object before [Elisha] brought fresh to his Mind, the irreparable Loss she and her Children had lately sustained by the Death of a pious and amiable Husband and Father, whose Usefulness in his sacred Station – whose parental Love, and tender Affection for her – whose Zeal for the Service of his GOD, and – whose humane Concern for the Souls committed to his Trust, the Prophet was well acquainted with.
>
> (p. 12)

Auchmuty's sermon moves, after considering this scriptural image of loss and distress as a figure for the present state of the colonial church, to an image of restitution and healing. The Nativity sequence from Luke's gospel, where the blessings of God's kingdom for the vulnerable are unexpectedly revealed, offers the

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[132] This and the following quotations taken from Samuel Auchmuty, *A Sermon Preached before the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England in America; at their Anniversary Meeting in Trinity Church, New-York, on Tuesday, October the 2d. 1770. To which is Prefixed, a Brief Account of the Charitable Corporation. With an Abstract of their Proceedings […] Published for the Benefit of the Fund* (New York, 1771), here at 22.

scriptural type for the work of the Corporation in repairing the wounds inflicted by the Bishop Controversy. By taking up that image, Auchmuty also alludes to one of the moments listeners in the eighteenth century and subsequently found most remarkable about *Messiah*: its vivid representation of the same Nativity scene at the end of the oratorio's first part. In this allusion, Auchmuty's sermon imagines the mimetic power of Handel's music itself as crucial to the charitable enterprise it recommends.

This scene's treatment in the *Messiah* libretto makes it stand out from the narrative framework of the surrounding sections of the oratorio. In general *Messiah*'s storytelling is, unlike the practice elsewhere in Handel's oratorios, strikingly oblique. Like another of the librettos prepared for Handel by Charles Jennens, *Israel in Egypt*, the libretto for *Messiah* does not assign soloists to dramatic characters but instead presents the narrative via a selection of un-paraphrased biblical pericopes. Unlike even *Israel in Egypt*, though, *Messiah* approaches its narrative subject – the events of Jesus's birth, ministry, death, and resurrection – indirectly. Jennens's libretto largely avoids the Gospels as source material for these events, instead allowing the narrative to unfold via, on the one hand, the prophetic material of the Hebrew scriptures, and on the other, the reflection of the New Testament epistles. The passion scenes of Part II of the oratorio, for instance, are thus rendered largely through the 'suffering servant' passages from the middle chapters of the book of the prophet Isaiah.[133]

The signal exception to this practice is the Nativity scene: as John Butt puts it, the *Messiah* libretto 'is striking for the almost total absence of narrated events. Only the scene taken from Luke presenting the visitation of the angels to the shepherds

[133] See Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 151-2.

relates events as they might happen in most operas and oratorios'.[134] Here the story is told directly through the gospel narrative, with the direct speech of the angel of the Lord and the 'multitude of the heavenly host' assigned to the soprano soloist and the chorus respectively. The scene emerges in sharp focus from, and eventually recedes back into, the hazier narrative framework of prophecy. Handel's setting is crucial to this impression. The beginning of the scene is marked with an 'introductory or descriptive *sinfonia*', as was Handel's practice with structurally significant changes of scene and setting in opera (the scene at Bertarido's tomb in *Rodelinda* [HWV 19; I.6]; the 'Parnassus' scene in *Giulio Cesare* [HWV 17; II.1]; the garden scene in *Ariodante* [HWV 33; II.1], and so on).[135] The 'shepherds abiding in the field' are suggested before they are mentioned in the following recitative by the *sinfonia*'s use of an array of pastoral topical markers.[136] The sequence of recitatives in which the good news is delivered to the shepherds is then followed by a chorus where the sudden appearance of the army of angels is dramatically represented. As Charles Burney noted of a 1784 performance,

> the magnificent Chorus, "*Glory be to God in the highest! and peace on earth, good-will towards men!*" […] in which the *pianos* and *fortes* were admirably marked and observed, never had so great an effect before, in any performance within my knowledge. There is more *claire obscure* in this short Chorus than perhaps had ever been attempted at the time it was composed. The answers to the fugue succeeding each other so clearly and closely at the words "*good-will towards men*," must always please artists, who know the ingenuity and merit of such contrivances; but the general effects of this Chorus want nothing in the ignorant, but attention and feeling, to afford them unaccountable delight.[137]

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[134] John Butt, 'George Frideric Handel and *The Messiah*', in Michael Lieb, Emma Mason, Jonathan Roberts and Christopher Rowland (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 294-306 (300).
[135] Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria: The Ernest Bloch Lectures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 42.
[136] See Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 230-34; and Graydon Beeks, '"There Were Shepherds Abiding in the Fields": A Possible Borrowing from Attilio Ariosti in Handel's *Messiah*', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 50 (2004), 171-183. The use of these topical markers, which had come by the mid-eighteenth century to do duty for many pastoral scenarios, to suggest a nativity scene, brings them back to their origins: in the *notte di natale* concertos written for midnight mass by Corelli and his many Italian imitators from the late seventeenth century on, which imitated the textures and rhythms of the music of the *abruzzese* and *calabrese pifferari* who performed in Rome and Naples during Advent and Christmastide. Handel's titling the movement *pifa* makes clear that this tradition is in view.
[137] Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon*, 77.

Burney reaches for the painterly metaphor of *chiaroscuro* ('*claire obscure*': the juxtaposition of light and darkness) to account for Handel's music's use of dynamic contrast. The use of a stark *chiaroscuro* was noted by critics in many artistic depictions of nativity scenes that were well-known or respected in the eighteenth century, where artists responded to the contrasts already present in the gospel account: the night sky suddenly rent by the 'glory of the Lord'.[138] Rembrandt's well regarded etching *The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds* (**figure 4**) was described to collectors as

> an exceeding fine Print [that] has an admirable Effect […] This is a Night-Piece in the Country. At the Top, to the Left, appears a Radiance or Glory, in which a great Number of little Angels are seen, and below another Angel of a larger Size standing upon a Cloud, lifting his left Hand towards Heaven and revealing to the Shepherds the Birth of Our Lord. The Shepherds appear to be astonished and terrified at the sudden Light that bursts around them. Even the Sheep express their Fear by Flight. All the rest of the Print is dark, excepting part of the Ground on the right Side which is a little illuminated by the Glory above.[139]

The drama and immediacy of the scene's antitheses of darkness and light find their parallel for Burney and subsequent critics in the way Handel's setting conjures the hillside scene through manipulation of texture and volume. A nineteenth-century writer, citing Burney's remarks on '*claire obscure*', described how the

> wonderful scene finds its climax in the Chorus, "*Glory to God in the highest*"; in which the silvery tones of the old Slide-Trumpets, are heard for the first time, *da lontano*, to represent the Music of the Heavenly Host, as the Shepherds heard it, at Bethlehem, on that Night of Nights, swelling nearer and nearer, at the words "*Good-will towards men*," and finally dying away, with the gradual departure of the Angelic Choir, in the gentlest *pianissimo* attainable by Art.[140]

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[138] Glory (Greek δόξα [*doxa*]; Hebrew כָּבוֹד [*kavod*]) refers to the visible manifest presence of the God of Israel, often as fire and smoke: as in Exodus 24:16-17 ('And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.') The same phenomenon was referred to in post-biblical rabbinic literature as שְׁכִינָה (*shekina*), deriving from the way this presence was manifest in the wilderness tabernacle (מִשְׁכָּן; *mishkan*) and Jerusalem temple.

[139] Edme-François Gersaint, *A Catalogue and Description of the Etchings of Rembrandt Van-Rhyn, with some Account of His Life. To Which Is Added, A List of the Best Pieces of this Master for the Use of Those who Would Make a Select Collection of His Works* (London, 1752), 26-7.

[140] W. S. Rockstro, *The Life of George Frederick Handel* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), 237. Rockstro earlier writes that 'The Story of the Nativity' in *Messiah* 'is described in a series of pictures, as delicately painted as the *Notte* of Correggio': another nativity scene in which the use of *chiaroscuro* is

Figure 4: Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds* (1634). Etching and drypoint. 26.1 x 22 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

prominent (ibid.). The reference to slide trumpets is inaccurate: see John Webb, 'The English Slide Trumpet', *Historical Brass Society Journal* (1993), 262-279.

A near-contemporary made the point similarly:

> Now comes the Christmas spectacle of the Nativity, an exquisite piece of picture music. It has been well likened to one of those altar-pieces by the old painters on the same subject, exceedingly simple in its means, yet beautiful and full of feeling […] In the song of the angels, which is composed of high and silvery chords, there is exquisite music, such as only floats down in our thoughts on a clear night in the skies, when the boundless firmament above mirrors the spiritual firmament within, and nature and we are one thought. At the words, "*Peace on earth!*" proclaimed in long full tones, there is a pause while the echo rolls away amid short, full, measured pulses of the instruments, which seems like the throbbing of all nature's sympathetic joy. And playfully are the words passed about among the multitudinous voices in the air, in broken fugue, "*Good will towards man*".[141]

As these critics sensed, the way Handel's setting follows choral declamations of 'Glory to God in the highest' and 'and peace on earth' by 'echo' effects created by the upper strings, which briefly sustain the texture after each vocal phrase before dying away into silence, creates a lucid image of the hillside scene where the angels' cries pierce the silent night air just as the shining glory bursts through the darkness (**figure 5**). The mimetic representation of the vision's angel-trumpets by the orchestral trumpets, marked 'da lontano e un poco piano' ('as if from a distance and a little soft') combines with the echoes to conjure a sense of the scene's spatial and

[141] John Sullivan Dwight, 'Handel and his "Messiah": An Old Lecture', *Dwight's Journal of Music: A Paper of Art and Literature* 2/12 (25 December 1852), 89-93 (92)

acoustic dynamics.[142] The vision's movement from indistinctness to definition is

Figure 5: from 'Glory to God' from *Messiah* (HWV 56), bars 1-9. From John Tobin (ed.), *The Messiah: An Oratorio in Three Parts*, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe i/17 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 70.

conveyed by Handel's withholding the bass and continuo group from the texture of the declamations until bar 26. From 33 the textural contrasts of counterpoint, antiphony and a rich chordal texture are then used, like the trumpets, to mimetically suggest the swelling multitude as the movement builds to a moment of grand cadential arrival at 41-2. The closing *ritornello*'s reduction of the texture back to the string band, again withholding the bass, then allows the vision to melt from the shepherds' sight: the music's contrapuntal and rhythmic energy, along with its volume, dissipates as the insubstantial pageant faded leaves not a rack behind (**figure 6**).

[142] Performing materials from the Trinity performance in 1770 do not survive. If Tuckey prepared performing materials from a published edition, the only one to include recitatives, arias and choruses (as had been given at the City Tavern) was *Messiah an Oratorio in Score* (London, 1767). This did not include the direction 'da lontano', though did include the careful demarcation of dynamics from the autograph (and of course the manipulation of texture which does most of the mimetic heavy lifting in the movement). See Donald Burrows, 'Handel, Walsh, and the Publication of "Messiah"', *Music & Letters* 97/2 (2016), 221-248 (223-4).

Figure 6: from 'Glory to God' from *Messiah* (HWV 56), bars 38-49. From Tobin (ed.), *The Messiah*, 74.

The immediacy of the musical mimesis in Handel's setting prompts Auchmuty to paint his own version of the scene in his sermon accompanying *Messiah*:

> AND now methinks, when I lift up my Eyes to the glorious Expanse above which loudly proclaims the Greatness, the Majesty, and the Power of that august Being, who reared the mighty Frabric [sic], I behold the whole Hierarchy of Heaven looking down upon us with smiling Joy, to see us thus piously employed in Acts of Love, Pity, and Compassion. What Exultation must fill our Souls when we farther react, that the Great JEHOVAH himself, and his Blessed Son CHRIST JESUS our Lord, view with Pleasure *such good will towards Men*.[143]
>
> (pp. 30-31)

The image of the angels appearing to the shepherds, so vividly represented in *Messiah*, is offered by Auchmuty as an example of the blessings God's kingdom for the vulnerable: the humble and meek exalted, the hungry filled with good things.[144] Thus, Auchmuty suggests, *Messiah* would operate at Trinity just as it had throughout its by now well-established tradition of charitable performance in Britain: 'a design [which] drew together not only all the lovers of music, but all the

[143] An allusive framework structures Auchmuty's sermon, with reference made to contemporary and classical literature (including Dryden's Ovid) and the biblical texts set in *Messiah*: on pp. 28-30 he contemplates the image of the clergyman's widow in distress, wondering 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see if there be any Sorrow like unto this Sorrow?' (Lamentations 1:12; *Messiah* Part II).

[144] A common contemporary reading of the gospel scene. Matthew Henry's commentary (probably the most widely read of eighteenth-century English-language biblical commentaries across denominations) glosses it thus: 'The Angel was not sent to the Chief Priests, or the Elders, they were not prepar'd to receive these Tidings, but to a Company of poor Shepherds […] he is born to you […] in the first Place to bless you, to you Shepherds, tho' poor and mean in the World'. That the tidings came first to the shepherds was of a piece with a broader theology of the significance of the incarnation: 'They expected to be told, you shall find him, tho' a Babe, drest up in Robes, and lying in the best House in the Town, lying in State, with a numerous train of Attendants, in rich Liveries; no, you'll find him wrap'd in *Swadling Clothes*, and *laid in a Manger*. When Christ was here upon Earth, he distinguish'd himself, and made himself remarkable, by nothing so much as the Instances of his Humilitation.' The gospel as good news for the poor began with the facts that 'the *Messiah* should be born *in a Stable*, and not in a Palace; that the Angels shou'd bring News of it to *poor Shepherds*, and not to the chief Priests'. *An Exposition of the Historical Books of the New Testament, Viz. St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. Wherein each Chapter is Summ'd up in its Contents, the Sacred Text Inserted at Large in Distinct Paragraphs; Each Paragraph Reduced to its Proper Heads, the Sense Given, and Largely Illustrated. With Practical Remarks and Observations*, vol. V of *An Exposition of All The Books of the Old and New Testament […] In Six Volumes*, 3rd edn (London, 1724 [first edn.: London, 1706-10]), 302-303. On the distribution of Henry's commentary, see S. L. Greenslade 'Epilogue', in idem (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 476-520 (492).

friends of humanity' – a design with 'a particular propriety [deriving] from the subject of the oratorio itself'.[145]

The sermon also suggested that the tradition of performing Handel's music for charitable ends was of crucial ecclesiological and political significance in a colonial context. As in the case of the controversy over the colonial episcopate, and the broader crisis in relations between Britain and the American colonies precipitated by the Stamp Act of which it formed a small part, the solution Auchmuty commended involved the closer alignment of colony and metropolis. In England, the institutions of the charitable music festivals in London and the provinces provided for the church's clergymen and their dependents should disaster strike: although the English reformation meant that the English clergy had

> lost Part of their Property; which is felt by the inferior Clergy in *England*, to this Day […] the Loss, it must be confessed, is in some Measure repaid by the generous Donations that are annually given, for the Support and Maintenance of the Widows and Children of deceased Clergymen, in our Mother Country. (p. 21)

The solution was obvious: 'the Utility, nay, the Necessity of establishing a Fund, after the Example of our Mother Country, for the Relief of their Widows and Children, must appear in a striking Light to every Mind of Benevolence and Sensibility' (p. 22). Just as for Auchmuty and other American Tories, the consequences of allowing the Bishop Controversy to run on had the potential to jeopardise 'Loyalty of [his] Majesty's American Subjects', the connection between the processes of transatlantic cultural transfer and the political health of the colonies was apparent to Auchmuty. Imitating 'the Example set us in our Parent Kingdom' and

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[145] [John Mainwaring], *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel. To Which Is Added, A Catalogue of his Works, and Observations Upon Them* (London, 1760), 132. A nineteenth-century critic made the same point more strikingly: 'the profit arising to various charities from the performance of his Messiah since its publication to the present, is probably little less than 100,000*l*. Its services to the cause of Piety in the way of impression cannot be inferior. The Messiah is one continual Scheckinah—one unceasing "blaze of glory"' (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1819, 550).

establishing the institution of the English charitable music festival in north America, with Handel performances at its heart, would itself serve to bring the colonial church, and through it, colonial society, into a closer and more secure relationship with what Auchmuty called 'the Mother country' (pp. 25-26). The results for patrons of the new musical and charitable institution and for those who received its support would, he wrote, be having the 'Principles of Loyalty, true Piety and Virtue, deeply implanted in them' (p. 24).

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Messiah's first New World performances saw the work emerge as contested ground. In this American première, Handel's music played a part in the Anglicisation of the cultural world of New York's taverns: a process rooted in anxieties among the city's Whig circles about cultural flows in the Atlantic world, and one which would contribute towards the tensions between colony and metropolis which would soon spill over into rebellion and independence. Its second American performance in the same year saw it speak instead for the city's embattled Tory population, for whom importing Handelian traditions, and so bringing the British Atlantic into closer religious and political alignment, had starkly different implications. In Boston in the years immediately following, Handel's music would be more explicitly fought over by competing political interests as tensions increased between colonial Whigs and the ministry in London, and the city threatened to descend into civil violence at any moment.

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2. Boston, 1770-1773

The New World premiere of Handel's coronation anthem *Zadok the Priest* (HWV 258) took place in Boston in 1772. These years, between the collapse of the nonimportation agreements in 1770 and the news of the Tea Act reaching the city in the autumn of 1773, have often been regarded as a brief interlude of calm during Boston's tumultuous pre-revolutionary decade. 'There seems now to be a Pause in Politics. The agreement of the Merchants is broken', wrote Samuel Cooper in a now well-known letter to Benjamin Franklin in London in the January of 1771. Yet the fragility and contingency of the situation is revealed as the Reverend goes on: 'should Government be so temperate and just as to place us on the old Ground on which we stood before the Stamp Act, there is no Danger of our rising in our Demands.'[1]

As this chapter sets out, Boston had responded to earlier phases of the imperial crisis with repeated violent crowd action and intimidation, met with violent escalation from imperial administrators, all of which might ignite once more if provocation arose. These same years, perhaps counterintuitively, saw Bostonians from across the city's political divide take part with unprecedented enthusiasm in another kind of street politics, the celebratory rituals of the imperial calendar: the processions, military displays, loyal toasts and bonfires which marked dates like the birthday of the monarch and the anniversary of his accession. Initially the subject of great controversy when they were introduced to the Puritan city in the late seventeenth century, by the early 1770s these rites afforded both Boston's Whigs and Tories the opportunity to articulate their own visions of the city's future within the

[1] Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, 1 January 1771, in Leonard W. Labaree et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 43 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-), XVIII [*January 1 through December 21, 1771*, ed. William B. Wilcox, 1974], 3-4.

empire, since differing understandings of the role of the monarch were at the heart of the constitutional and fiscal disputes which would lead to the outbreak of war in 1775.

Boston's Handelian tradition, which would in the nineteenth century achieve a vibrancy which can still be felt in contemporary American musical life, began in earnest with a series of performances during these years. Handel's music, along with the discharge of cannon on the Castle Island in the bay and the drums and *Harmonien* of the city's militia regiments and imperial garrison, was incorporated into the soundscape and characteristic urban geography of Boston's royal ritual calendar in concerts which concluded the day's festivities, often featuring military performers. The chapter explores the political significance of this imperial soundscape for Boston's Tories and Whigs, revealing how the sequence of *soundmarks* which characterised the celebrations for Accession Day in 1772 shaped *Zadok the Priest*'s interpretive possibilities as topical political music in Boston. As the deeply held, and opposing, political convictions of the leading musicians involved attests, the performance of Handel's 'Grand Coronation Anthem' on Accession Day in 1772 was representative of a fleeting moment in Boston's history: when Handel's music could bring together and speak for the rivalrous factions who would soon take up arms against one another.

While incorporating Handel's music into the celebrations for Accession Day in Boston in 1772 had united the city's rivalrous factions, as tensions began to rise once more in 1773 and political violence returned to the streets in the events which culminated in the 'Tea Party' of December of that year, Handel's music became a more explicit site of conflict between Boston's Tories and Whigs, with performances of the same works set up in obvious ideological opposition to one another. This chapter shows how what Bostonians of the early 1770s found distinctive and

valuable in these works – once more, the coronation anthem *Zadok the Priest* (HWV 258), now joined by the 'Hallelujah!' chorus from *Messiah* (HWV 56) – can be set alongside European responses to the same music in the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly at the Handel Commemorations in London beginning in 1784, in a way that clarifies what was at stake aesthetically in both cases. Audiences on both sides of the Atlantic, I set out, appreciated and were struck by this music's deployment of trumpets and kettledrums: the instruments of the eighteenth-century battlefield. In the gathering clouds of late 1773, the significance of performances of Handel's music was once again shaped by the soundscape of the celebrations of the imperial calendar, whose traditional musket volleys and discharge of cannon now seemed to presage the outbreak of civil war. In turn, these findings shed new light on some of the more contentious points of debate within recent Handel scholarship about the politics of the composer's grand style.

The imperial crisis, crowd action, and the 'Pause in Politics'

The series of crises in relations between the mainland North American colonies and the imperial hierarchy which led to military mobilization in 1774 began with the Stamp Act debacle in 1765. In Boston, the response to the Stamp Act within the city's popular political culture set the pattern for the recurring ructions of the following decade. As Benjamin Carp has set out, Boston's Whig elite were repeatedly successful in mobilising a broad social coalition of sympathisers into a series of street actions against unpopular imperial policies and political actors. Crowd control of the city's streets and wharves was crucial in the resolution, in the Boston Whigs' favour, of the key flareups from 1765 on; it was also responsible for the imperial government's decision to begin to strengthen the city's garrison from 1768 and to

impose the Coercive Acts on the colony in 1773, to wrest control of the town from what Governor Francis Bernard called the 'trained mob'.[2]

The Stamp Act crisis, beginning in 1765, exposed the gulf between the understandings of the British imperial administrators and Boston's Whig elites of the constitutional settlement of the Massachusetts colony, just as it did across much of British North America. The proposed stamp tax, it was repeatedly asserted, would 'deprive us of all our invaluable charter rights and privileges, drain us suddenly of our cash, occasion an entire stagnation of trade, discourage every kind of industry, and involve us in the most abject slavery.'[3] This kind of rhetoric, implicitly contrasting the imperilled English liberty of white colonists with the condition of the enslaved people on whose labour the economy of all the Atlantic colonies ultimately depended, was frequently deployed in the press and in pamphlets, along with patronage networks, to mobilize large crowds in opposition to the policy in Boston. In August 1765, a crowd of more than three thousand attacked the wharfside offices and home of Andrew Oliver, who, it was reputed, had been appointed as a collector of the stamp tax, and hanged him in effigy from the 'Liberty Tree' on Boston Common. Protesters then processed with the effigy to burn it on Fort Hill.[4] Later in the same month the Lieutenant Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, found his North End house under attack by a 'hellish crew' who stove in the doors and windows with axes and looted it of plate, pictures, furniture, books and £900 in specie.[5]

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[2] See Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23-61. Bernard quoted in Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 120.
[3] *Newport Mercury*, 28 October 1765. 'We won't be their negroes', the young John Adams had declared in relation to the Stamp Act in 1765 in the *Boston Gazette* of 14 October 1765.
[4] Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution*, 3rd edn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 129-130; Stephen Wilf, *Law's Imagined Republic: Popular Politics and Criminal Justice in Revolutionary America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 95-6.
[5] Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, 30 August 1765, quoted in Edmund S. Morgan (ed.), *Prologue to Revolution: Sources and Documents on the Stamp Act Crisis, 1764-1766* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 108.

The action taken against officials associated with the Stamp Act evidently took some inspiration from the pre-existing 'Pope's Day' festive traditions in Boston, the city's local variant of the English anti-Catholic 5 November holiday. Every 5 November, in an obvious ancestor of modern Halloween traditions, children 'knocked on doors asking for money, rang bells, and threatened to break windows'. During the day, companies of poor Bostonians from the North and South Ends paraded horse-drawn wagons through the streets of each neighbourhood bearing effigies of demons and the Pope. At night, the companies would meet at Union Street, a rough midway point between the two districts, and brawl in an attempt to capture the other company's Pope. The victors would then process with both effigies to the town gallows on the Boston Neck, the thin spit of land which connected the peninsula on which the colonial town sat to the mainland, and hang them, as was the fate of Andrew Oliver's effigy in 1765.[6]

The effectiveness of these kinds of improvised political theatre was part of the reason for the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, along with the economic boycotts of the sort organised by the delegates of the so-called 'Stamp Act Congress' in October 1765. The combination of 'protest resolutions by elite writers with violent intimidation by common mobs and economic boycotts by everyone' set the paradigm for Boston's response to the repeated crises of the coming decade.[7]

Boston's Whig elites, now organised into groups such as the Sons of Liberty, employed the same combination of measures to resist the implementation of the new 'Townshend Duties' on paint, paper, glass and tea imported by the colonies in 1768. In an attempt to make this fresh effort to establish the North American colonies as a serious source of revenue for the treasury in London stick, the imperial authorities

[6] Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 31-2; Richard Archer, *As If An Enemy's Country: The British Occupation of Boston and the Origins of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 34.
[7] Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (New York: Norton, 2016), 48.

created a new American Board of Commissioners of the Customs with its base in Boston. The sister of one of the new commissioners stationed in the town, Ann Hulton, soon learned that Boston was a 'Town where every cross wind or what thwarts thier [*sic*] inclinations raises a Storm.'[8] A boycott on the goods subject to the new duties was urged by the Sons of Liberty and enforced by crowd action. In 1769 crowds were encouraged to see that the frontages, doors and windows of shops whose owners had not publicly voiced their support for the boycotts should be 'daub'd over in the Night time with every kind of Filth'.[9] In October 1769, a loyalist printer, John Mein, spoke out publicly against the nonimportation agreement by revealing in his newspaper, the *Boston Chronicle,* the names of those merchants who had been secretly trading in goods they had professed to boycott, including prominent local Whigs such as John Hancock and Samuel Adams. On 28 October, a crowd of 'ful a thousand Men & boys' found Mein at the Town House on King Street and pursued him, brandishing pistols, canes and spades, all the while keeping up 'a voilint Skreeming [of] Kill him Kill him'. Later that day the shopkeeper Betsy Cuming saw the crowd parading through the streets with 'a Kart [on which] a Man was Exibited as […] in a Gore of Blod.' The man was not in fact dead but had been covered in tar and feathers, a traditional waterfront punishment which became a stock in trade of Boston's popular political theatre during these years. She assumed the man to be Mein, but he was in fact a sailor who was accused of informing for the Commissioners of the Customs. He was dragged, ominously, towards the Liberty Tree on the common, where the effigy of Andrew Oliver had been hanged, where

[8] Ann Hulton to Mrs. Lightbody, undated, in E. Rhys Jones (ed.), *Letters of a Loyalist Lady, Being the Letters of Ann Hulton, Sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 41.
[9] From a letter from Nathaniel Rogers, October 25 1769, quoted in Barbara Clark Smith, *The Freedoms We Lost: Consent and Resistance in Revolutionary America* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 114.

the sailor, George Gailer, swore never again to inform.[10] Another riot had been provoked in June 1768 by the seizure by the Royal Navy for smuggling of the sloop *Liberty* – the symbolism was unfortunate – which belonged to John Hancock. Hancock and his associates were able to mobilize a crowd of between three and four hundred North Enders to lift and bodily remove customs officials from the quay where the *Liberty* was impounded 'in triumph as trespassers up the wharffe'. A boat belonging to the customs collector Joseph Harrison was dragged from the waterfront up King Street to the Liberty Tree on the Common and burned.[11]

The response to these events by the imperial hierarchy was to reinforce the town garrison in 1768 in an attempt to 'enforce a due Obedience to the Laws' of the province of Massachusetts Bay and 'protect and support the Civil Magistrates, and the Officers of the Crown, in the Execution of their Duty.'[12] The soldiers, in the bright red of their uniform coats, were as striking a visual presence as they were a noisy one:

> What an appearance does Boston now make! One of the first commercial towns in America, has now several regiments […] quartered in the midst of it, and even the Merchants Exchange is picquetted, and made the spot where the main guard is placed and paraded, and their cannon mounted; so that instead of our merchants and trading people transacting their business, we see it filled with Red Coats, and have our ears dinn'd with the music of the drum and fife.[13]

This obvious escalation was poorly received by Boston's Whigs. The leaders of the nonimportation movement encouraged crowds to harass the soldiers on patrol, which eventually resulted in retaliatory violence. The 'Boston Massacre' of 5 March 1770 occurred when the soldiers guarding the Town House on King Street – the

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[10] See Benjamin H. Irvin, *Samuel Adams: Son of Liberty, Father of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 82-85; Thomas P. Slaughter, *Independence: The Tangled Roots of the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014), 292-5; Betsy Cuming quoted in Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* 2nd edn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 156.
[11] Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 46.
[12] The Earl of Hillsborough to Thomas Gage, 8 June 1768, in Colin Nicolson (ed.), *The Papers of Francis Bernard: Governor of Colonial Massachusetts, 1760-69*, 5 vols (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2015), IV: 373.
[13] *New York Journal*, 24 November 1768.

same spot where the crowds had found John Mein the year before – were pelted with snowballs, ice and rocks, and barracked with shouts of 'Kill them.' The soldiers fired their muskets into the crowd of around fifty men and boys, killing five and wounding six, mainly young men. This bloodshed was something of a propaganda coup for the Sons of Liberty and other leading Boston Whigs, with newspaper writers, pamphleteers, and printmakers publicising the event and galvanising support for the boycotts.[14] Paul Revere's widely reproduced engraving (**Figure 1**) was one such.

Figure 1: Paul Revere, *The Boston Massacre* (Boston, 1770). Hand coloured engraving and etching, 27.9 x 24.3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. The viewpoint looks west at the top of King Street: the buildings visible in the background are the (surviving) Town House and the spire of the Old, or First Church.

[14] Eric Hinderaker, *Boston's Massacre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 159-186; Carp, *Rebels Rising*, 52-3; Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 50-51.

With the ministry in London baulking at the thought of what dispatching further troops might entail, in April 1770 Parliament repealed the Townshend Duties, with the exception of the duty on tea, retained as a symbol of the right to tax the colonies in theory. While some devoted Sons of Liberty wanted to persist with boycotts and demonstrations until this too was withdrawn, the repeal of the majority of the taxes to which many colonists objected was enough to fracture support for nonimportation policies among the majority of Boston's merchants and so make them unworkable. The following three years – Samuel Cooper's 'Pause in Politics' – represented relative stability for Boston with respect to what had come before. The town's economy began to revive as imports resumed, with British goods purchased by colonial American consumers in greater quantities than they ever had been so far.[15] But few regarded the outlook for Boston as set fair: 'When it appears a calm we never look upon it as settled,' wrote Ann Hulton. 'When dark clouds & Storms threaten us across the Atlantic, then the tempest subsides here, & a profound Calm succeeds for a while, but then those impending Clouds being blown away, this Calm is followd by commotions & hurricans.'[16]

Popular politics and Boston's royal calendar

While the imperial crisis from the Stamp Act onwards had played out in Boston through a popular politics of crowd action which drew on the festive traditions of Pope's Day and similar celebrations, the period of relative political stability from mid-1770 to mid-1773 did not mean Boston's streets grew empty or quiet. These years saw instead Bostonians of differing political convictions continue to participate with the striking enthusiasm they had shown throughout the pre-revolutionary

[15] T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 289-93. See also P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India and America, c.1750-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 322ff.
[16] Ann Hulton to Mrs. Lightbody, undated, in E. Rhys Jones (ed.), *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, 59.

decade in the celebrations of the imperial calendar, centring on the annual commemorations of the birthday and accession of the king and the ceremonial arrivals and departures from the city of his representatives: the '[c]annons, toasts, and huzzahs [which] echoed through the century before the Revolution'.[17] These events, as Boston's Pope's Day festivities did, drew on a set of British popular political traditions, adapted and transformed in their new colonial setting. This process began in the seventeenth century, when their introduction to the city was hotly contested on political and religious grounds. But by the turn of the eighteenth century the characteristic urban geography and soundscape of Boston's royal calendar had been established, with those same forms maintained until the outbreak of war in the colonies in 1775.

In April 1687 the Puritan burgher Samuel Sewall (1652-1730) looked and listened in dismay as the new governor of the Dominion of New England, Sir Edmund Andros, processed through the streets of Boston to celebrate Saint George's Day:

> Satterday, Ap. 23. Eight Companies Train: Many persons: some officers have red paper Crosses fastened to their Hats. The Governour rode by and among the Souldiers, accompanied by the President, Mr. Davie and others. Major Lidget the Chief Commander, Col. Shrimpton, he, and Luscomb on Horse-back. Gave a Volley or two on the Com*m*on, march'd out about one aclock to the Market place. The Rose fired and others. Companies gave three Vollyes, broke off about 3. in the afternoon. In the night a Bonfire or two were made on Fort-hill. After followed fire-works with Huzzas, ended about 11. or 12. His Excellency on Mr. Shrimpton's House to behold the works.[18]

The crack of musket volleys, the deeper roar of the cannon of the *Rose*, a naval frigate, and other ships of war at anchor in the harbour, and the illumination of the night sky with a bonfire and fireworks were all readily legible signs to Bostonians of the attempt that James II's ministry was making to take the unruly northern colonies

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[17] Richard L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts*, 2nd edn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 15-16.
[18] *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, 3 vols (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878-82), I: 173-5.

in hand and bring them into closer administrative and religious alignment with metropolitan Britain.[19] The very act of celebrating a saint's day, a holiday of the ecclesiastical calendar, was controversial in the Puritan city, which had rejected those feasts as Popish and adopted in their place a pattern of strict Sabbath observance, spontaneous thanksgivings and fasts in response to perceived acts of divine providence, and sermon or lecture days announced by ministers 'whenever they felt moved by the Spirit.'[20] Since the New England Puritan Sabbath began on Saturday evening, the new colonial administrators' Saint George's Day celebrations were also held to have profaned the holy day.[21] The same was true of the celebrations for the queen's birthday held in the September of the previous year by the garrison, even though on this occasion godly Bostonians had prevented these from happening in the city itself. Sewall recorded that 'the Captains of the Frigots and sundry others' repaired to Noddles Island in the harbour, though within clear earshot and sight of the town wharves: 'Many Guns fired. A kind of Tent set up at the Iland and a Flagg on the top on't. Made a great Fire in the Evening, many Hussas.' The sounds of gunshots and cheers drifting across the water were enough to make Samuel Willard, the minister of the Old South Meeting House, express 'great grief […] for the Profanation of the Sabbath last night' in his Sunday sermon.[22] These seemingly innocuous festivities, taking forms which would have been unremarkable in contemporary Britain, represented, as Richard Gildrie points out, a 'direct affront to the Puritan sense of identity': 'highly symbolic acts designed to express and shape conflicting conceptions of New England's meaning and future.'[23]

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[19] See Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 25-84.
[20] James P. Walsh, 'Holy Time and Sacred Space in Puritan New England', *American Quarterly* 32/1 (1980), 79-95 (83-4).
[21] See Alice Morse Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, 8th edn (New York: Scribner, 1896), 253ff.
[22] *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, I: 152-3.
[23] Richard P. Gildrie, *The Profane, the Civil, and the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England, 1679-1749* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 189.

James II and his ministers' efforts to reform the colonies were cut short by the Glorious Revolution, and when news of William's attempt to seize the throne reached Boston in 1689, colonists took to the streets and arrested and imprisoned Andros and other members of his administration.[24] William's administration did not punish the leaders of the rebellion and the attempt to re-organize the northern colonies into a single Dominion of New England was abandoned, with the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay territories becoming a new Province of Massachusetts Bay, under a new governor, in 1692 by royal charter. Yet neither did imperial administrators under the new monarch give up on the project of inculcating a royalist political culture in the Puritan colonies. The sense of deliverance felt by many Bostonians from the Popish yoke by which they felt threatened under James II was such that after William's accession, and the guarantee of a Protestant succession it promised, 'royal celebrations became fixed points in the Massachusetts calendar'.[25] William's administration was cannier and less confrontational than James's had been. When Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter, arrived in Boston in May 1692, the 'Eight Companies' of his military escort 'Made no volleys because 'twas Satterday night.'[26] The series of wars, with theatres in the North American colonies as well as across the Atlantic, fought by Britain against traditional Catholic foes like France and Spain in the following years also created favourable conditions for a royal political culture to take root in this unlikely soil.[27] Through his long involvement in Boston's public life, Samuel Sewall and other committed godly

[24] See Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, 85-112.
[25] Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts,* 16.
[26] *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, I: 360.
[27] On King William's War (1688-1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), see Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 25-76.

Bostonians like him were forced to watch, and listen, 'in growing dismay as the holy commonwealth he knew as a boy became a royal province'.[28]

By the third decade of the eighteenth century, the basic formulae for this type of event established under governors Andros and Phips had been elaborated and extended into a characteristically Bostonian pattern.[29] This is how one observer reported the arrival of the new governor, the Massachusetts-born Jonathan Belcher, from London with his commission in August 1730:

> On Saturday last, about the middle of the Afternoon we were notified by a Signal from Castle WILLIAM, of the near Approach of His Excellency Governour BELCHER, in His Majesties Ship of War, appointed for his Transportation; which could reach no further that Night, than the Mouth or Entrance of the NARROWS. Here His Excellency was waited upon, as soon as possible, by an honourable Committee from the General Assembly, with a Number of other Gentlemen, who were all received and entertained with that Nobleness and Affability which is natural to the Governour. The usual Services of the Sabbath were attended by His Excellency at the Castle, with decent & religious Solemnity. At the opening of the following Day, was the Town of Boston in a voluntary Alarm, preparing for His Excellency's Reception and Entertainment. The Troup and Militia were collected, and ranged in the Street below the Town-House to martial Order, to welcome their Captain-General. The Turrets & Balconies were hung with Carpets, and almost every Vessel was blazon'd with a rich Variety of Colours. Between the Hours of Ten & Eleven His Excellency was pleased to embark for the place of his wonted Residence, with a great Number of Boats and Pinnaces to attend Him, while His Majesties Cannon were playing, to inform the Town of his Approach. At length the great Object of our Hopes, and reverent Affection, was received and congratulated at the End of the Long-Wharffe, by the Honourable Lieutenant Governour and Council, the Judges and Justices, and an almost numberless Multitude of Gentlemen Spectators. Several Standards and Ensigns were erected on the Top of Fort-Hill, and at CLARK's Wharffe at the North part of the Town, and a number of Cannon planted; which were all handsomely Discharged at the Arrival of His Excellency, and followed with such Huzza's as inspired the whole Town: The Bells all ringing on the joyful Occasion. While the Pomp was making its orderly Procession, the Guns, which were bursting in every part of the Town, were answered in mild & rumbling Peals by the Artillery of Heaven, which introduced the plentiful and refreshing Showers that succeeded a very dry Season. After His Majesty's Commission was opened and exhibited in the [Council] Chamber, and the usual Ceremonies were concluded, the vast Multitude of Spectators without, express'd, in their united Shouts, an unusual Joy and Elevation of Soul. The Troops and Regiment discharged their Duty in triple [volley]; and again were the Cannon [firing at] the Batteries in every part of this Town, and at Charlestown, by which the Country was acquainted with the joyful Proclamation. From the Court-House, His Excellency was conducted by his Civil and Military Attendants, to a splendid Entertainment at the BUNCH OF GRAPES, and after Dinner to his own pleasant & beautiful Seat [estate]. The

[28] Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 51.
[29] A comprehensive account of the form of Boston's imperial celebrations is given in Peter Bastian, 'Celebrating the Empire in the Changing Political World of Boston, 1759-1774', *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 16 (1997), 26-44.

> Afternoon was spent in firing, and other innocent Expressions of Joy; and the Evening concluded with a Bonfire and Illuminations. And now we would take the Liberty to conclude this Account with our ardent Desire, That His Excellency's Opportunity of serving his native Country, may be lengthened out in Proportion to his noble Capacity and Inclination; and that after a long and prosperous Administration below, he may rise to a Crown and Kingdom in the Realms of Immortality.[30]

The geography of this celebratory welcome is typical of Boston's imperial calendar as it had settled by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The new governor, as was standard, had crossed the Atlantic as a passenger of honour on a naval vessel. Such a craft would enter the harbour by the main channel and be guided by a pilot through the outer Nantasket Road and the narrows between Long Island and Gallops Island to ride at anchor in the inner King's Road: 'the area inside Deer Island to the north of Spectacle Island and just below the Castle.'[31] **Figure 2** shows this route in a detail from a 1775 chart of the harbour.

[30] *New-England Weekly Journal*, 11 August 1730.
[31] Benjamin Woods Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 128. Cf. George Washington to Landon Carter, 25 March 1776, in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington, from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, 39 vols (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), IV: 434: 'The Enemy now lie in Nantasket Road (about 5 Miles below Boston) where and in King's Road, they have been ever since their embarkation.' The King's Road was known in the nineteenth century as the President's Road.

Figure 2: detail from Isaac de Costa, *A PLAN OF THE TOWN and HARBOUR of BOSTON and the Country adjacent with the Road from Boston to Concord Shewing the Place of the late Engagement between the King's Troops & the Provincials, together with the several Encampments of both Armies in & about Boston* (London: Isaac de Costa, 1775). Engraving and etching. 37.5 x 49.5 cm. Washington, DC, Library of Congress.

The governor might then be entertained at the main harbour fort, known as Castle William in the eighteenth century – 'a considerable castle, mounting near 150 cannon' – which then stood on an island between the harbour roads and the inner harbour and town.[32] The arriving party would then proceed by boat to the Long Wharf, the most notable feature of the harbour to eighteenth-century visitors: constructed between 1710 and 1715, with the considerable expense born by a

[32] Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, In the Years 1759 and 1760. With Observations upon the State of the Colonies* (London, 1775), 169. The surviving structure on the same site is a mid-nineteenth century construction called Fort Independence, which following infill in the early twentieth century now sits on the mainland.

consortium of town merchants.[33] The Long Wharf extended nearly half a mile into the harbour: 'a noble Pier, 1800 or 2000 Foot long, with a Row of Warehouses on the North Side, for the Use of Merchants. The Pier runs so far into the Bay that Ships of the greatest Burden may unlade without Help of Boat or Lighters.'[34] The warehouses that lined the Long Wharf almost gave it the appearance of a city street projecting into the bay: an extension of the town's principal street in the eighteenth century, King Street. King Street ran from the top of the Long Wharf westwards and gently uphill towards the Town House, the seat of town and colonial government and commerce, and was lined with handsome houses. 'From the Head of the Pier,' wrote a traveller from England, 'you go up the chief Street of the Town, at the Upper End of which is the Town House or Exchange, a fine piece of Building, containing, besides the Walk for the Merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and another spacious Room for the Sessions of the Courts of Justice.'[35] Paul Revere's well-known engraving of the landing of the extra garrison regiments in response to the unrest following the passing of the Townshend Duties (**Figure 3**) provides a good illustration of the seamless linkage of King Street and the Long Wharf, and the unbroken line of sight between the end of the pier and the Town House at the heart of the colonial city. The governor would be greeted at the end of the Long Wharf by a military escort and a political delegation, who would process together along the wharf and up King Street to the Town House, where official business would take

[33] See Kelly Kilcrease, *Boston's Long Wharf: A Path to the Sea* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2021), 35-7.
[34] Daniel Neal, *The History of New-England, Containing an Impartial Account of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Country, to the Year of our Lord, 1700. To which is Added, the Present State of New-England. With a New and Accurate Map of the Country and an Appendix Containing their Present Charter, their Ecclesiastical Discipline, and their Municipal-Laws*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London, 1747), I: 225.
[35] ibid. The Maryland physician Alexander Hamilton (no relation) noted in 1744 that 'The best street in the town is that which runs down towards the Long Wharf, which goes by the name of King's Street': quoted in John C. Miller (ed.), *The Colonial Image: Origins of American Culture* (New York: G. Braziller, 1962), 414. The Town House, also known as the Exchange, Court House, and later as the Old State House, had been completed in 1713; the building survives among the skyscrapers of contemporary Boston's downtown.

place inside while crowds assembled in the square outside. This concluded, those involved in the official procession would make their way to dinner and entertainment in a nearby tavern (in August 1730, the Bunch of Grapes on King Street). The spectators would instead continue westward 'through the streets of an illuminated and decorated town' to the common to build bonfires and drink;[36] the common would also have offered the best viewpoint for the fireworks on King Street which often followed after dark.

Celebrations of Boston's imperial calendar which did not actually involve an arrival by ship, transatlantic or otherwise, still traced the same symbolic geography, which served to link the political and commercial heart of the town with the distant person of the monarch across the Atlantic. The semiotics of the westward progress involved topography – from the King's Road in the harbour echoing the King's Road in the harbour of England's principal Atlantic port, Bristol, past the significantly named Castle William, then up King Street[37] – as well as the striking visual tableau of a procession tracing the straight and uninterrupted mile from the middle of the inner harbour at the end of Long Wharf to the Town House. The soundscape of events of this sort in Boston was also crucial to their symbolic power and significance. Scholars such as Richard Cullen Rath, David Cressy and Bruce Smith have written finely on how urban communities in early modern Britain and its

[36] Bastian, 'Celebrating the Empire', 27.
[37] 'we set Sail for *England* […] and on the Twenty eighth of the Fourth Month, cast Anchor at *King's-Road*, which is the Harbour for *Bristol*': George Fox, *A Journal, or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry, of that Ancient, Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox […] The Second Part* (London, 1709), 214.

Figure 3: detail from Paul Revere, *A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and Brittish Ships of War: Landing their Troops! 1768* (Boston, 1768). Engraving. 25 x 39.5 cm. Worcester, MA, American Antiquarian Society.

Atlantic colonies employed 'sound's inherent capacity to travel' to structure their internal social and political affairs and to articulate their boundaries.[38] In England, each parish sat 'within its own "acoustic horizons" […] Bells from the next parish serve as a reminder of both differences and commonalities'.[39] In the early colonial Atlantic world, these acoustic horizons were perceived more keenly still, as frontier communities negotiated their relationship to a potentially hostile landscape and their Native American neighbours. When Thomas Gates arrived as the new governor of the Virginia settlement of Jamestown in 1610, his first action was to have the bell of the town church rung in order to summon the colonists to hear prayers for

[38] The quoted formulation is from Suzanne Aspden, 'Introduction: Opera and the (Urban) Geography of Culture', in eadem (ed.), *Operatic Geographies: The Place of Opera and the Opera House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 1-11 (4).
[39] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 46.

the colony and his commission read to them: the peal of bells, Rath shows, was thus an essential part of Gates's efforts 'to ritually reconstruct and redefine Jamestown'. From the colonists' perspective, the acoustic properties of bells and gunshots also 'sounded the limits of the colony's civil society' within the Virginian 'wilderness'. For colonists working outside the protection of the settlement's palisade walls and gates, the same sounds could represent an alarm for colonists and a warning to outsiders for whom bells and guns were unfamiliar: in settlements like Jamestown, sound was exploited for its 'ability to push the limits of community and civil order beyond face-to-face contact', tying together communities 'across far greater distances than the merely visible.'[40]

While the celebrations of Boston's imperial calendar drew on the same sonic resources as those which had marked the 'major holidays, anniversaries, and successes of Tudor and Stuart England' – 'ringing bells, shooting guns, sounding instruments, […] raising cheers' – they were deployed to create a soundscape which was specific to Boston and its geography, and articulated a distinctive aspect of local popular political culture.[41] As one (rather effusive) report of the 1765 Boston celebrations for the birthday of the Prince of Wales shows, the discharge of great guns as far out as the King's Road[42] – more than three miles away from the wharves of the town – was powerful enough to participate in the celebratory soundscape:

> BOSTON, August 22. Last Monday se'nnight being the Anniversary of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's Birth Day, the same was celebrated here with the greatest Demonstration of Joy, and with Marks of unfeigned Loyalty. The Cannon from the Forts, Castle and Ships in the Road made a Grand Loyal Salute at Noon. What heightened the general Joy was the Arrival of Intelligence the Day before of Mr. Pitt's being appoited [sic] on of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Be this Right Honorable Gentleman in or out, 'tis certain he is and ever has been as popular in the Colonies as in England. In the Evening the young People had a Fire in Kingstreet, and while every

[40] Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 53, 54, 57, 175.
[41] David Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* 29/1 (1990), 31-52 (37).
[42] Andrew Burnaby places Castle William on its island 'about a league from the town': *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America*, 169.

> Apartment of the Town rung with the Pious and Loyal Ejaculations— "God bless our true British King." —Long live their Majesties."—"Heaven preserve the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family" — "Pitt and Liberty Forever" — &c. —The same Day were re-thundered thro' every Street in the City. High and Low, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, White and Black, Bond and Free, joined the Chorus. The Little Children who could not speak, laughed, clapped their Hands, blew their Whistles, and rung their coral Bells.[43]

The thunder of the warships and batteries in the harbour, reaching the town across a league or more of water, was 're-thundered' by the toasts, acclamations and bells of Bostonians around the King Street bonfire, extending the imaginative geography of the event out into the Atlantic and towards the royal family who were the focus of the celebration. The same phenomenon can be observed in the report of the August 1730 celebrations for the arrival of the royal governor quoted above. The westward progress of the arriving party through the landmarks of King's Road, Castle William, the Long Wharf and King Street to the Town House was accompanied by a succession of *soundmarks* which reinforced its symbolic geography.[44] The great gun fire of the ships of war riding at anchor in King's Road and of the defences at Castle William ('His Majesties Cannon') were answered on Belcher's disembarking at Long Wharf by temporary batteries placed on Fort Hill and Clark's Wharf in the North End, both hard by the water. As the delegation processed up King Street, the bells of the town churches accompanied them: the correspondent of the *New England Weekly Journal* heard this as an answering echo of the cannon fire which had preceded it, yoking the terminology of bell ringing with that of military ordinance when describing the accompanying rolling of thunder which seemed part of the event's sonic choreography ('the Guns, which were bursting in every part of the Town, were answered in mild & rumbling Peals by the Artillery of Heaven'). The process of echo

[43] *Hartford Courant*, 26 August 1765. The appointment of Pitt was celebrated by Boston's Whigs as, they thought, it presaged the repeal of the hated Stamp Act, introduced in March of that year.
[44] The term 'soundmark' is from Barry Truax, who describes it as a 'term derived from "landmark" used in soundscape studies to refer to a community sound which is unique, or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community': Barry Truax, *The World Soundscape Project's Handbook for Acoustic Ecology* (Vancouver, BC: A.R.C. Publications, 1978); 2nd edn (1999) online [http://www.sfu.ca/sonic-studio-webdav/handbook/Soundmark.html].

answering echo, extending the soundscape beyond lines of sight and across waterways was repeated after the proclamations from the Town House, when the ceremonial musket volleys of the governor's military escort at the top of King Street were caught up with the distant discharge of Boston's permanent gun batteries, at the north and south jaws of the inner harbour, and of the battery at Charlestown, a mile north of the Boston wharves across the still unbridged Charles River.[45] (The location of the Charlestown battery can be seen above on **Figure 2**, marked '12'; **Figure 4** shows the locations of the permanent North and South batteries and the temporary gun emplacements at Fort Hill and Clark's Wharf, between the Long Wharf and North battery.) The gunpowder crack of the fireworks which so often provided the culmination of these events later in the eighteenth century (as they had at the inception of the tradition in Boston under Edmund Andros), viewed from around bonfires on King Street or on the high ground of the common, will have recalled for participants the soundmarks which had led the celebration westwards earlier in the day:

> The Select men appointed this Day [19 May 1766] for the General Rejoicings and joy smiled in every Countenance. Our Goal [sic] was freed of Debtors by the Generosity of som Gentleman. At 1 O'Clock the Castle and Battery & Train of Artillery fired a Royal Salute &c. &c. In the evening, the whole Town was beautifully illuminated: on the Common the Sons of Liberty erected a Magnificent Pyramid illuminated with 280 Lamps. The 4 upper Stories were Ornamented with the Figures of their Majesties &c. To give A full discription of all the Fireworks &c. would be endless.[46]

As this account from the journal of a Boston baker of the royal thanksgiving for the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 reveals, participation in the celebrations of the imperial calendar was not detached from Bostonians' positions on the constitutional

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[45] The Charles between Boston's North End and Charlestown was crossed by ferry until the completion of the first bridge in 1785. See Karl Haglund, *Inventing the Charles River* (Boston: MIT Press, 2002), 1-27.

[46] William Tudor (ed.), *Deacon Tudor's Diary, or 'Memorandoms from 1709, &c., by John Tudor, to 1775 & 1778, 1780 and to '93': A Record of More or Less Important Events in Boston, From 1732 to 1793, by an Eye Witness* (Boston: Wallace Spooner, 1896), 22.

questions which motivated the involvement of many in the demonstrations and acts of political violence and intimidation typical of the city during the pre-revolutionary decade. The same Sons of Liberty who had encouraged crowds to smash the windows and loot the house of the Lieutenant Governor the year before were nine months later erecting an elaborate wedding cake of a shrine to the king and his family overlooking the town. In the same month that those windows were broken cries of 'Pitt and Liberty' and 'God bless our true British King' had both 'rethundered thro' every street' during the official celebrations for the birthday

Figure 4: detail from George Smith after John Bonner, *The Town of Boston in New England by Capt. John Bonner, 1722. Aetatis Suae 60* (Boston: George Smith, 1835). Engraving, 48 x 66 cm. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society. The map is a facsimile of a 1722 map of Boston with changes in the streetscape up to the year 1769 overlaid in colour.

of the Prince of Wales. Before the effigy of the supposed stamp tax collector Andrew Oliver was hanged from the 'Liberty Tree' on the common earlier that August, the tree had been surrounded by 'two or three hundred little boys with a Flagg

marching in procession, on which was the King, Pitt, and Liberty'.[47] As the scholarship of Brendan McConville and others has revealed, what might be described as the shared political culture, held in common across partisan divides, of the northern colonies – and that of the territory of Massachusetts and the town of Boston in particular – during the eighteenth century 'was decidedly monarchical and imperial, Protestant and virulently anti-Catholic, almost to the moment of American independence'.[48]

The consequences of the Glorious Revolution were profound for colonial perceptions of the monarchy. Since, as we have seen, the end of the catastrophically unpopular efforts of James II's ministry to reorganise the northern colonies was marked by their re-founding under royal charters from William which seemed to protect many of colonists' traditional privileges, then under Popish threat, from the late seventeenth century onwards the figures of William and his Protestant Hanoverian successors were widely imagined by colonial Whigs as guarantors of a cherished constitutional settlement, of religious freedom of conscience, and of English liberty in general. By contrast, the role of Parliament in the colonies and its history within the post-Restoration constitutional settlement in England were 'poorly understood, and [….] diminished in political discussions': a marked distinction between colonial and metropolitan iterations of Whig political thought during these years.[49] The person of the monarch was thus the crucial source of

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[47] Quoted in Peter Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 10. The same slogan was also associated with New York's 'Liberty Pole'. See David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom: A Visual History of America's Founding Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17-36, and J. David Harden, 'Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees', *Past & Present* 146 (1995), 66-102 (74-81).

[48] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 7. McConville's work draws significantly on that of J. C. D. Clark, on American political thought in particular, but also in relation to a vision of politics in the Anglosphere in the 'long eighteenth century' in which monarchy and its traditional ideological underpinnings such as divine right theory were more central and lively than had often been assumed: see J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 93-140, and idem, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[49] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 8.

imperial authority for colonial Whigs, and as highly regarded by them as he was, for different reasons, by many colonial Tories. During the successive imperial-constitutional crises of the pre-revolutionary decade, colonial political discourse fixated around a particular idea of George III – 'king above Parliament, king as father, king as honest broker' – with Whigs looking to him as their most likely deliverer from the series of tyrannous legislative proposals Parliament sought to impose on the colonies.[50]

When Francis Bernard wrote in 1760 that 'Our gracious Sovereign is not more illustrious in protecting the Persons and Estates of His Subjects against the common Enemy, than in vindicating their Rights and Liberties against civil Encroachments' he expressed a view that would have been commonplace among the 'trained mob' who forced him out of his post as governor in 1769 during the controversy over the Townshend Acts.[51] Thus during the heat of the Stamp Act crisis one colonial Whig writer felt able to appeal directly to George III in an open letter, asserting that 'the pretence of your parliament of Great-Britain to tax your American subjects, is an absolute insult upon your Majesty's understanding, and a robbery of your sole right to govern them.' This belief was bound up with the understanding that, as one writer put it, 'as your Majesty is sovereign of America, distinct from the power and authority of the parliament of Great-Britain, no body, or set of men, but your assemblies or parliaments here, (which are constitutionally fixed by charters of your royal predecessors) can lay any tax, tallage or impositions whatsoever within this your dominion of America.'[52] The prevalent understanding among colonial Whigs that the empire represented a 'federated body of states united by and in the king', the benevolent Protestant prince, with each colonial charter, as direct royal decree, 'a

[50] ibid., 255.
[51] *Boston News-Letter*, 14 August 1760.
[52] 'C. P.', *A Letter to his Most Excellent Majesty, GEORGE the Third, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, and Emperor of North-America, &c.* (New York, 1765), 1.

little Magna Charta in its own right', was at the heart of the constitutional and fiscal impasse reached between the London ministry and the colonies from the Stamp Act onward.[53] Patriot political discourse during the pre-revolutionary decade was therefore starkly royalist, with faith in George as the ultimate solution to the ongoing crisis expressed with increasing fervour: as one Bostonian put it in 1772, 'the brightest gem which the King of *England* wears in the *British* Crown, is that majesty, trust, and confidence, which the *Americans* invest him with, as the King and Guardian of their Rights and Liberties'.[54] In the ardour of these petitions colonial Whigs often found themselves adopting the vocabulary of sacralised monarchy in ways which would have scandalised the New England Puritans of earlier generations such as Samuel Sewall (and would be unthinkable again in their political circles in just a few short years). The Boston congregationalist minister Andrew Crosswell strikingly combined the colonial Whig trope of imperial taxation as enslavement with the psalmist's plea to God's anointed king in a tirade against Parliament in 1766:

> 'Tis plain as the meridian sun, that we are all slaves, and have nothing we can call our own, while others may take from us as much as they please, and as often as they please, without our consent. We know who are forging *chains* for us at this time: but *our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth*. Who can tell but our Assembly's address, so loyal, reasonable and unexceptionable, may touch the heart of the King? *Save Lord, let the King hear us when we call*.[55]

[53] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 250, 256.
[54] 'A British Bostonian', *An Oration upon the Beauties of Liberty, or the Essential Rights of the Americans Delivered at the Second Baptist-Church in Boston, upon the Last Annual Thanksgiving, Humbly Dedicated to the Right-Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth*, 2nd edn (Boston, 1773), 26. The authorship of this sermon is discussed in John M. Bumsted, 'New England's Tom Paine: John Allen and the Spirit of Liberty', *William and Mary Quarterly* 21 (1964), 561-570.
[55] Andrew Crosswell, *Observations on Several Passages in a Sermon Preached by William Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts: On Friday February 21. 1766, Wherein our Colonies Are Defended against his Most Injurious and Abusive Reflections* (Boston, 1768), 21. The embedded quotations are from Psalms 124:8 and 20:9 respectively; the latter Psalm presents the anointed Davidic king as an intercessor for the people before God ('Now I know that the LORD saveth his anointed: he will hear him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand' [20:6]).

Similarly, the 'British Bostonian' discoursing on the 'Beauties of Liberty' in 1773, who elsewhere expressed his approbation for the regicide of 1649, was willing to employ a qualified version of the vocabulary of what Kantorowicz calls the 'royal *christomimētēs*' if it meant that through the monarch's intervention an acceptable constitutional settlement could be reached:[56]

> THE character of a *Prince* is very exalted, majestic, and superlative among men. Some say it is sacred: Hence you have that phrase, his SACRED MAJESTY; but however majestic or sacred the name of the King may be, it is well known, that he derives and enjoys as King all his majestic character from the majesty of the people. […] What is the request of the Prince? If it be the love duty, affection and loyalty of his people, they are ready to dedicate their persons, lives, and fortunes for his Majesty's safety, dignity and crown, and to say, *O King live forever!* if their King will restore their injured Rights, and preserve inviolably sure, the enjoyment of their Charter Liberties.[57]

The modified version of the notion of monarchy by divine right, or at least by divine providence, yoked to the notion of the contract between monarch and subjects, would have been unremarkable among contemporary metropolitan Whigs.[58] But it would have been very unusual indeed to find British radicals invoking, in the same breath, both a justification for the violent deposition of tyrants and the language of Daniel 6:21, the acclamation of the converted Darius (and echoed in Archbishop Sancroft's adaptation of 1 Kings 1:39-40 for the text of the anthem *Unxerunt Salomonem*, 'Zadok the Priest', for the coronation of James II in 1685).[59]

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[56] See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapter 3 ('Christ-centered Kingship'), passim.
[57] *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty, or the Essential Rights of Americans, Delivered at the Second Baptist-Church in Boston, upon the Last Annual Thanksgiving, Dec. 3d, 1772 […] The Fourth Edition, carefully corrected by the Author, in which are many Additions […] With Some Strictures on the Eternal Right of Mankind, Liberty of Conscience. And Remarks on the Rights and Liberties of the Africans, Inserted by Particular Desire* (Boston, 1773), quoted in Steven Sarson (ed.), *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1783*, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), VI: 115-146 (133).
[58] A common position among British Whigs is attractively sketched by Linda Colley: 'the Hanoverian dynasty had succeeded to the British throne in 1714, because divine providence had willed it. Yet again, a Protestant deity was watching over his chosen people. But God favoured the Protestant kings in this manner only because they had agreed to carry out their responsibilities to their subjects, as the Stuarts had so lamentably failed to do. A religious foundation of monarchy and the idea of a contract between ruler and ruled were thus, at least in theory, satisfactorily squared.' *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 48.
[59] See Mathias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 76-7. 1 Kings 1:39 has merely 'all the people said,

The, with hindsight, paradoxical fashion in which the 'imperial crisis between 1765 and 1774' presented itself as 'a flight to the king's love and justice', with colonial 'love of the king and country' reaching its 'zenith at the split second before imperial collapse', helps to explain how participation in the celebrations of Boston's royal calendar was only increasing during the period between the Stamp Act crisis and the military mobilization of Massachusetts in 1774.[60] 'No British king ever enjoyed the prestige, popularity, and influence in America that George III possessed' during these years, and the imperial festive traditions honouring him, his family and representatives Bostonians had made their own since the late seventeenth century were celebrated with unprecedented enthusiasm in the pre-revolutionary decade.[61] In particular, the years of the 'Pause in Politics', when direct action on the streets and wharves of the town saw a brief hiatus, saw these energies displaced into the processions, volleys, peals and acclamations of the royal anniversaries, the pent up tensions of the imperial crisis finding expression through the celebrations' symbolic geography and soundscape.

'May the king live for ever': *Zadok the Priest* and the imperial soundscape

Since the inception of the Boston tradition of imperial celebrations in the late seventeenth century, the day's festivities had often concluded in 'entertainments' for members of the town's political class – the 'governor, military officers, local

God save king Solomon'. The author of the 1772 sermon notes in the previous paragraph to the section quoted above that '*Charles Stewart* […] instead of ruling by the royal standard (the laws of the people) destroyed their Rights; for which he fell into the hands of such men who cut off his head. In this case how striking is the Prophet *Micah*'s speech, *Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of* Jacob, *and* PRINCES *of the house of* Israel, *that abhor judgment and pervert all equity*': *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty, or the Essential Rights of Americans […] The Fourth Edition*, in Sarson (ed.), *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1783*, VI: 133.

[60] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 251.

[61] William D. Liddle, '"A Patriot King, or None": Lord Bolingbroke and the American Renunciation of George III', *The Journal of American History* 65 (1979) 951-970 (960). See also Bastian, 'Celebrating the Empire', 33: 'by 1772-1773 the frequency and popularity of the town's imperial celebrations were greater than at any time since the end of the Seven Years War'.

government officials, merchants' and other gentlemen – while humbler spectators moved on to bonfires, fireworks and bottles elsewhere.[62] The principle ingredients of such an 'entertainment' were a celebratory dinner or supper (or sometimes both) and loyal toasts. In December 1760, for instance, the conclusion of the celebrations for the accession of George III for the governor, lieutenant governor, the members of the Council and the House of Representatives and a 'number of principal gentlemen' was an entertainment at Faneuil Hall 'where the Healths of his Majesty King George the Third, the Royal Family, and many other loyal Healths were drank'.[63] From the 1740s onward, the dining, drinking and toasting were also accompanied by attendance at a musical performance, as in the ceremonial thanksgiving for the surrender of the garrison at Quebec City in 1759:

> His Excellency with the General Court dined at Faneuil-Hall; after which the Troup of Cadets, being under Arms in King street, the Rejoicing Fires were performed by them: Ninety Pieces of Cannon were fired at Noon at Castle William on this Occasion, and the Guns of the Batteries in this Town and Charlestown, with a Number of Cannon that were mounted in other Parts of the Town, and on board several Vessels in the Harbour, which had their Colours displayed, were successively fired: Towards Evening His excellency with both Houses were entertained at Concert-Hall, by the Invitation of the Gentlemen concerned in the Management, with a Concert of Musick: This being over, His excellency with the Court proceeded to the Council Chamber, where a great Number of Civil and Military Officers, and other Persons of Distinction, by his Excellency's Invitation, met in the Evening when his Majesty a Health, and many other loyal Healths were drank.[64]

This, like many such performances, was held at Concert Hall, the town's first purpose-built music venue, which had been built at the junction of Hanover and Queen streets by the prominent merchant family of father Stephen and sons Gilbert and Lewis Deblois in 1754. Around a quarter of a mile west of the Town House at the head of King Street, Concert Hall could hold up to a hundred and fifty audience

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[62] Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 16.
[63] *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 5 January 1761. See also Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts*, 15.
[64] *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 18 October 1759.

members, and impressed visitors familiar with London and provincial English musical venues as a 'spacious' and 'elegant private concert-room, highly finished in the Ionic manner'.[65] While it is possible that the musical portion of events such as the 1759 Quebec thanksgiving were offered to the 'principal gentlemen' of the town *gratis* by the Deblois family ('by the Invitation of the Gentlemen concerned in the Management'), perhaps as an advertisement for the public concerts, subscription series, and music supplies business from which they did profit,[66] by the 1770s concerts associated with the events of the imperial calendar were being given on a commercial basis.

The Massachusetts-born Josiah Flagg (1737-1794) had been active in Boston's musical life from the mid-1760s, initially as the compiler of two books of mostly English psalm tunes and choruses: *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (Boston, 1764), engraved by Paul Revere, and *Sixteen Anthems* (Boston, 1766), which he engraved and published himself.[67] He had begun giving performances for his own benefit at Concert Hall by 1769 at the latest, when what seems to be the last of an ongoing series was given on 29 June:

> For the benefit of Mr. Flagg. This evening, A public concert of vocal and instrumental music, will be performed at Concert-hall in Queen-street. The vocal part to be performed by four voices, and to conclude with the British Grenadiers. —N.B. Tickets to be had at the Printers, or at the London Book-store, at half a dollar each. —To begin precisely at half after seven. The last concert this season.[68]

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[65] See Cynthia Adams Hoover, 'Epilogue to Secular Music in Early Massachusetts', in Barbara Lambert (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: II, Music in Homes and Churches*, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 54 (Boston, MA: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 715-867 (802ff.). Quotations: 'spacious', from L. H. Butterfield (ed.), *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), I: 54 (24 October, 1759); 'elegant…', from Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, In the Years 1759 and 1760*, 134.

[66] See John Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, American History Through Music (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 50-51. The Deblois family also sold enslaved people: see *Boston Gazette*, 21 May 1759.

[67] See Richard Crawford and David W. Music, 'Flagg, Josiah', *Grove Music Online* [https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000047600], and David W. Music, 'Josiah Flagg', *American Music* 7/2 (1989), 140-158.

[68] *Boston Chronicle*, 29 June 1769.

The only listed programme item, the traditional broadside 'The British Grenadiers', anticipates the military and patriotic character of Flagg's subsequent concerts.[69] In May 1771 Flagg gave the second of a string of public concerts in Boston, lasting until 1774, which featured the accompaniment of the band of the 64th regiment of the imperial garrison:[70]

> For the benefit of Mr. Flag, at Concert-Hall on Friday evening next, the 17th instant, will be perform'd a Grand Concert, of vocal & instrumental music, accompanied by French horns, hautboys, &c. by the Band of the 64th Regiment.

The three-act programme featured music from modern European composers, both continental (C. P. E. Bach, Johann Stamitz) and English (John Stanley), freshly composed music by local composers ('A new hunting song, compos'd by Mr. Morgan') and 'ancient music' in the form of the 'Overture Ptolemy' of Handel (from *Tolomeo re d'Egitto*, HWV 25).[71] A similar mixture of repertoire was in evidence in the next public concert we can be sure Flagg directed, held at the same venue in early October 1771:

> For the benefit of Mr. Flagg. A grand concert of vocal and instrumental musick, to be perform'd at Concert-Hall, on Friday next, 4th of October, to be led by Mr. Morgan, organist of Newport, also, a solo on the violin by him; and an organ concerto by a gentleman lately arrived from London, organist of the chapel, also several choruses, in the oratorio of Acis & Galatia [sic], by a number of voices, besides other musick. —To begin at seven o'clock in the evening.[72]

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[69] The tune's history, origins, and words are discussed by Tiffany Stern in her New Mermaids edition of Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 147-8.
[70] See Raoul François Camus, 'Military Music of Colonial Boston', in Barbara Lambert (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: Music in Public Places*, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 53 (Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 75-103 (87-90). The first had been given the week before at Concert Hall by W. S. Morgan, an organist and violinist from Newport, Rhode Island: *Massachusetts Spy*, 9 May 1771.
[71] *Boston News-Letter*, 16 May 1771. On Morgan see Adams Hoover, 'Epilogue to Secular Music in Early Massachusetts', 816, and Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 265-9. Morgan was probably an Englishman: he describes himself as 'just arrived from England' in the *Boston News-Letter* of 8 November 1770, where he also declares himself a 'Pupil of Signior Giardini', the Italian violinist resident in London from 1751. See Christopher Hogwood and Simon McVeigh, 'Giardini [Degiardino], Felice (de)', *Grove Music Online* [https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-971561592630-e-0000011083].
[72] *Boston Post-Boy*, 30 September 1771.

A later advertisement revealed that the programme was to contain more Stamitz and more Handel (the 'Overture in Pastor Fido', HWV 8), and which movements from *Acis and Galatea* were performed: the 'Overture, and the first chorus in Acis and Galatea, (by ten voices) O the pleasure of the plains, &c.', the song 'Love sounds the alarm' and the 'Duetto and Chorus […] Happy we, &c.'.[73] Though this advertisement does not mention the band of the 64th, it does record Flagg's first collaboration with the organist John Selby, the 'gentleman lately arrived from London'.

An unlikely survival makes it probable that Flagg had begun to offer musical performances at Concert Hall to coincide with the celebrations of the imperial calendar by the June of 1771. Flagg placed a notice in the *Boston Evening Post* of 10 June 1771 informing readers that 'A white capuchin was taken by one of the lady's at Concert-Hall on the birth night, and has been since sent to the same place to the care of Mr. Flagg in order to be exchanged'. A capuchin, a short and light women's cloak, often of silk and trimmed with lace, would probably be suitable attire for a gentlewoman attending an early summer evening ball at the conclusion of the celebrations for the king's birthday (4 June), which is what the term 'birth night' also connoted in England at this point.[74] The ball held at Concert Hall on 4 June 1771 was likely the first on that evening for some years:[75] balls had often been held at Concert Hall in the eighteenth century, but were not traditional components of the Boston king's birthday celebrations, and had likely not been held as part of that event since the 'frowned upon' events of 1759 and 1763.[76] Balls to celebrate the king's birthday were in general held on other nights 'to avoid the impression of competing with the

[73] *Massachusetts Spy*, 3 October 1771.
[74] See for example the 'black, sky & dark blue, pink, white, crimson silk for Capuchins' advertised in the *Boston Evening Post*, 26 November 1761, or the stolen 'black Sattin Capuchin, lin'd with black Silk and Lace' in the *Boston Gazette*, 30 July 1730. On the birth night in England, see Hillary Burlock, '"Tumbling into the Lap of Majesty": Minuets at the Court of George III', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44/2 (2021), 205-224.
[75] Report in the *Boston Gazette*, 10 June 1771.
[76] See Bastian, 'Celebrating the Empire', 29.

town's traditional evening festivities', though one was held at Concert Hall on the day itself in 1772, again involving Flagg.[77] It therefore seems plausible that the capuchin might have been lost at a birth night ball for which Flagg was involved in supplying the music.

In any case, in October of the following year, Flagg, John Selby, Concert Hall, the band of the 64th regiment, and the music of Handel all featured in a public concert held at the culmination of the Accession Day festivities:

> Yesterday se'nnight being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne, when he entered the 13th Year of his Reign: The Day following was celebrated here by the Firing of the Guns at Castle William, the Batteries in this Town at One o'Clock; as also on board his Majesty's Ships in this Harbour. On this Occasion also, His Excellency's Company of Cadets, commanded by the Hon. Col. Hancock, had their fourth Training.—The Company being under Arms and in uniform Dress made a very fine and respectable Appearance, they were exercised on the Common until Noon, when having refreshed themselves at the Colonel's, they marched into Kingstreet, where after firing three Vollies, they performed the Manual Exercise, a Variety of Evolutions, with Platoon, Street and other Firings, in a very regular Manner, and to the great Pleasure of a vast Number of Spectators:—In the Afternoon they again went thro' a Number of Military Manoeuvres, and finished with firing a Feu de Joy. Their Performances in the Opinion of good judges were equal to any Corps that ever performed in this Town. In the Evening the Company attended at Concert-Hall, there being a Benefit-Concert for Mr. Selby, where was a very brilliant Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies, who were agreeably entertained with the Musick, particularly Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem in 22 Parts.[78]

Further accounts confirmed that the accompaniment was provided by the band of the 64th,[79] and the details of the programme:

> On Monday the 26th of October, being the Day kept for the anniversary of his Majesty's Accession, will be performed at concert-hall, a grand concert of Vocal and Instrumental music, for the Benefit of Mr. selby, organist of the king's chapel. act First, 1st Periodical Sinphonia—Bach, song, 2d. Correlli's Concerto's, song, 4th. Periodical Sinphonia—Filtz. 2d act, 1st. Abel's 7th Opera, song, Harpsichord Concerto. 20th. Periodical Sinphonia—Piccini. Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem in 22 Parts. Tickets at Half-a-Dollar each, to be had at Messirs. Cox and Berry in King-Street, Miss Cummins in Cornhill,

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[77] This event was evidently rather haphazardly organised, with a public dispute held over the bill for the food, drink, candles, room hire, and broken crockery belonging to Flagg, taking place the following week: see the *Boston Gazette* of 8 June 1772. Quote from Bastian, 'Celebrating the Empire', 29.

[78] *Boston Evening Post*, 2 November 1772.

[79] *Boston Gazette*, 26 October 1772: 'The above Concert will be assisted by the Band of his Majesty's 64th Regiment, and the Concerto designed for the Harpsichord will be performed on an ORGAN.'

> Mr. Selby's House at the Head of Long-Lane, and of Mr. Flagg at Concert-Hall.[80]

The 'Grand Coronation Anthem' – a term the reports for this event in different publications use consistently[81] – must be *Zadok the Priest*. This name for the anthem was current in Great Britain and Ireland by the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and probably was still in the United States in the Federal Period.[82] Neither can any of the other coronation anthems of 1727 be made to square with the count of twenty-two parts, which *Zadok* has at the first choral entry if all three instrumental bass parts are counted separately.[83]

This makes the 26 October 1772 performance at Boston's Concert Hall *Zadok the Priest*'s New World premiere. It is apparent that, among the event's organisers, Flagg in particular had a broad knowledge of Handel's music across multiple genres.[84] Why then was this – the 1772 Accession Day celebrations – the time and place he chose to introduce *Zadok* to Boston? Since Flagg's decision was clearly vindicated – with the press coverage of the event singling out the 'Grand Coronation Anthem' as particularly well received – how might we account for this?[85] In some

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[80] *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 15 October 1772. Flagg is also recorded selling tickets for the event in the *News-Letter* of 1 and 22 October, and the *Boston Gazette* of 26 October.
[81] See, for instance, the notices in the *Boston Evening Post* of 12, 19, and 26 October 1772.
[82] For Ireland, see *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 26-30 May 1752: 'The concert to conclude with Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem called, "God Save the King".' For Great Britain, see the word sheet of *Anthems To Be Performed before the Sons of the Clergy, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul* for the 1758 or 1759 festival (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Lond. 8b), which identifies 'The GRAND CORONATION ANTHEM, Composed by Mr. HANDEL' as 'ZADOCK the priest'. On the Federal United States, see *The History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts, Vol. I: From the Foundation of the Society through its Seventy-Fifth Season, 1815-1890* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1883-1893), I: 65.
[83] *The King Shall Rejoice* can muster 17 by the same generous process of totting up; *My Heart Is Inditing* 15; and *Let Thy Hand Be Strengthened* a paltry 11.
[84] As well as the numbers from *Tolomeo* and *Acis and Galatea* featured in the concert programmes quoted above, Flagg had included a 'March in Richard 3d' in his *Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes in Two, Three, and Four Parts, From the Most Aprrov'd Authors, and Approv'd of by the Best Masters in Boston, New England* (Boston, 1764), 19: this is in fact an arrangement of the 'Marche' from Act III of *Riccardo Primo, rè d'Inghilterra* (HWV 23), with the melody in the tenor. His *Sixteen Anthems, Collected from Tans'ur, Williams, Knapp, Ashworth & Stephenson. To Which Is Added a Few Psalm Tunes. Proper to Entertain and Improve Those who Have Made some Proficiency in the Art of Singing* (Boston, 1766) also includes the recitative and chorus 'Already see, the daughters of the land' / 'Welcome, welcome mighty king!' from Act I of *Saul* (HWV 53, pp. 8-9), again with the melody in the tenor. In both cases the source material is effectively adapted into simple, short, three-part anthems suitable for an amateur choir.
[85] For instance the *Boston Evening Post* report of 2 November 1772 quoted above.

ways the reasons are obvious. The rhetorical and aesthetic power of *Zadok the Priest* has been widely recognised since its premiere, and for the great majority of the around 150 members of the audience in Boston's Concert Hall this will have been the first time they had heard the work. Coronation music – performed at the coronation of the king in question and written for the coronation of his grandfather – is, furthermore, obviously appropriate fare for an Accession Day celebration. But it is probable there were further reasons for the anthem's warm reception.

These likely included the way the anthem's instrumentation – featuring trumpets and kettledrums, performed in this instance by the members of the band of the 64th regiment – and its musical rhetoric, would have echoed the soundscape of the imperial celebrations which surrounded it. Determining the precise makeup of the many military bands, for garrison and militia regiments, which were active in Boston during the pre-revolutionary decade is difficult. A regiment's 'band of music', in eighteenth-century English, was something distinct from its 'music'. The latter term denoted the drummers, trumpeters, and fifers whose function was principally communicative, in battlefield and other active military scenarios. Trumpeters provided signals to co-ordinate the movement of military units across the battlefield and convey orders beyond earshot and lines of sight. Drummers regulated soldiers' marches across country and the speed of their advances in combat.[86] 'Bands of music, on the other hand, were of an entirely different order': though their members will have seen some crossover with members of a regiment's 'music', they also featured art music instruments with no battlefield function. Their performances were associated with military ritual – drills, parades, tattoos – and were primarily literate affairs, in distinction to the non-literate tradition of battlefield

[86] See Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3-4; and Trevor Herbert, 'Trumpets, Drums and the Sources for Their Symbolic Authority in Britain', *Music in Art* 41/1-2 (2016), 65-81 (69-70).

trumpet signals and drum beats.[87] The makeup of such ensembles in British regiments was fluid, but most often featured the instruments of a continental European *Harmonie* (wind ensemble) – oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons or serpents – with the frequent inclusion of trumpets and drums.[88] An early recorded example of this type of ensemble in Boston can be found in the context of Masonic celebrations involving the governor Jonathan Belcher and the future owner of Concert Hall, Stephen Deblois, in June 1739: the brothers

> walk'd in Procession to His EXCELLENCY'S House, properly Cloathed, and Distinguished with Badges, and other Implement pertaining to the several Orders and Degrees of the Society, preceded by a Compleat band of Musick, consisting of Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c. The Society was elegantly entertain'd at the GOVERNOUR'S, from whence they walk'd in the same Order with his EXCELLENCY their Brother, to their Brother *Stephen Deblois* House, where they were entertained with a fine Concert of Musick.[89]

The Whig merchant John Rowe heard the 'two Brass Bands of Music, the 59th and 64th Regiments' accompanying his installation as grand master of Masons for North America in 1769.[90] This characterisation of the band of the 64th, along with the emphasis on the 'Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c.' of the 1739 band gives some evidence that Bostonians in the 1770s would have expected to hear trumpets and drums in military bands of music as well as the wind instruments of the *Harmonie*. The same impression is given by a 1774 public concert performed by 'the Gentlemen Performers of the Army, Navy [and] some of the best Performers of the several Bands of Music of the Line', which advertised the involvement of 'Clarinets, Hautboys, Bassoons, French Horns, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c.'.[91] Therefore though it is difficult to identify precisely which parts and instruments the members

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[87] Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, 4.
[88] ibid., 45.
[89] *Boston Gazette*, 25 June 1739.
[90] Anne C. Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston Merchant, 1759-1762, 1764-1779* (Boston: W.B. Clarke, 1903), 180.
[91] *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 1 September 1774. 'Line' here in *OED* ('line', *n.* 2) sense III. 21. b., distinguishing the musicians who were officers ('Gentlemen Performers') from the rank-and-file soldiers.

of the band of the 64th would have played when accompanying *Zadok* in 1772 – since, as Raoul Camus has observed, 'the military bandsmen of the eighteenth century were "double-handed", that is, they performed on wind instruments while outdoors, and some exchanged those for stringed instruments for indoor and social occasions'[92] – it is probable that the anthem's three trumpet parts and timpani line would have been performed by the 64th's trumpeters and kettledrummer. The governor's Company of Cadets, mentioned by the *Boston Evening Post* exercising on the common and firing the traditional ceremonial musket volleys in King Street for the 1772 Accession Day celebrations, would have done so to the accompaniment of their own band of music, as they did at Election Day and the king's birthday celebrations the following year.[93] The use of the trumpeters and drummers of the 64th would thus have bound the instrumentation of *Zadok* up with the soundscape of the surrounding festivities. The use of military instruments in the anthem's orchestration echoed the use of the same instruments earlier on in the day's celebrations, and connected *Zadok* to the broader military sound world of the day's discharges of cannon and musket volleys.

Just as Donald Burrows noted of *Zadok*'s instrumentation in the context of the 1727 coronation, 'it was probably not possible for the combined sounds of the trumpets and drums to shake off their military associations' in Boston in 1772.[94] While the crash of kettledrums and blare of trumpets in *Zadok*, along with the crack

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[92] 'Military Music of Colonial Boston', in Lambert (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: Music in Public Places*, 89.

[93] '[T]hey went with his Excellency in procession to the Town-House, preceded by the commission-Officers of the Troop of Guards, of the Boston regiment of militia, of the Company of Artillery, and of the Grenadiers, all dressed in their uniforms, escorted by his Excellency's Company of Cadets, who were under arms, commanded by the honorable Colonel Hancock, having an excellent band of music playing on their march': *Massachusetts and Boston Weekly*, 27 May 1773; 'What crowns all is the Cadet company, being perfectly compleat and under the best order you can conceive of, with a band of musick likewise, that perform admirably well': 4 June 1773, in Winthrop Sargent (ed.), *Letters of John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, 1772-1776, Compiled and Edited from the Original MSS., with an Introduction* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson, 1866), 11.

[94] See Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), quote at 265.

of muskets and roar of cannon, of Accession Day were doubtless a means of channelling and dissipating the suppressed belligerent energies of the 'Pause in Politics', I focus in what follows here on other ways the linkage of *Zadok* to the soundscape of the imperial calendar made this music attractive and useful to Bostonians in 1772. I return in the following chapter to take up the question of the significance of the use of battlefield instruments in performances of Handel's music in Boston in 1773, when the safety valve of the imperial calendar celebrations was no longer sufficient to vent the mounting political pressure the city was soon to experience.

Already at its premiere in 1727, scholars have noted, *Zadok*'s power derived in part from the relationship between the anthem's musical material and the political ceremonial surrounding it. Members of the congregation at the coronation of George II could hear in *Zadok the Priest* a representation in microcosm of the rites and festivities of the coronation day as a whole. Handel's anthem sets Archbishop Sancroft's text in three sections (**Figure 5**), creating in the process three *tableaux*:[95] first the religious sublimity of the anointing, then the bustle of the rejoicing crowd, and finally the by turns solemn and joyful acclamations of the monarch. As Mathias Range has identified, Handel's declamatory setting of the acclamations in the third *tableau* 'creates a link between the anthem [performed] during the Anointing and the Homage of the Peers' elsewhere in the same coronation service, where the order of service records that '*the Trumpets sound, and all the People shout, crying out,* God save King GEORGE the Second. Long live King GEORGE. May the King live for ever.'[96]

[95] I use this term following Thomas S. Grey, whose exploration of the 'animated pictures' or peopled landscapes conveyed by early nineteenth-century instrumental music, where narrative effects are created in a medium without the ability 'to name subjects or characters unequivocally, to establish clear causal connections between (conceptualized) events, to explicate the background of the images and "events" they portray, or to comment on the significance of these in a narrative-editorial voice', provides a useful model for similar effects in eighteenth-century texted but non-theatrical music such as anthems: 'Tableaux vivants: Landscape, History Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music', *19th-Century Music* 21/1 (1997), 38-76 (42, 51).
[96] Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, 142.

Text	Time signature / tempo	Setting
Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King.	𝄴 [*Andante*]	Long, *soft*, searchingly modulatory introduction; *Loud* chordal declamation with massive orchestration including introduction of trumpets and timpani
And all the people rejoic'd, and said:	**3** **4** [*Allegro*]	Festive, energetic *moto perpetuo* dotted quaver accompaniment
God save the King! Long live the King! May the king live forever, Allelujah, Amen.	𝄴 *A tempo ordinario*	Choral declamation alternates with busy orchestral counterpoint; 'May the king live forever' chanted *unisono*

Figure 5: *Zadok the Priest* (HWV 258).

Handel's setting thus reinforces the theological-political burden of the coronation ceremony by creating the 'impression that the scene from the Old Testament […] is transferred to Britain in 1727'.[97] Range's observations might be extended by noting that the other sections of the anthem as set by Handel would likely have been perceived as echoing other aspects of the coronation ceremony: the second *tableau* the choreographed adulation of spectators not invited to the ceremony itself, for whom 'stands and platforms had been erected' in the streets surrounding Westminster Abbey, already thronged by four o'clock in the morning on coronation day, and the third the traditional loyal toasts of the coronation banquet, such as that offered by the armoured King's Champion at the end of the feast.[98] Just as some of the effectiveness of *Zadok the Priest* as political music in 1727 had come in the way it

[97] ibid.
[98] See the account of the 1727 coronation by the French visitor César de Saussure, in Madame van Muyden (ed.), *A Foreign View of England in the Reign of George I. & George II.: The Letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to his Family* (London: John Murray, 1902), 240, 263-4.

echoed and reproduced in microcosm important aspects of the ceremonies for which it was written, so in 1772 the sonic yoking together of *Zadok* and the soundscape of the wider Accession Day celebrations effected by the performing forces pointed up the way the anthem would have seemed to re-sound the loyal toasts that had been an integral part of the Boston imperial calendar since the 1680s.

The glasses raised to 'the King's health and many other loyal toasts' which were traditional for Boston's Accession Day celebrations,[99] as well as the other events of the imperial calendar had traditional formulae associated with them, often modified during the pre-revolutionary decade amidst its newly charged royalist political culture. While the actual words uttered, rather than the sentiments pledged, are not often recorded in written accounts of toasts in this period across the empire – and when they are, they are often presented in idealised versions of what actually might have been said, several glasses down, at political dinners and similar events[100] – standard loyal toasts began with the king's health, either simply ('Gentlemen, the king') or more elaborately ('God save the king!' and its variants: see **Figure 6**).[101] For instance, the Petersham, Massachusetts members of the Sons of Liberty extended this formula during the nonimportation agreements in response to the Townshend Duties with 'May we be always under his Majesty's Protection, may he always hear

[99] The phrase is from John Rowe's account of Accession Day in 1773, in Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 88.
[100] See Rémy Duthille, 'Political Toasting in the Age of Revolutions: Britain, America and France, 1765-1800', in Gordon Pentland and Michael T. Davis (eds.), *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: Essays in Honour of H. T. Dickinson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 73-86 (76).
[101] Characters are represented drinking the king's health with the phrase 'God save the king' in literature and drama from the Restoration on: as in Sir Noble's 'let it be a brimmer. Gentlemen, God save the king', in Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678), quoted from Deborah Payne Fisk (ed.), *Four Restoration Libertine Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 274. The formula was evidently common enough to be frequently parodied, as in the Gillray satire in **Figure 6** or in humorous verbal variations on the sentiment: at the trial of the Irish radical John Thelwall in 1794 he was alleged to have drunk the toast 'God save the King—If God don't damn him, he will damn no man!'. See Martyn J. Powell, 'Political Toasting in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *History* 91 (2006), 508-529 (528). 'God save the king' was also often inscribed on vessels meant for toasting: see for instance Rees Price, 'Notes on Jacobite Drinking Glasses', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 5/2 (1906), 22-29.

our Grievances, and send us Speedy Relief.'[102] At Election Day in Boston in 1770 the toast was made to 'The King, ordained for the good of the People'.[103] As the imperial crisis intensified the political burden of these toasts grew weightier still: at the celebrations commemorating the town's resistance to the Stamp Act organised by the Sons of Liberty in 1774, the assembled gentlemen drank the health of 'The patriot

Figure 6: James Gillray, *GOD SAVE THE KING.—in a Bumper, or—an Evening Scene, Three Times a Week at Wimbeton* (London: Hannah Humphey, 1795). Engraving. 27 x 36 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery. Depicted are Prime Minister William Pitt and Henry Dundas, whose insincere manipulation of the traditional toast and overindulgence are presented as symptoms of a failing ministry.

[102] *Boston Gazette*, 10 April 1769.
[103] *Boston Gazette*, 20 August 1770.

King, who regards the Rights of his People as the sacred deposit of the first Magistrate […] May the Elect line of Hanover continue on the Throne of Great-Britain so long as they shall continue to Support the principles of the Glorious Revolution.'[104] The chordally declaimed acclamations of *Zadok the Priest*'s third *tableau* – 'God save the King! Long live the King! May the king live forever' (**Figure 7**) – repeated in sequence three times within the rounded binary structure of the movement, heard in the context of Boston's imperial calendar celebrations would likely have recalled the long sequence of loyal toasts which would have concluded the dinner many of the male audience members had just attended, just as they had echoed the Acclamation of the Peers at the coronation in 1727.[105] Handel's anthem provided a compelling aestheticization of an aspect of Boston's popular politics whose significance was heightened during the imperial crisis: it 'agreeably entertained' its audience in part because it reproduced one of the features of the ceremonies of the imperial calendar they found most urgently meaningful. Attending a performance of *Zadok the Priest* was valuable for the same reason events like the Accession Day celebrations as a whole were valuable: it provided Bostonians of varying political convictions a means of articulating their beliefs, desires and hopes at a time of great anxiety and uncertainty.

[104] *Massachusetts Gazette*, 19 August 1773. Further examples of modified loyal toasts during these years can be found in Richard J. Hooker, 'The American Revolution Seen through a Wine Glass', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11/1 (1954), 52-77 (56ff.)

[105] At the dinner which formed part of the celebrations for the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, John Rowe recorded drinking 'fifteen toasts; and very loyal they were, and suited to the occasion' in honour of 'his Majesty King George the 3^{d} of ever glorious memory, which God long preserve and his illustrious house'. The diners then proceeded to admire the illuminations and fireworks on the common, as described in Deacon Tudor's account quoted above: 16 and 19 May 1766, in William S. Appleton (ed.), 'Some Extracts from the Diary of John Rowe', in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series: Vol. X., 1895, 1896* (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1896), 9-107 (62).

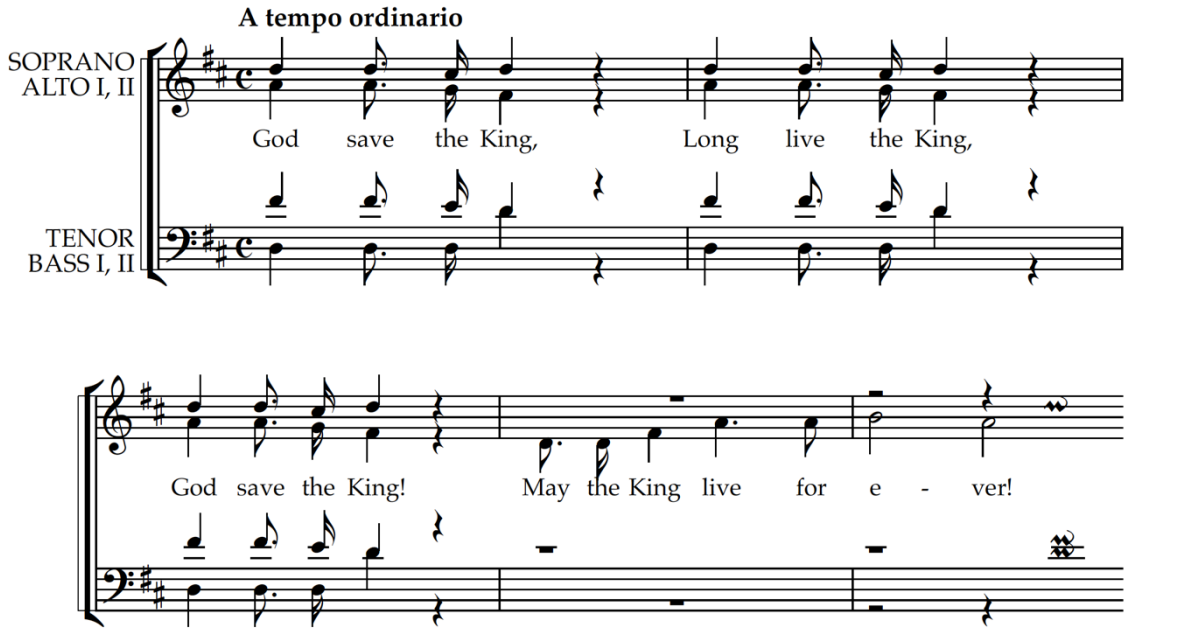

Figure 7: ***Zadok the Priest*** **(HWV 258), bars 63-7, vocal parts only.**

In particular, Handel's setting of the phrase 'May the king live forever' is likely to have resonated especially deeply with a Bostonian audience of the early 1770s. This third acclamation is set apart from the previous two in Handel's setting, which are declaimed in triadic grandeur to the accompaniment of the full band: this phrase emerges from that thick texture in a *unisono* statement from (first time around) the altos alone, doubled by just the upper strings *colla parte*, then (on its second occurrence) altos and tenors with cellos, bassoons and *tasto solo* continuo. In this textural context, the melodic contour of the phrase, a rising triad followed by stepwise motion up then down, recalls the intonation and *mediatio* of a Gregorian psalm tone, enduing the *vivat* with the authority and sublimity of that ancient tradition.[106] Most Bostonians at the 1772 performance are unlikely to have recognised the sound or characteristic shape of chant unless they were both willing to attend Anglican services and had spent time in England or New York, where it is possible

[106] In particular the Fifth Tone, which shares this precise melodic shape.

William Tuckey was experimenting with chant at Trinity Church in the 1760s.[107] Nevertheless, the remarkable textural contrasts of Handel's setting of this phrase will have sounded as stark as they did to one attendee at an early nineteenth-century Westminster Abbey Handel commemoration: 'a change so surprising, that it seems of more than earthly harmony,—that from the full peal to the thrilling passage, which, in its effects, runs through every nerve of the human frame,—"*May the King live for ever*." Who can hear it without a chill?'[108] In this striking moment, *Zadok the Priest* would have seemed to echo not just the soundmarks of the Accession Day festivities – the trumpets and drums of its bands of music, the repeated loyal toasts of its dinners and suppers – but one of the phrases which reverberated throughout the constitutional debates which gave those festivities their vigour in the pre-revolutionary decade. As we have already noted, the radical writer of the *Oration on the Beauties of Liberty, or the Essential Rights of Americans* found themselves in the unlikely position, in 1773, of uttering the acclamation '*O King live forever!*' on the condition that the King would fulfil his role as the Massachusetts colonists' protector against a tyrannous parliament and 'restore their injured Rights, and preserve inviolably sure, the enjoyment of their Charter Liberties'.[109] As the 'British Bostonian' would have known, the phrase's significance in Boston's constitutional debates stretched back at least as far as the Restoration, when the city's Puritan administration petitioned Charles II to uphold their freedom of conscience: the peroration of this address urged the new king to 'Let our government live, our patent live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have further cause to say, from our hearts, let the King live for ever. And the blessing of them that were

[107] See John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620-2000* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 97-8, and Ruth Mack Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 217ff.
[108] Anna Eliza Bray, *Handel: His Life Personal and Professional, with Thoughts on Sacred Music: A Sketch* (London: Ward and Co., 1857), 79, recounting her attendance at the 1834 Commemoration.
[109] In Sarson (ed.), *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1783*, VI: 133.

ready to perish shall come upon your Majestie; having delivered the poor that cried, and such as had none to helpe them.'[110] A similar, this time ill-fated, petition was made on James II's accession, which concluded with a variation on the same sentiment: 'Your Majesty having promised that this Liberty shall Continue during your Reign over us; as the Scripture has made it our duty, so your Majesty has made it our Interest to pray that your Reign may bee long, and prosperous. Lett the King live forever.'[111] That phrase, embodying the paradoxical 'flight to the king's love and justice' in Boston's local politics which typified the renewal of these old anxieties in the pre-revolutionary imperial crisis, rang out again repeatedly on Accession Day in 1772, with Handel's setting lending it fresh eloquence and power.

What we know of the political commitments of the organisers of the 1772 Accession Day performance at Concert Hall also reinforces the way in which the performance reproduced what Bostonians from across the town's political divide valued in the celebrations of the imperial calendar in general during these years. Josiah Flagg, from whom tickets for the performance could be acquired at Concert Hall and who was therefore also likely involved as a performer, was active in Whig politics in Massachusetts by 1769 at the latest, when he is recorded at one of the attendees at a Sons of Liberty dinner to commemorate the repeal of the Stamp Act at Roxbury, then a country town some three miles south-west of Boston. Also in attendance was Paul Revere, with whom Flagg had collaborated in the publication of

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[110] *The Humble Supplication of the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony in New England to the King* (October 1664): the original can be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies*, 44 vols. (London, 1860-1969), V [1661-8]: 247-9. The ongoing significance of the document to Boston's political culture is reflected in its reprinting as an appendix in the second and many subsequent editions of Thomas Hutchinson's *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, from the First Settlement Thereof in 1628, until its Incorporation with the Colony of Plimouth, Province of Main, &c. by the Charter of King William and Queen Mary, in 1691* (London, 1760), 537-543, from which I quote (at p. 543).

[111] *Address of the Congregations in New England to King James II* (1687), in The *Mather Papers: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VIII, Fourth Series* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1868), 697.

his *Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* in 1764.[112] He is also recorded as the performer – but likely not the lyricist, as some have suggested – of a 'New Song, compos'd by a Son of Liberty' at Concert Hall in February 1770. This song was a *contrafactum* of the well-known ballad 'The British Grenadiers', which as noted above Flagg had performed in its original version at Concert Hall in June 1769.[113] The new verses to this song, which in its traditional form compared a litany of mythical heroes unfavourably with the eponymous regiments, instead celebrated colonial Whigs' political victory over Parliament in the repeal of the Stamp Act, as the freest of free Englishmen:

> Proud ALBION bow'd to *Caesar*, and num'rous *Lords* before,
> To *Picts*, to *Danes*, to *Normans*, and many Masters more:
> But we can boast AMERICANS! we never fell a Prey;
> Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza, for brave AMERICA.
>
> We led fair FREEDOM hither, when lo the *Desart* smil'd,
> A Paradise of Pleasure, was open'd in the Wild;
> Your Harvest bold AMERICANS! no Pow'r shall snatch away,
> Assert yourselves, yourselves, yourselves, my brave AMERICA.[114]

After the outbreak of fighting in the colonies Flagg put those convictions into practice as an active combatant for the Continental Congress: he is recorded in 1777 as a 'major, of the regiment of artillery' in the Rhode Island and Providence rebel forces. Subsequent records see him supervising the manufacture of 'eight-inch howitzers' in 1778, promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1779, and assigned to the Commissary of Military Stores for Rhode Island by 1781.[115]

John Selby, Flagg's collaborator in the 1772 Accession Day performance and on at least one previous occasion in 1771 as noted above, had obviously different political commitments. The musician 'lately arrived from London' in October 1771

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[112] Music, 'Josiah Flagg', 145.
[113] See note 68 above.
[114] *Edes and Gill's New American Almanack, and Massachusetts Register, for the Year 1770, Being the Second after Bissextile or Leap-Year. Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, Latt. 42°. 25m. North* (Boston, 1770), n.p.
[115] See Music, 'Josiah Flagg', 150.

had left behind him the post of organist at St Mary Woolnoth in the City of London, to take up the organist's job at Boston's King's Chapel, the town's principal Anglican church. He was in all likelihood a Londoner, the John Selby baptised at Finsbury in 1735.[116] Selby remained in post at the King's Chapel after fighting began in Massachusetts, and was still in receipt of his salary during the siege of Boston in 1776, during which period the King's Chapel had become the focal point of Boston's Loyalist political culture.[117] In the summer of 1776 the imperial garrison retreated from Boston along with many of the city's Loyalists, who left as refugees under their protection to make for Canada, the Caribbean, Britain, or more distant parts of the empire.[118] As Barbara Owen has uncovered, Selby left Boston with this party to begin a 'new life as a customs official and organist' in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the new military capital of British North America following the war.[119] Such was John Selby's apparent commitment to this politics that in so doing he cut off ties with his brother William, who had himself emigrated to Rhode Island just three years earlier in 1773 and who subsequently threw in his lot with the Continental Congress, taking up the organist's post at Boston's Trinity Church in the same year his brother had left for Halifax.[120]

John Selby and Josiah Flagg's collaboration in the 1772 Accession Day performance which culminated in Handel's 'Grand Coronation Anthem' was thus a product of a particular moment in Boston's musical and political culture. Far from representing, as Nicholas Temperley has argued, one of the 'last great Loyalist

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[116] Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 13-14.
[117] See Barbara Owen, 'The Other Mr. Selby', *American Music* 8/4 (1990), 477-482 (481); and Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel: From the Puritan Age of New England to the Present* Day, 2 vols (Boston: Little, Brown, 1896), II: 281-329.
[118] A brilliant account of this process, considering Loyalist refuges from across the northern colonies, can be found in Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011).
[119] Barbara Owen, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel, Boston, 1713-1991*, 2nd edn (Boston: King's Chapel, 1993), 44.
[120] See Temperley, *Bound for America*, 22ff.

spectaculars in Boston',[121] it acted as a microcosm of the imperial festivities of which it formed a part in allowing both Whigs and Tories to articulate with a newfound expressiveness a differently motivated but shared monarchical culture: something of urgent significance to both groups during this unsettled period. Yet in just a few months' time, as tensions between the imperial administration and colonists over fiscal policy and the constitution began to rise yet again – bringing the end of the fragile 'Pause in Politics' that had lasted since mid-1770 – that imperial tradition, and the Handel performances it now incorporated, would become the subject of contention between Boston's political factions as old alliances of convenience began to break down.

'There will be blood shed': Boston prepares for civil war

Ann Hulton had warned that just as a calm seemed to have taken hold over Massachusetts Bay, foul weather was likely to roll in without warning from the Atlantic: tranquillity could at any moment be 'followd by commotions & hurricans'.[122] The political horizon seemed to darken rapidly once more in the summer of 1773, when a set of letters were made public in Boston. They had been written by Thomas Hutchinson, by then governor of the colony, in the late 1760s when he was still lieutenant governor. The packet of letters, with the addressee's name deleted in all cases, had been acquired by Benjamin Franklin in London in late 1772, where he was (among other things) acting as an agent for the Massachusetts assembly.[123] Franklin sent the letters to Boston in the hope of diffusing the ongoing controversy about the deployment of imperial troops in Boston in response to the

[121] ibid., 14.
[122] Ann Hulton to Mrs. Lightbody, undated, in E. Rhys Jones (ed.), *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, 59.
[123] See Carla Mulford, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), chapter 7; the recipient of the letters was Thomas Whately, a Treasury official who had been involved with drafting the Stamp Act.

civil unrest over the Townshend Duties; he expected that what the letters contained would direct anger about the actions which had concluded with the 'massacre' of 1770 towards Hutchinson personally and away from the ministry in London in general.[124] This did not work. The letters, which were read aloud to the colony's House of Representatives on 2 June 1773 by Samuel Adams and published later that month, contained many sentiments which were incendiary to Boston's Whigs in the current political climate. Though Hutchinson had noted in 1769 that 'I really wish that there may not have been the least degree of severity beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain […] the *dependence* which a colony ought to have upon the parent state', he had nevertheless concluded that 'There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties.'[125] The leading members of the Sons of Liberty were quick to capitalise on the controversy by re-starting the kind of direct crowd action against those associated with unpopular imperial policy Boston's streets had seen in the years before 1770. Before the full contents of the letters had been made public, in May 1773, Hutchinson's election day 'Publick Dinner' at Concert Hall was disrupted by two members of the governor's Company of Cadets refusing to present arms: they were summarily dismissed and joined a crowd led by members of the Sons of Liberty, including Josiah Flagg's associate Paul Revere, to throw mud at the attendees.[126] Hutchinson himself was the subject of a petition by the Massachusetts House to the crown that 'His Majesty remove [him] forever from the government of Massachusetts' due to his '*efficacious* tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of our most gracious sovereign King George the Third from this his loyal and

[124] See Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 236.
[125] [Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Whately], 20 January 1769, in *Copy of Letters Sent to Great-Britain, by his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver, and Several Other Persons, Born and Educated Among Us. Which Original Letters Have Been Returned to America, and Laid before the Honorable House of Representatives of this Province* (Boston, 1773), 16.
[126] Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 245; Benjamin Carp, *The Defiance of the Patriots*: *The Boston Tea Party & the Making of America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 47-8.

affectionate province'.[127] But the publication of the letters had served to reignite the constitutional debates of the pre-revolutionary decade as a whole, and their accompanying modes of popular politics, which the scapegoating of Hutchinson would not now extinguish.

In May 1773 parliament passed the Tea Act. The principal intended beneficiaries of this legislation were the British East India Company, whose warehouses were stuffed full of unsold tea, rapidly depreciating in value due to its fixed prices being undercut by continental European competitors and smuggling. With the East India Company also struggling to keep up with its vast expenditure on colonial infrastructure in the subcontinent, Lord North's ministry in London saw an opportunity to revive the Company's fortunes while also arriving at a lasting resolution to the ongoing problem of taxation in the American colonies. A tax rebate was granted to the Company on tea shipped across the Atlantic, meaning tea could be sold at a new cheap rate in the colonies: the stock could be shifted to a market grateful at the discount it was receiving, while parliament would have finally established its right to tax colonial imports (the reason the Townshend Duty on tea was retained in 1770 while the others were repealed).[128]

News about the passing of the Tea Act and the first significant shipment of Company tea to be sold under it reached New York and Philadelphia, in the early autumn of 1773, before it did Boston. The response of those cities' Whig circles to the news – urging Bostonians to 'send back the tea from whence it came' unless they were 'ready to have the yoke of slavery riveted about their necks'[129] – made plain to the Boston Sons of Liberty that the constitutional future of all the northern colonies would depend on their course of action. The coalition the Boston Sons of Liberty

[127] Quoted in Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*, 241.
[128] Carp, *The Defiance of the Patriots*, 17-20; what follows here on the Tea Party draws on his account ibid., 70ff.
[129] *Pennsylvania Journal*, 29 September 1773.

were able to mobilise against the Tea Act in the autumn of 1773 extended beyond the firmly ideologically committed, since many Bostonians benefited directly or indirectly from the smuggling of tea, a market the Act would decimate at a stroke. Just as in the case of John Mein in 1769, the rhetoric of newspapers and pamphlets and the street action which accompanied it exerted pressure on a far wider group of targets than Hutchinson and other representatives of the imperial administration. In particular, those merchants who had agreed to receive the taxed tea, the East India Company's designated consignees, were judged most susceptible to persuasion. The threat of violent direct action was often explicit. A writer styling themself *Phileleutheros* ('lover of freedom') warned 'the Commissioners, appointed by the East-India Company, for the Sale of Tea' on Monday 1 November to

> secure yourselves in time, from the gathering storm, before it bursts upon your devoted heads, & overwhelms you with a sudden, dreadful, and sure destruction […] You cannot readily become your own cooks, butchers, butlers, nor bakers: You will therefore be liable, to be suddenly, and unexpectedly taken off, in the midst of your confidence and supposed security, by those whom you may chance to confide in, and employ. —Nay, those very guards, in which you may probably place your greatest trust and security, may, some time or other, become the sure and ready instruments of your destruction […] A thousand avenues to death, would be perpetually open to receive and swallow you; and ten thousand uplifted shafts, ready to strike the fatal stroke, whenever a favourable opportunity offered for the purpose.[130]

During the night after these ominous words were printed, the merchant Richard Clarke, one of the consignees, was woken to receive a summons 'that you personally appear at Liberty Tree, on Wednesday next, at twelve o'clock at noon day, to make a public resignation of your commission […] Fail not upon your peril.'[131] The rendezvous at the Liberty Tree was one at a symbolic gallows, as the treatment of the effigy of Andrew Oliver in 1765 had shown. On 3 November a crowd of 'about five

[130] *Boston Gazette*, 1 November 1773. The letter had previously been printed in the *New York Journal* of 21 October 1773.
[131] Quoted in Francis S. Drake, *Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company, now First Printed from the Original Manuscript. With an Introduction, Notes, and Biographical Notices of the Boston Tea Party* (Boston: A. O. Crane, 1884), 282.

hundred' assembled at the Liberty Tree – among them leading Sons of Liberty such as Samuel Adams and John Hancock – but Clarke did not appear.[132] Learning that Clarke was instead at his warehouse, which sat at the point where King Street ran on into the Long Wharf, the crowd marched across town. When Clarke and the other consignees refused their demands not to receive the shipment of tea, the warehouse was attacked: the doors were 'by force and blows' ripped from their hinges and, with Clarke's party retreating to the counting room on the first floor, an hour and a half was spent in skirmishing on the warehouse's narrow staircase.[133]

Escalation on the part of Boston's imperial administrators such as had been seen preceding the 'massacre' of 1770 soon followed. Though the Sons of Liberty-supporting editors of the *Boston Gazette* attempted to minimize the incident at Clarke's warehouse – 'though the intent was to leave the place immediately […] a small part of them returned to the Warehouse […] and no damage was done' – they nonetheless responded indignantly to Hutchinson's instructing his Company of Cadets 'to be in readiness, *in arms* […] for the purpose of aiding the civil magistrate in the preservation of the peace.'[134] This '*military* movement' from Hutchinson was not enough to prevent the events of 17 November, when Clarke's son Jonathan returned from England with the news that he had negotiated a handsome commission on the shipment of East India Company tea his father's company was to receive.[135] The captain of the vessel on which Jonathan made his passage, James Scott, also carried with him the report that four tea-laden ships were on their way to Boston. Both of these pieces of news travelled quickly, and on the evening of Jonathan's arrival in Boston his father's house on School Street, near the King's

[132] Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 253.
[133] Richard Clarke and Sons to Abraham Dupuis, November 1773, quoted in Drake, *Tea Leaves*, 279-291 (286); Carp, *The Defiance of the Patriots*, 87-8.
[134] *Boston Gazette*, 15 November 1773.
[135] Quote ibid.

Chapel, was surrounded by 'a Considerable Body of People'. Jonathan did little to diffuse the situation by brandishing a musket from a window and 'in a very boisterous tone, crying out, "You Rascals, be gone or I'll blow you[r] brains out!"'[136] When he fired he 'luckily did not Hurt' any of the demonstrators, but they nevertheless proceeded to break 'all his Windows & Window Frames' and 'did other Damage'.[137] The expectation of imminent political violence was widely held when the *Dartmouth* anchored in the King's Road in Boston harbour on 28 November, its hold stuffed with Company tea. Handbills were posted throughout the town the following morning inviting colonists to a town meeting, declaring that 'the Hour of Destruction or manly Opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny Stares you in the Face'.[138] If the tea was landed, 'there will be blood shed', predicted Peleg Clarke, a Rhode Island sea captain and slave trader who put in to Boston harbour on 27 November.[139] The Boston merchant John Andrews wrote to his brother-in-law in Philadelphia on the 29th that 'I tremble for y^{e} consequences should y^{e} consignees still persist in their obstinacy'. On 1 December he noted that the consignees were now holed up behind the walls of Castle William in the harbour, having fled ahead of an armed confrontation which seemed imminent; ''twould puzzle any person to purchase a pair of p*isto*ls in town,' Andrews wrote, 'as they are all bought up, with a full determination to repell force by force'.[140]

[136] 'Accounts of the Attack upon Richard Clarke, November 17, 1773', in Robert E. Moody (ed.), *The Saltonstall Papers, 1607-1815*, 2 vols (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972), I: 459-463 (562).
[137] Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 254; *Boston Evening Post*, 22 November 1773.
[138] Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 255.
[139] Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 28 November 1773, quoted in Carp, *The Defiance of the Patriots*, 93; see Robert A. Geake, *New England Plantations: Commerce and Slavery* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2021), 59-60.
[140] John Andrews to William Barrell, 29 November and 1 December, 1773, in Sargent (ed.), *Letters of John Andrews Esq., of Boston, 1772-1776*, 11-12.

Handel contested

Amid the gathering clouds of the summer and autumn of 1773, Bostonians continued to observe the festivals of the imperial calendar with the urgency they had during previous years. The king's birthday was marked in early June, the anniversary of his coronation in late September, and the anniversary of his accession in late October.[141] As Accession Day had done the previous year, all three of these celebrations incorporated public concerts organised by Selby and Flagg. Though no programme survives for the king's birthday concert in June,[142] the latter two events both had music by Handel as their centrepieces. Unlike in 1772, however, Selby and Flagg were no longer collaborators in these performances. With the town's politics plunged back into instability and belligerence following the publication of Hutchinson's letters in June, the competing political visions the imperial calendar celebrations and the Handel movements they incorporated articulated could no-longer co-exist within the same actual performances. Selby's and Flagg's concerts were instead set up in imitation of and competition with each other's, with Handel's music speaking on behalf of opposing visions of the future of the town, the colony, and the empire.[143]

On 13 September the *Boston Evening Post* carried Selby's advertisement:

> Music. For the Benefit of Mr. selby, Organist of the king's chapel,
> On wednesday the 22d of September Instant, Being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Coronation, Will be performed at concert-hall, A
> Grand concert of vocal and instrumental music, to be assisted by the band of his Majesty's 64th Regiment. Tickets at Half a Dollar each to be had at Miss Cummins in Cornhill, Mess. Cox & Berry in King-Street, and at Mr. Selby's House facing Deacon Storer's in Sudbury-Street, Boston.

[141] The dates in question: 4 June, 22 September and 25 October respectively.
[142] See advertisements for the event in the *Boston Evening Post*, *Boston Gazette*, and *Boston Post Boy* of 31 May 1773, and the *Boston News-Letter* and *Massachusetts Spy* of 3 June 1773.
[143] The political character of these two concerts was identified by Stephen Nissenbaum in an unpublished paper delivered at the American Handel Society Festival in Seattle in 2011 ('Handel and the Boston Tea Party, 1773'). I thank Stephen for his generosity in sharing the text of the paper with me.

Later notices fleshed out the programme:

> Grand concert of vocal and instrumental music at Concert-Hall on Wednesday next, for the benefit of Mr. Selby. First violin by Mr. Morgan, and to be assisted by the Band of his Majesty's 64th Regiment. First Act. Overture…Mr. Handel, Song, Duet, and Chorus, Organ Concerto, Song, Hallelujah Chorus in Mr. Handell's Oratorio of the Messiah. Second Act. Sinphonia, Glee in three parts, composed in the year 1600, solo violin…Mr. Morgan, Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem, 22 parts. […] To begin at 7 o'clock precisely, and no money will be taken at the door. Mr. Selby having been at great pains and expence to have his concert performed elegantly, humbly hopes to be patronized by his friends and the public.[144]

Selby's performance at Concert Hall featured the band of the 64th who had performed at Accession Day in 1772, and concluded again with the 'Grand Coronation Anthem, 22 parts': *Zadok the Priest*. To this was added another movement to act as the climax of the first act, as *Zadok* did for the second: the 'Hallelujah!' chorus from *Messiah*. Pairing these two movements was common at contemporary charitable music festival performances in England such as the London Sons of the Clergy festival, and they would be published as an apparently obvious-seeming pair in London in 1783 in an arrangement for keyboard four hands.[145] The combination was, however, new to Boston in 1773.

Comparing the programme and the performing forces of this event to Flagg's concert the following month makes their connection obvious. Rather than the band of His Majesty's 64th Regiment, Flagg made use of another military band of music:

> The subscriber, as being the first founder, and having at great expence of time, trouble &c. instructed a band of music to perform before the Regiment of the Militia in this town, and having been encouraged to expect the advantage of a benefit concert at Faneuil Hall in consideration of his pains, would beg leave to advertise that he has obtained leave for the same. Josiah Flagg. For his benefit, will be performed in Faneuil Hall, a concert of vocal and instrumental music, intended on Thursday the 21st instant. Further particulars to be inserted in our next. Tickets to be had at Messirs. Cox and Berry's, Lee & Roberts's, and at the Printers, at half a dollar each.[146]

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[144] *Boston Evening Post*, 20 September 1773.
[145] See E. H. Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy, 1655-1904* (London: John Murray, 1904), 228; *Handel's Hallelujah in the Messiah, and Grand Coronation Anthem; to which Are Prefix'd Two New Fugues; the Whole Adapted & Composed for 2 Performers on One Organ or Harpsichord by J. Marsh* (London, 1783).
[146] *Boston Evening Post*, 11 October 1773.

The further particulars arrived soon enough, along with a change of date, to Thursday 28 October:

> Mr. Flagg begs leave most respectfully to acquaint the publick, that having obtained leave of the gentlemen select-men for the use of Faneuil-Hall, he intends this evening, to perform a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music. The band to be conducted by Mr. Morgan. Act 1st.—Periodical overture.—Hunting song.—Harpsichord concerto.—The grand chorus of Hallelujah, from the oratorio of the Messiah. Act 2nd.—Overture—Song and chorus, "The [Hero] comes."—Concerto.—The Coronation Anthem.—Solo violin.—To conclude with the Liberty Song and chorus. There will be upwards of 50 performers. Tickets to be had at Messirs. Cox & Berry's, Lee & Roberts's, and at the printers, at half a dollar each. As Mr. Flagg is about to leave the province soon, he begs the assistance of his friends and acquaintances to enable him to do it in an independent manner.[147]

Zadok the Priest again followed 'Hallelujah!' from *Messiah* in a 'grand concert' with a two-part programme, with both pieces positioned towards the end of each act. W. S. Morgan, the violinist and organist who had first collaborated with Selby and Flagg in October 1771 led the band for both performances. The implication of the 11 October announcement is that the trumpets and drums that are so central to *Zadok* and 'Hallelujah!' were likely supplied for Flagg by the band of the 'Regiment of Militia' Flagg himself had trained, for which service he had been granted the use of Faneuil Hall by the Boston selectmen for the evening. Which of Boston's militia bands this might have been is uncertain, though the most likely candidates are the band of the governor's Company of Cadets or that of the Company of Grenadiers, both of which units, as noted above, were regular participants in the celebrations of the imperial calendar, as military escorts in parades and dischargers of ceremonial musket volleys. Both had bands of music which had performed with success in the king's birthday celebrations in June 1773:

> Friday last was the anniversary of his Majesty's Birth Day, when he entered the 36th Year of his Age; upon which Occasion his Excellency's Troop of Guards, the Regiment of Militia, with the Company of Grenadiers, and Train of Artillery, dress'd in their Uniforms, with a Band of Musick; likewise the Company of Cadets, commanded by the Hon. John Hancock, Esq; having also a Band of Musick, were mustered, and performed their several Excercises in the Training Field, to the universal Satisfaction as well as Admiration of a

[147] *Boston News Letter*, 28 October 1773.

> more numerous Company of Spectators, both of Town and Country, than were ever known upon the like Ocassion; after which, the whole march'd into Kingstreet, where Vollies were fired by each respectively.[148]

As John Andrews noted, the king's birthday celebrations of June 1773 were overshadowed by the controversy over the 'letters that have been sent from London […] that were wrote some three or four years since by the Governor […] very much to the prejudice of the province': the letters of Thomas Hutchinson written during the Townshend Duties crisis, lately returned to Boston by Benjamin Franklin. There was already something of an edge to the way Andrews compared the 'agreeable sight of our militia companies marching into the Common' for the birthday ceremonies to the forces of the imperial garrison. These militia companies seemed 'strangely metamorphos'd':

> From making the most despicable appearance they now vie with the best troops in his majesties service […] with a company of Grenadiers in red with every other apparatus, that equal any regular Company I ever saw both in regard to appearance and discipline, having a grand band of music consisting of eight that play nearly equal to that of the 64th. What crowns all is the Cadet company, being perfectly compleat and under the best order you can conceive of, with a band of musick likewise, that perform admirably well. What with these and Paddock's company of artillery make ye compleatest militia in America.[149]

Whichever of the Boston militia bands accompanied Flagg's concert in October 1773, the use of military instruments would have ensured that this performance continued – just as Selby's Coronation Day performance the month before did – to participate in the soundscape of the imperial calendar, with the same performers and instruments supplying Handel's trumpet and timpani lines that accompanied the processions and military manoeuvring of the king's birthday, coronation and accession celebrations. This was the case for the Faneuil Hall event of 28 October even though, while its programme and performing forces mirrored those of Selby's

[148] *Boston Evening Post*, 7 June 1773.
[149] John Andrews to William Barrell, 4 June 1773, in Sargent (ed.), *Letters of John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, 1772-1776*, 10-11.

Coronation Day concert, it took place in the week of Accession Day rather than on the day itself.[150]

That this performance took place at arm's length from the official Accession Day celebration is likely a result of its strikingly partisan political character. While the events of the imperial calendar in Boston had, before 1773, been able to hold together participants whose understandings of the relationship between the colony and the monarch differed markedly, the inclusion of the 'Liberty song and chorus' in the programme of Flagg's concert made the event's Whiggish character unmistakable. The *vivats* of *Zadok the Priest* were in effect glossed or troped by the composition which followed it on the night, whose words and music articulated the familiar litany of colonial Whig grievances against parliamentary fiscal policy and a resolve to resist them with force. The words to the song, by the Philadelphia lawyer John Dickinson, had been first published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of 7 July 1768, and had appeared in the Boston press by August of that year. The song circulated in broadside form from the year of its composition, and in other publications such as the Boston almanacs in which the 'New Song, compos'd by a Son of Liberty' Flagg had performed in 1770 was also printed.[151] Its first Boston performance was probably at a 1768 dinner attended by 'a Number of Gentlemen of Distinction in the Town', where it followed '45 Loyal Toasts'.[152] A subsequent performance by members of the Boston Sons of Liberty at a dinner held at Dorchester in 1769 attended by John Adams led him to reflect that 'the Liberty Song […] is cultivating the Sensations of

[150] The event, having been first scheduled for the Thursday before Monday's Accession Day, took place on the Thursday after. Accession Day was celebrated on the 25th in 1773 rather than moved to the 26th as it was in 1772: see Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, 252 ('Oct 25. Kings Accession to the Thone—The Cadets Under Arms').
[151] The song's earliest Boston printings were in the *Boston Evening Post*, 22 August 1768 and the *Boston Chronicle*, 29 August 1768. The first broadside publication was as *A New Song. To the Tune of Hearts of Oak, &c.* (Philadelphia, 1768). It appears as 'A New Song, Now much in Vogue in North-America. To the Tune of "Heart of Oak, &c."' in *Edes and Gill's New American Almanack, and Massachusetts Register, for the Year 1770, Being the Second after Bissextile or Leap-Year. Calculated for the Meridian of Boston, Latt. 4^{2o}. 25m. North* (Boston, 1770),, n.p.
[152] *Boston Gazette*, 8 August 1768.

Freedom'.[153] Three of the song's eight verses are enough to give an impression of the whole:

> Come join Hand in Hand, brave AMERICANS all,
> And rouse your bold Hearts at fair LIBERTY's CALL;
> No *tyrannous Acts* shall suppress your *just Claim*,
> Or stain with *Dishonour* AMERICA's Name-------
> In FREEDOM we're BORN, and in FREEDOM we'll LIVE,
> Our Purses are ready,
> Steady, Friends, Steady,
> Not as SLAVES, but as FREEMEN our Money we'll give.
>
> […]
>
> All Ages shall speak with *Amaze* and *Applause*,
> Of the *Courage* we'll shew IN SUPPORT OF OUR LAWS:
> To DIE we can *bear*-------but, to SERVE we *disdain*----
> For SHAME is to *Freemen* more dreadful than PAIN-------
> In FREEDOM we're BORN, &*c*.
>
> This Bumper I crown for our SOVEREIGN's Health,
> And this for BRITANNIA's Glory and Wealth;
> That Wealth and that Glory immortal may be,
> If *She* is but *just*-------and if *We* are but *Free*----
> In FREEDOM we're BORN, &*c*.[154]

While the metaphor of slavery and freedom, at once shaped by and oblivious to the literal enslaved labour that was crucial to the colonial economy, structures much of the song's political vision, Dickinson turns in the final stanza to take up the image of the loyal toast. The bumper raised to 'God save the king' is done so in hope, and on condition, that the monarch should uphold the subject's constitutionally enshrined freedoms, as in the colonial Whig toasts from the period of the imperial crisis quoted above, and the wider political discourse these toasts reflected: '*O King live forever!* if their King will restore [our] injured Rights, and preserve inviolably sure, the enjoyment of [our] Charter Liberties'.[155] Heard alongside the 'Liberty Song', *Zadok the*

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[153] See Arthur F. Schrader, 'Songs to Cultivate the Sensations of Freedom', in Lambert (ed.), *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: Music in Public Places*), 104-156 (quotation at 105). Extended discussions of the 'Liberty Song' can be found in Ogssapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*, 100-101; William Pencak, *Contested Commonwealths: Essays in American History* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 108-111; and Colin Wells, *Poetry Wars: Verse and Politics in the American Revolution and Early Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 46-50.
[154] *A New Song. To the Tune of Hearts of Oak, &c*, n.p.
[155] *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty* [1773], in Steven Sarson (ed.), *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1783*, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), VI: 133.

Priest would have seemed to speak univocally on behalf of those prepared to fight 'IN SUPPORT OF OUR LAWS' in its petitions to God and the sovereign, in a way it had not in the performance in which Selby and Flagg collaborated in 1772.

As in the case of the 'Liberty Song', too, the passage of time and the passage across the Atlantic brought *Zadok the Priest* to a new contested context: one in which the values it was held to embody were claimed and struggled over along lines quite different to those which applied either in contemporary Britain or the Britain in which it had been first produced. Like the 'New Song' to the tune of the 'British Grenadiers' Flagg had performed in 1770, the 'Liberty Song' was another contrafactum, this time of David Garrick and William Boyce's 'Heart of Oak', written in the wake of a planned French invasion of England's failure at the naval battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759. The song quickly became a crucial part of the Royal Navy's musical traditions.[156]

> Come cheer up my Lads, 'tis to Glory we Stear,
> To add something more to this wonderfull Year:
> To Honour we call you, not Press you like Slaves,
> For who are so free as we Sons of the Waves:
>
> Heart of Oak are our Ships, Heart of Oak are our Men,
> We always are ready,
> Steady Boys steady,
> We'll Fight, and we'll conquer again and again.[157]

The 'slavery' over which the jolly tars (as the British sailors become in later broadside versions) triumphed in 1759 was that of the Catholic absolutism of the French monarchy and the naval press gang. In taking up Boyce's melody, Dickinson's reworking of Garrick's words staked a fresh claim to the tradition of English liberty the original represented, and contended to embody it better than the

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[156] See 'Heart of Oak', in I. C. B. Dear and Peter Kemp (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), *Oxford Reference Online* [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780199205684.001.0001/acref-9780199205684-e-1234].

[157] 'A Song Sung by Mr Champnes in Harlequin's Invasion' [1759], Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 561* (24).

ships and men who used the song to beat to quarters and as they sailed into battle: the imperial forces and commanders who, Whigs like Dickinson held, were oppressing American colonists in the late 1760s. Heard alongside the 'Liberty Song' in Flagg's quasi Accession Day performance of October 1773, *Zadok the Priest* and its compellingly aestheticized *vivats* – 'God save the King! Long live the King! May the king live forever' – had been appropriated by Flagg, his performers and audience to speak against the version of *Zadok* that had been performed by John Selby and the band of a regiment of the imperial garrison. Flagg's performance adopted the structure and programming of Selby's, like the 'Liberty Song' took up the tune, poetic themes and political ideas of 'Heart of Oak': as a refutation, but also as an assertion that those themes and ideas were better embodied by Flagg and his Whig audience than they were by the colonial Tories and imperial functionaries who heard, and performed in, Selby's concert the month before.

In a town in which all the pistols were being rapidly 'bought up' by private citizens and the governor was putting his own soldiers on high alert, '*in arms*', in order to keep the peace, the sabre-rattling aspect of Selby's and Flagg's competing performances, each accompanied by military bands of music – one of the imperial garrison, one of the militia – will have been hard to ignore. Looking ahead to musical performances which took place in Boston in the wake of the Tea Party and the imposition of the 'Intolerable Acts' in early 1774,[158] we can see that the Selby and Flagg performances of late 1773 were already well on the way to the explicit tub-thumping which characterised these later events. While Flagg left Boston for Rhode Island on the proceeds of his October 1773 performance to begin what would become his military career in the Rhode Island revolutionary forces, Selby continued to perform regularly in public concerts until the death of his wife Sarah in October

[158] On the 'Intolerable' or 'Coercive Acts', occupation of Boston and blockade of the port, see Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 53-55.

1774.[159] On 20 April 1774, Selby, W. S. Morgan, the band of the 64th and a flautist newly arrived from London collaborated to give 'at Concert-Hall […] a grand concert of vocal and instrumental musick', featuring a harpsichord concerto performed by Selby and, at the end of the second part, 'To conclude with a grand military Simphony accompanied by kettle drums, &c., compos'd by Mr. Morgan.'[160] The military theme was continued in the performance of 18 May at Concert Hall, featuring the same performers: after another harpsichord concerto performed by Selby, the first act closed with a 'Simphony—G*erman* flute, accompanied with kettle drums.' The second act included the 'Song, "Soldier tir'd of wars Alarms," from the opera of Artaxerxes, accompanied with the kettledrums, &c.', and concluded with 'a grand simphony by Lord Kelly, accompanied by kettle drums &c.'.[161] It is unclear which of the copious and still uncatalogued works of the Scottish composer Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kellie this 'grand simphony' represents.[162] From the listed aria from Act III of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes*, however, it is easy to build up a sense of a programme in which the sounds of battlefield instruments and the musical vocabulary of the military topic contributed to a rousing concert appropriate to the defiant mood of Boston Loyalists and garrison troops in a city now under full imperial occupation and whose harbour was soon to be blockaded by Royal Navy warships:

> The Soldier, tir'd of War's Alarms,
> Foreswears the clang of hostile Arms,
> And scorns the Spear and Shield:
> But if the brazen Trumpet sound,
> He burns with Conquest to be crown'd.
> And dares again the Field.[163]

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[159] See *Boston Evening Post*, 24 October 1774.
[160] *Boston Evening Post*, 4 April 1774. The 'capital performer on the German flute', Mr. Stieglitz, had arrived in Boston in December 1773: *Boston Evening Post*, 27 December 1773.
[161] *Boston Evening Post*, 16 May 1774.
[162] See David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 68-84, 212-14.
[163] [Pietro Metastasio and Thomas Arne], *Artaxerxes. An English Opera. As it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. The Music Composed by Tho. Aug. Arne, Mus. Doc.* (London, 1761), 44.

In Arne's setting, the text's turn with renewed resolve to re-join the fight is accompanied by the first entry of a solo trumpet with material whose stark melodic shape and textural presentation strongly suggests the trumpet signals of the battlefield, material then taken up by the full band *unisono* and developed for the remainder of the movement. Though no programme is listed, a similar atmosphere is signalled in the advertisements for an event at Concert Hall on 8 September featuring Morgan, Selby and Mr. Stieglitz and an expanded military band of 'clarinets, hautboys, bassons, French horns, trumpets, kettle drums, &c. &c.' supplied by the 'gentlemen performers of the army, navy, and of the town' and 'some of the best performers in the several bands of music of the lines.'[164]

The plainly bellicose nature of these events, taking place in the same venue and featuring many of the same performers as John Selby's Coronation Day and Accession Day performances in 1772 and 1773, might lead us to reflect again on the qualities which made *Zadok the Priest* and the 'Hallelujah!' chorus appealing to Selby and his audience, and, by extension, to Josiah Flagg and the audience at his not-quite Accession Day concert in 1773. Selby and his collaborators made obvious political hay in 1774 from the representational opportunities afforded them by performing with the accompaniment of the military band of an active regiment of the imperial garrison. Could the involvement of the same performing forces in the imperial calendar celebration concerts in 1772 and 1773 have brought out similar qualities in the Handel movements they featured so prominently? Asking the question brings the present discussion within touching distance of debates within the Handel literature which have taken place, on and off, since the publication of Michael Marissen's article 'Rejoicing against Judaism in Handel's *Messiah*' in 2007.[165] The

[164] *Boston Post Boy*, 5 September 1774.
[165] *The Journal of Musicology* 24/2 (2007), 167-194.

article, which advanced the claim that the 'Hallelujah!' chorus, both in Charles Jennens's libretto for *Messiah* and in Handel's setting would have been understood by its first listeners as celebrating the victory of gentile Christianity over Jews and Judaism, was the subject of immediate and public controversy. The article, and a summary of its arguments printed in the *New York Times* on Easter Sunday in 2007, were the subject of a panel debate at the American Handel Society Festival later that April, with some of the contributions later also written up in the *New York Times*.[166] Article-length rebuttals have also been published in 2010 and 2022, while Marissen expanded his argument in a 2014 book.[167] While the responses of Wendy Heller, Ruth Smith, John Roberts and Stephen Nissenbaum have identified various scriptural, theological, and musical-analytical cheques Marissen's arguments write but fail to cash,[168] the debate has nevertheless shed light on facets of the 'Hallelujah!' chorus – and, *en passant*, *Zadok the Priest* as well – which formerly had been overlooked in Handel scholarship.

One such is an acknowledgement that Marissen was correct in understanding the 'Hallelujah!' chorus in the context of the four movements which precede it, which 'concern a rebellion against God and his "anointed" son, ending with God's promise that He will smash the rebels to pieces'.[169] Thus though Marissen errs in the

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[166] Michael Marissen, 'Unsettling History of that Joyous "Hallelujah"', *New York Times*, 8 April 2007; James R. Oestreich, 'Hallelujah Indeed: Debating Handel's Anti-Semitism', *New York Times*, 23 April 2007; 'Wendy Heller on Handel's "Messiah"', *New York Times*, 23 April 2007; 'Ruth Smith on Handel's "Messiah"', *New York Times*, 23 April 2007.

[167] John Roberts, 'False *Messiah*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63/1 (2010), 45-97; Stephen Nissenbaum, 'Rejoicing against Whom? Charles Jennens, Michael Marissen, *Zadok the Priest*, and the Hallelujah Chorus', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 68 (2022), 79-94; Michael Marissen, *Tainted Glory in Handel's 'Messiah': The Unsettling History of the World's Most Famous Choral Work* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014).

[168] The key point (to my mind) is made by Wendy Heller in pointing out the inappropriateness of the analytical techniques Marissen brought to bear on Handel's music: early eighteenth-century composers did not use 'specific melodic or rhythmic idea[s] like a Wagnerian leitmotif', and in a musical grammar and syntax saturated with conventional melodic and voice-leading progressions audiences would have found such a technique very difficult to recognise. As Heller also points out, having much of Marissen's analytical case rest on 'a brief passage' with only a slight 'resemblance to a Lutheran chorale' is also problematic, not least because most members of *Messiah*'s early English and Irish audiences would not have recognised the tune: 'Wendy Heller on Handel's "Messiah"'.

[169] Nissenbaum, 'Rejoicing Against Whom?', 82.

conclusions he draws from this observation, it is the case that part of what is celebrated in the text for the chorus as compiled by Jennens is a 'military' triumph: a thanksgiving for the victory of the Kingdom of God over the kingdoms of this world, won by the atoning death (at the hands of one such kingdom, Rome) and resurrection of God's, and Israel's, messiah.[170] Another related point which has emerged with more clarity from the debate Marissen's article impelled is about the nature of Handel's response to the 'Hallelujah!' text: 'the general mood', Marissen observes, 'is one of spectacular triumph. It's at the Hallelujah chorus that trumpets with drums are used for the first time in *Messiah*. In Handel's day trumpets with drums were symbols of great power.'[171] Several responses to Marissen's thesis disputed this observation, resisting the link between the style and orchestration of 'Hallelujah!' and the military topic. John Roberts did so by pointing out the connection between the way the *Messiah* chorus is set and the style of Handel's political church music of the 1720s: 'That Handel cast this chorus in the style he did is surely unsurprising. In his anthem "Zadok the priest" he had set a new standard for grandeur in coronation music, with a slow crescendo to a blaze of sound including three trumpets and drums and resounding shouts of "God save the King, long live the King, may the King live for ever, Alleluia, Amen." Would he have wanted to do less when the ruler being acclaimed was not an earthly king but […] the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," who was to "reign for ever and ever"?'[172] While Roberts seems to argue that the similarity he notes between Handel's settings of 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok* means that the grand trumpets-and-drums manner they share has less to do with victory and more to do with royal pomp and majesty, in

[170] Whether understood in 'preterist' or 'historicist' terms; see Roberts, 'False *Messiah*', 65-6.
[171] Marissen, *Tainted Glory*, 53.
[172] Roberts, 'False *Messiah*', 76. Cf. Heller, who argued that the 'same scoring can be found in numerous Handel compositions representing royalty and kingship, regardless of whether a victory is being celebrated': 'Wendy Heller on Handel's "Messiah"'.

eighteenth-century England (as in the theological vision of the Old and New Testaments) those concepts are difficult to disentangle. In the year of George II's coronation, supporters of the Hanoverian regime emphasized the new king's successful accession as in part a matter of continued providential triumph over Jacobitism and Catholicism:[173] one such wrote of the new king, 'As His ROYAL FATHER had eminently signliz'd himself in *Greece* and *Germany* against the Enemies of *Christianity*; so did He distinguish himself, in *Flanders*, against the Abettors of *Popery*, and exorbitant *Power*; and at the great and memorable Victory of *Oudenard*, give convincing Proofs, (whenever the Enemies of our Peace and Religion oblige us to it) that we have another *Prince* on the Throne, as well qualified to Lead an Army, as to Govern a Kingdom.'[174] At the coronation itself, when *Zadok the Priest* was first performed publicly, the Bishop of Oxford's sermon encouraged the congregation to 'be subject thro' *fear of wrath*'.[175] It would not be surprising if, for its first listeners, part of the impact of the new style Handel arrived at for the 1727 coronation music – featuring the first use of trumpets and drums together in English church music – was to point up this aspect of what the new king and his family represented to their supporters. In Donald Burrows's words, 'it was probably not possible for the combined sounds of the trumpets and drums to shake off their military associations' in the coronation music.[176] Thus to point to the similarity between 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok* is to reinforce Marissen's sense of a 'mood […] of spectacular triumph' in the former, rather than to rebut it. It makes sense that 'Hallelujah!' should be clothed in

[173] See Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter 1.
[174] Henry Smith, *The Authority of Princes and Obedience of Subjects: Consider'd in a Sermon Preach'd at Weybridge in Surry on Occasion of Their Majesties Happy Coronation* (London, 1727), 21.
[175] John Potter, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Coronation of King George II. and Queen Caroline, in the Abbey-Church of Westminster, October 11. 1727* (London, 1727), 31.
[176] See Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), quote at 265; see also 487. On the ubiquitous contemporary linkage of trumpets and drums in combination with the battlefield, see Andrew Haringer, 'Hunt, Military, and Pastoral Topics', in Danuta Mirka (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 194-213.

the garb of royal pomp *and* triumph in Handel's setting, since this reinforces its theological import: the victory of God and his messiah over the powers and the consequent inauguration of His kingdom, the 'grand and final dynastic change'.[177] Thus while the question of the military semiotics of the trumpets and drums in 'Hallelujah!', and by extension in other of the composer's works in this manner like *Zadok the Priest,* has been controversial within recent Handel scholarship as a result of its association with Marissen's understanding of *Messiah* as anti-Jewish, it has proved difficult to dismiss.

Two parallel cases, from the reception of these works in Vienna and England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide instructive comparators for the issues raised by the Marissen debate. In a wide-ranging survey of the sources and models for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Esteban Buch noted the parallel textural and dramatic trajectories of 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok*: in the former, the 'text unfolds progressively, introduced by homophonic or unison phrases which then explode with powerful dramatic logic into a great contrapuntal rejoicing. There is a close relationship between the collective voice of *Zadok the Priest*, performed in public places to honor the king, and that raised in theaters to adore the Savior, "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords"'.[178] Both pieces stand for Buch among the 'principal musical avatars of English political life'.[179] Drawing on Buch's work, Nicholas Mathew identified a set of 'grand choral excerpts' from Handel, 'particularly those with prominent trumpets and drums' as emblematic of 'a particular sort of grand state music in England' which had begun to 'ador[n] major state occasions in Vienna

[177] Quotation from Nissenbaum, 'Rejoicing Against Whom?', 92. For Nissenbaum, Jennens's shaping of the *Messiah* libretto reflects his Nonjuring, with the 'Hallelujah!' sequence acting as a rejoinder to types of Hanoverian representation like *Zadok the Priest*.
[178] Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History*, trans. Richard Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 55.
[179] ibid., 11.

during the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath'.[180] This group of Handelian excerpts, at the heart of which were 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok the Priest*, became 'one of the generic sounds of power' in Vienna at the turn of the nineteenth century: 'symbols of sublimity, symbols that were constantly recycled for explicitly political ends.'[181] This music's political utility in Vienna lay in its sublimity: an 'authoritarian sublime' of aestheticized state power in which the transcendence the new romantic idealism attributed to music combined with the earlier representational regime of Handel's trumpets-and-drums political music in the service of the Austrian government in its resistance to Napoleon.

Again, the Viennese example shows, it is difficult to disentangle the battlefield connotations of the distinctive orchestration of 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok the Priest* from other aspects of this music's aesthetics and social function. This pattern also holds for Britain in the late eighteenth century. When audiences at the Westminster Handel Commemorations from 1784 onwards heard this music, part of the overwhelming impact they often reported derived from the way the music was orchestrated. Commentators frequently point to the Commemoration performances as a significant waypoint in the reception of Handel's music and musical aesthetics in Britain more generally, since as the many documented responses to the performances reveal, the Commemoration afforded many listeners an opportunity for a sense of the music's sublime quality to emerge in their thinking, following the pattern set by responses to the texts of Handel's oratorios earlier in the century.[182] Less frequently noted, however, is the contribution of the combined trumpets and drums which feature in so many of the works selected for performance at the

[180] Nicholas Mathew, 'Beethoven's Political Music, the Handelian Sublime, and the Aesthetics of Prostration', *19th-Century Music* 33/2 (2009), 110-150 (111-112).
[181] ibid., 113, 118-19.
[182] See for instance Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 153-6; Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 108-126.

Commemoration to the developing conception of a Handelian sublime. A signal exception can be found in the writing of Claudia Johnson, whose version of the development of the aesthetics of the musical sublime in England notes – alongside the vastness, religious transport, and archaism which many such accounts rehearse – the importance to this development of the '[t]hundering drums, stirring trumpets, and all manner of clangorous and warlike sounds' eighteenth-century listeners heard in Handel's oratorios and church music.[183] As Johnson points out, Edmund Burke's influential 1757 formulation of the concept of the sublime repeatedly turned to the sounds of the battlefield, its music included, to illustrate the aesthetic.[184] This theme frequently emerges in accounts of the Commemoration, in relation especially to *Zadok the Priest*. Several commentators report their experience of the first entry of the choir and full band in *Zadok* (b. 23ff.) – 'the first crash', as one writer described the moment – as one principally of fear.[185] The Irish playwright John O'Keeffe recalled that 'Though a passionate lover of music, the immense burst of sound really frightened me, and I rose to leave the place', but could not due to the press of bodies inside the abbey.[186] Leveller heads were able to link this impression not merely to

[183] Claudia L. Johnson, '"Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19/4 (1986), 515-533 (527-8).
[184] 'Excessive loudness alone is sufficient to overpower the soul, to suspend its action and to fill it with terror. The noises of vast cataracts, raging storms, thunder or artillery wakes a great and awful sensation in the mind, though we can observe no nicety or artifice in those sorts of music'; 'Few things are more awful than the striking of a great clock when the silence of the night prevents the attention from being too much dissipated. The same may be said of a single stroke on a drum repeated with pauses; and of the successive firing of cannon at a distance'. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), quoted in Peter le Huray and James Day (eds.), *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 64-5.
[185] Wednesday 26 May 1784, in Basil Cozens-Hardy (ed.), *The Diary of Sylas Neville, 1767-1788* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), 230.
[186] *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe, Written by Himself*, 2 vols (London, 1826), II: 95. Though O'Keeffe and Neville do not specify *Zadok the Priest* by name, it was the first work programmed on the first day of the commemoration: the first *forte tutti* of the festival was (certainly by design) the opening choral entry in *Zadok*. See Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785), 25-7.

decibel level but also to orchestral timbre. The composer John Marsh recorded in his journal that the

> first movement of [*Zadok the Priest*] (or introductory symphony) I had always before thought, for want of a sufficient body of harmony to support the arpeggios of the fiddles to be rather tedious, & (after the first 10 or 12 bars) uninteresting & monotonous, but with the band now engaged in it I thought nothing co'd exceed the grandeur of the effect. This symphony with its beautiful modulation having continued some time at length the whole force of the orchestra with all the voices, full organ, trumpets, trombones, double drums etc. burst upon us all at once, in the words "Zadoc the Priest" etc. the force & effect of w'ch almost took me off my legs & caused the blood to forsake my cheeks.[187]

Marsh's and O'Keeffe's figure of the choral and orchestral entry bursting on the abbey audience recalls at once images in contemporary writing of the (sublime) cloudburst and the artillery volley.[188] Similarly a report of the first day of the commemoration carried in many London newspapers contended that

> What was said by hyperbole of the eloquence of the Earl of Chatham [William Pitt], might, without a figure, be applied to this; that "it resembled at times the thunder, and at times the music of the spheres." Nor was there, we believe, an individual present, who, during the influence of the artillery of the band, when the bursts of the full chorus struck the ear, and shook the mansion, was not carried back by analogy to the torrents of the artillery of Heaven, with which, but that very morning, the hemisphere had rung.[189]

Charles Burney made much the same point in describing the large military kettledrums used in the performance as having 'except the destruction […] all the effect of the most powerful artillery'.[190] Such impressions were not confined to that 'first crash' in *Zadok*. The poet and novelist Anna Seward, who attended the 1786

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[187] Wednesday 26 May 1784, in Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*, Sociology of Music 9 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 317-18.
[188] For instance, respectively, *The Craftsman* 380 (1733): 'The Face of *Europe* is again clouded over; and I wish the Storm, which hath been long gathering, may not soon burst upon us, notwithstanding all our late flattering Promises of Serenity and fine Weather'. John Drinkwater, *A History of the Late Siege of Gibraltar* (London, 1785), 342: 'The land-batteries opened as before, and continued firing until the boats retreated […] One of their shells fell into the north pavilion of the South barracks, and burst upon the second floor: the officers were luckily out; for the rooms, above and below, were totally destroyed.' These senses are held together in *OED* 'burst, *v.*' IV. ('Intransitive sense implying movement accompanied by the bursting of barriers') 15. b. (a).
[189] *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 27 May 1784.
[190] Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey*, 28-9.

Commemoration, recorded much the same impression of the concluding sequence of chorus and recitative from *Israel in Egypt* (HWV 54):

> The picturesque powers of some of the chorusses seemed miraculous. Above all others, in that celebrated one from Israel in Egypt, which describes the return of the Red-sea over the host of Pharaoh. It is then that we felt the dire situation from the clang of the trumpets, the thunder of the drums, the sounds of wild dismay, which burst in vollies from every part of the vast orchestra, whilst a distinct melody was preserved amidst the fearful and mingled tones, as the horse and his rider were thrown into the sea.[191]

Particularly notable in Seward's response to this moment is that the 'picturesque power […] that endued the ear with the powers of the eye' she attributed to Handel's music is achieved in the concluding sequence of *Israel in Egypt* without the use of any of the 'madrigalistic' techniques of musical mimesis for which the plagues sequence earlier in the oratorio is famous.[192] The orchestra sound no 'murderous hammer-strokes' with staccato chords, as in the earlier chorus 'He smote all the first-born of Egypt', nor is the overwhelming deluge represented, as conceivably it might have been, with the downward-rushing scales of 'He gave them hailstones for rain', or with the murky enharmonic shifts and *durezze e ligature* of 'He sent a thick darkness'. Handel's setting instead focuses on the libretto's celebration of the God of Israel's kingdom-establishing victory over the powers, here in the guise of Pharaoh and 'all the gods of Egypt', accomplished by the Exodus.[193] 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever' is set as Handel does the opening choral entry in *Zadok the Priest*, with the same *tutti* declamation and blaze of orchestral sonority, trumpets and drums blaring. The choral iteration of 'The horse and his rider he hath thrown into the sea', meanwhile, is set to the same combination of contrapuntal rejoicing, slow-moving

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[191] Anna Seward to Mrs Stokes, 9 August 1786, in Archibald Constable (ed.), *Letters of Anna Seward: Written between the Years 1784 and 1807*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1811), I: 167-8.
[192] Anna Seward to Mrs Martin, 5 June 1786, ibid., 152-3. Quotation from Gary Tomlinson, 'Review Article: Monumental Musicology', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132/2 (2007), 349-374 (364), from Tomlinson's discussion of Richard Taruskin's treatment *Israel in Egypt*, and musical semiosis in the early modern period more generally, in his *Oxford History of Western Music*, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): II, Chapter 7, and passim.
[193] Exodus 12:12.

cantus firmus, and rapid-fire anapestic counter-subject as the 'For the lord God omnipotent reigneth' section in the 'Hallelujah!' chorus from *Messiah* (**Figures 8** and **9**).[194] These devices were sufficient for Seward to hear in the sequence a richly imagined battlefield soundscape, where instrumental 'vollies' connect the text's images of the God of Israel's victory over the powers and enthronement as king of the world with contemporary warfare.[195]

To return, then, via the Marissen debate, to Boston. As these examples have shown, it is very difficult to separate victory on the battlefield from monarchical splendour, temporally and theologically, in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century reception of Handel's grand trumpets-and-drums manner. Nor, I suggest, should we have to try: accepting that Marissen is correct in identifying this genuine facet of the text and music of 'Hallelujah!' (and by extension the other of Handel's works, like *Zadok the Priest*, in this style) does not mean accepting his conclusions about *Messiah* more broadly, which have been proved dubious on multiple other counts. The Boston performances of 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok the Priest* in 1773 in the fractious months before the Tea Party, when civilians were buying up the town's

[194] As Donald Burrows notes, this texture (*cantus firmus* plus anapestic countersubject) has a long Handelian pedigree before its 'consummation' in *Messiah*, stretching back as far at least as the Roman *Dixit Dominus* (HWV 232), where it accompanies the verse *donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum* ('[Sit thou at my right hand], until I make thine enemies thy footstool'): probably not insignificantly another Kingdom of God text. See *Handel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 48-9. The specific melodic contour of the *cantus firmus* (^1-^2-^3-^4-^3-^2-^1), though not present in the *Dixit Dominus* movement, is also shared in the *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* choruses.

[195] A similar note is struck in Burney's remarks on the cantus firmus texture in 'Hallelujah!': 'finally the words —" *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords* […] always set to a single sound, which seems to stand at bay, while the other parts attack it in every possible manner, in " *Allelujas—for ever and ever*"'. The principal sense of 'at bay' is of hunting hounds and their quarry, but the phrase was commonly applied figuratively to the battlefield in contemporary writing. Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey*, 83.

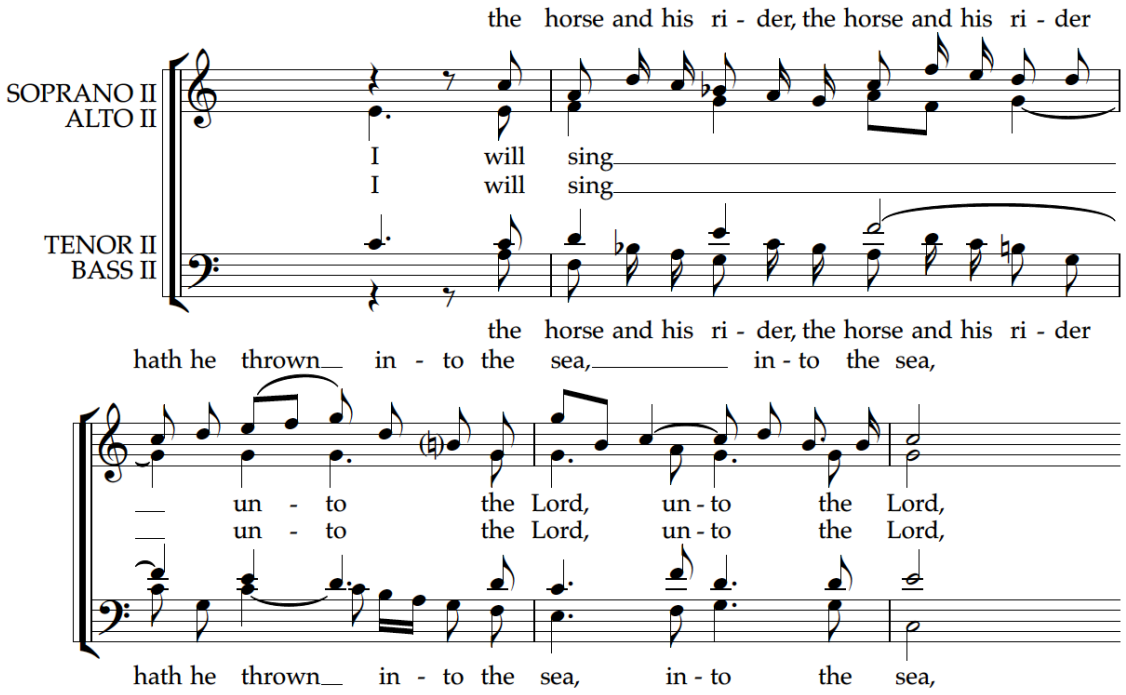

Figure 8: 'Sing ye to the Lord' (bars 49-53) from *Israel in Egypt* (HWV 54), vocal parts only.

supply of weaponry in anticipation of armed conflict with an imperial garrison on high alert, provide a useful test case for a potentially productive way to move forward from this most public of Handelian debates. Allowing the debate over 'Hallelujah!' to enable us to recover a sense of the hard edge of Handel's grand manner – a bellicosity to accompany the splendour – enables us, for instance, to see this early point in Handel's Bostonian reception more clearly. Performing *Zadok the Priest* and 'Hallelujah!' did not only offer Josiah Flagg and John Selby and their audiences the opportunity to articulate their constitutional beliefs, hopes and fears during a moment of political crisis. Performing these works in obviously competing public concerts, with the accompaniment of military bands of music, of the militia and the garrison respectively, at a time when it seemed as though the two might at any moment be forced to engage one another in combat for control of Boston's streets, allowed both groups to draw up symbolic battle lines. Flagg and Selby, their

performers and their audiences performed music which gave voice to their

Figure 9: 'Hallelujah!' (bars 22-27) from *Messiah* (HWV 56), vocal parts only.

(differently conceived) loyalty to the imperial sovereign and vision of imperial sovereignty, and the confidence of both groups that God would save the king and his forces by His providence on the field of battle, if it came to that. While, as we have seen in Chapter 3, *Zadok the Priest* accomplished the former in part by re-sounding the emblematic petitions of colonial political discourse – 'May the king live for ever!' – which, in the context of Boston's imperial calendar celebrations, would have surrounded the performances in the form of repeated loyal toasts, it is likely that both *Zadok* and 'Hallelujah!' would have seemed to listeners in 1773 to echo meaningfully other, darker aspects of the Coronation and Accession Day rituals. The distinctive symbolic soundscape and geography of the Boston imperial calendar celebrations has been set out above: the rolling report of the 'Cannon from the Forts, Castle and Ships in the Road' in their 'Grand Loyal Salute', tracing a progress from the Atlantic and the King's Road, up the Long Wharf and King Street to the political core of the town, where they were 're-thundered thro' every Street' with answering musket volleys and fireworks.[196] Attentive to the significance of this soundscape, as they had been so acutely since its introduction to the city in the seventeenth century, Bostonians heard 'Guns […] bursting in every part of the Town […] answered in mild & rumbling Peals by the Artillery of Heaven' in much the same way as the audience at the Westminster Handel Commemorations heard the 'artillery of the band' in *Zadok the Priest* and so were 'carried back by analogy to the torrents of the artillery of Heaven, with which, but that very morning, the hemisphere had rung'.[197] It would be strange, then, if the Boston audiences of Flagg's and Selby's performances had not heard the 'Guns at Castle William, and the Batteries in this Town, as also on board His Majesty's Ships of War in this Harbour', and the vollies of the militia companies outside the Town House of the 1773 imperial calendar

[196] *Hartford Courant*, 26 August 1765, on the Prince of Wales's birthday celebrations in Boston.
[197] *New-England Weekly Journal*, 11 August 1730; *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 27 May 1784.

celebrations re-thundered in the Handel choruses around which the concerts were structured. Through the trumpets and kettledrums of the performers of the 64th regiment and the Boston militia, 'Hallelujah!' and *Zadok the Priest* became the political music of a particular time, place and space: the colonial city on the brink of civil war. In the transformed political and urban landscape of the Boston shattered by the year-long siege which began in April 1775, the same music would soon speak to a very different moment and audience.

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3. Boston, 1786-1789

The war was won, but Boston was in trouble. In middle years of the 1780s, the city was struggling with all its might to avoid social and economic collapse. Boston had been besieged for a year, from April 1775 to March 1776. The siege was broken when Washington's Continental Army positioned heavy artillery at Lechmere's Point and Cobble Hill across the Charles River in Cambridge, and south of the city at Roxbury, and bombarded Boston through the nights of the second, third and fourth of March. When Washington positioned further cannon on Dorchester Heights on the night of the fourth – threatening the British warships at anchor in the harbour – the imperial forces were compelled to surrender. In addition to the damage caused by the fighting, the retreating imperial troops' looting of goods and money, destruction of property, and slighting of fortifications and infrastructure caused John Rowe to reflect that 'There never was such Destruction & Outrage committed any day before this'.[1] The 'abominable Ravages' on the physical fabric of the city noted by Abigail Adams on 31 March included homes fallen into dereliction through a winter of inoccupation; piles of rubble where houses once stood, destroyed either by cannon fire or by the redcoats for strategic purposes; fortifications thrown up where once had stood houses and public buildings; structures gutted and repurposed as magazines or barracks; and churches and dwelling houses stripped to the bone, their building materials plundered for fuel or military construction.[2] The 'town is in a most dreadful condition', wrote one observer: 'houses torn, streets nasty, [the] town

[1] 11 March 1776, in Anne Rowe Cunningham (ed.), *Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston Merchant: 1759-1762, 1764-1779* (Boston, MA: W. B. Clarke, 1903), 302.
[2] Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776: L. H. Butterfield (ed.), *Adams Family Correspondence: December 1761 – May 1776* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 369-370; Jacqueline Barbara Carr, *After the Siege: A Social History of Boston, 1775-1800* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2005), 38-40.

empty'.[3] Efforts to repair the damage began immediately. The annual town meeting was held on 29 March, when the assembled citizens heard Thomas Cushing, speaker of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, address them with a 'Congratulatory Speech to the Inhabitants upon the Recovery of the Town out of the hands of the British Enemy, & for the present Opportunity of transacting the Affairs & Business of the Town in a free Town Meeting'. As well as efforts to make good the damage to the town's built environment, Cushing discussed the election of town officials, keeping fire engines in good repair, and the reopening of the town's schools.[4] All this, however, was easier said than done. For Bostonians taking repossession of their city after the retreat of the imperial forces and its Loyalist population, in some ways the adversity was only just beginning.

This chapter will demonstrate how the long process of civic and national re-construction from this state of post-war devastation took place in Boston through performances of Handel's music: charitable events in support of the rebuilding efforts in 1786 and 1787, and a projected performance to honour the recently inaugurated president Washington on his visit to the city in 1789. These performances took place within the institutional context of the city's King's Chapel, a Tory stronghold before the war, and now re-inventing itself in a radically transfigured religious, social, cultural and political climate. Just as the King's Chapel came to reinterpret the forms of its recent imperial past in the service of the new city and nation, Bostonians had to negotiate their colonial cultural inheritance in an independent republican present. Handel, whose music had thundered through the city streets in Boston's pre-war imperial celebrations – and whose progress towards canonization as a British Worthy continued apace throughout the century and saw

[3] Eldad Taylor, 'Evacuation of Boston, 1776, By An Eye Witness', *New England Historical and Genealogical Review* 8 (1854), 231-2 (231).
[4] See Carr, *After the Siege*, 88-89.

notable advances during the 1780s – was a cultural figure emblematic of that colonial past. The chapter will show how Bostonians in the aftermath of the war of independence came to re-interpret and reconceive Handel's music: in particular by staking a distinctively American claim to guardianship of the Handelian tradition through the logic of the trope of *translatio imperii et studii* (a contemporary way of theorising the process of Cultural Transfer).

Rebuilding Boston

From the beginning of the Revolutionary War to the turn of the century, the rebellious colonies – eventually the fledgling United States – experienced an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude. British naval vessels disrupted colonial shipping as part of the war effort, and continued to do so, more discriminately, following the cessation of hostilities in 1783 in order, they hoped, to accelerate the collapse of the new republican state. The colonies were without gold and silver mines, and hence were perpetually lacking in specie (hard currency in precious metals). The states also possessed next to no manufacturing base, importing most goods from Britain: in the mid-1780s, the new country imported from Britain three times as much as it exported there. After the war, the British all but shut off American merchants' access to the lucrative West Indian market – still the jewel of the Atlantic empire – causing them to fall into catastrophic levels of debt to British traders for their imports.[5] By 1784, British merchants judged that levels of debt had passed a critical threshold and attempted, *en masse*, to call them in. As American traders stalled with legal action, work ground to a halt in American ports, and wage levels there fell by 26 percent.[6] As a further result of the states' desperate lack of

[5] Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1705-1804* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016), 188-189.
[6] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 369-370.

specie, citizens faced, from the late 1770s, an initial period of hyperinflation, due to Congress and the states printing banknotes and requiring by law they should be accepted as payment. This meant that for many city dwellers, wages no longer fed themselves or their dependents. In 1780, however, Congress and the states effected a swift *volte-face*, and revoked the status as legal tender of the banknotes they had printed. Artisans could now no longer feed their families for a different reason: no action had been taken to acquire more hard currency.[7] The states themselves accumulated colossal debts to private individuals during the war, and after its conclusion, in the middle years of the 1780s, over two thirds of the states' annual expenditures were made up of interest payments on these debts.[8] This money was acquired by taxation, and in Massachusetts the approach taken was exceptionally regressive: most was collected in the form of poll taxes, levied at a uniform rate regardless of the citizen's means, and at a rate four times higher than that charged by any other state.[9] All this amounted to what economic historians have termed 'a true economic disaster between 1774 and 1790' for Massachusetts and its neighbours.[10] A macrohistorical focus reveals that across all the former colonies, 'real income per capita dropped seriously over the quarter-century. The 1774-1800 decline of about 20 percent looks almost as serious in per capita terms as the 1929-1933 drop into the Great Depression […] the Revolutionary disaster and Confederation turmoil could have been America's greatest income slump ever, in percentage terms.'[11] With this dramatic fall in living standards, many citizens of the new republic began to wonder whether this was what they had fought a war to achieve. Some were driven

[7] See Terry Bouton, 'The Trials of the Confederation', in Jane Kamensky and Edward G. Gray (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 370-387 (375); Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 188-190.
[8] Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 189.
[9] Bouton, 'The Trials of the Confederation', 376-377.
[10] Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'American Incomes Before and After the Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History* 73/3 (2013), 725-765 (752).
[11] ibid., 741.

to open rebellion against the new government. In 1786 in western Massachusetts, for instance, the same networks of militiamen that had risen against the colonial government in the mid-1770s took up arms again to prevent the county courts from meeting to order foreclosures on their property, mostly livestock and farmland: the beginnings of what came (inaccurately) to be known as Shays's Rebellion.[12] Most restricted themselves to grumbling. 'We have not only had a revolution in Political government but also in many peoples private circumstances', lamented the Virginia merchant William Allison.[13] In 1786, the town meeting in Greenwich, Massachusetts looked back to the 1760s' and 70s' agitation against colonial taxation with nostalgia: 'our Grievances Ware Less Real and more Ideal then they are Now'.[14] 'Has not many been oppressed a Hundred to one more than ever they had been by Brittan Before?', wondered John Reed of Massachusetts in 1785.[15]

As these quotations suggest, the potential political implications of the economic crash for Congress and the states were ominous. The irony that, as Woody Holton has noted, to 'finance their war against British "taxation without representation", Americans had committed themselves to higher taxes than they had ever faced as British colonists' was embarrassingly obvious.[16] Those who expected the political experiment of independence and republicanism to fail and fail quickly saw the economic and social turmoil of these years as the beginning of the inevitable collapse of the United States. In 1785 Thomas Jefferson reported that in Paris it was

[12] See David P. Szatmary, *Shays's Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), and Leonard L. Richards, *Shays's Rebellion: The American Revolution's Final Battle* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002).
[13] Quoted in Philip Hamilton, *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752-1830* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 74-75.
[14] Quoted in Woody Holton, *Unruly Americans and the Origins of the Constitution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 29.
[15] Quoted ibid., 131.
[16] ibid., 29.

widely 'supposed everything in America was anarchy, tumult, and civil war.'[17] For Washington in 1786, it seemed that to be 'more exposed in the eyes of the world & more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible'.[18] These doubts were felt at home, too, crystallizing most piquantly into public calls to abandon the republican project – the perceived cause of the crisis – altogether: the Connecticut scholar Noah Webster wrote to a newspaper in 1786, admitting that though 'I was once as strong a republican as any man in America[,] Now a republic is among the last kinds of government I should choose. I would infinitely prefer a limited monarchy, for I would sooner be subject to the caprice of one man, than to the ignorance and passions of the multitude.'[19]

These social, economic, and political woes hindered Bostonians in their efforts to rebuild their city and community after the siege. Yet, as Barbara Carr has argued, they also acted as powerful motivating factors for those involved to make the project succeed. After the exodus of all of the city's prominent Loyalists with the retreating British troops in March 1776, Boston was left with a political class, and a broader set of citizens involved in public life, who were deeply invested in the success of the new government. The 'pervasiveness of republican ideology' and 'revolutionary thought' in Boston's new governing class represented strong incentives for the community to 'unite in the face of adversity' and rescue the city from 'the physical, moral, demographic, and economic devastation wrought by the British occupation'.[20] Though much of this process was practical – with the ongoing process of organising poor relief for increasing numbers of Bostonians and refugees made destitute by the

[17] Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 1 September 1785, in Julian P. Boyd, Mina R. Bryan and Elizabeth L. Hutter (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Volume 8, 25 February to 31 October 1785* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 360-363.
[18] George Washington to Henry Lee, 31 October 1786, in John H. Rhodehamel (ed.), *George Washington: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1997), 609.
[19] Quoted in Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York: Knopf, 1950), 107-108.
[20] Carr, *After the Siege*, 8, 90, 7.

economic crisis perhaps the central task[21] – it was also, in part, symbolic. Existing work by Carr and others has drawn on the famous work of David Waldsteicher on the emergence of an American nationalism in the years following the Revolution, to argue that demonstrations of unity with acts of public celebration were crucial to the process. As Waldstreicher puts it, the 'revolutionaries' […] ideology demanded the assent of a unified populace' – a central tenet of their doctrine of popular sovereignty – and the result was a 'drive for unity through celebration'.[22] For these scholars, Boston's series of celebratory public gatherings, parades, and performances emerge as opportunities to instil both a sense of 'virtuous community' to help pull the city back from the brink of disaster, and the republican political values which these efforts were designed to bolster in this period of crisis. They served to 'display patriotism, unite people in a common cause, [and] make a political statement.'[23]

Typical of such events were the three-day festivities in honour of Massachusetts Convention's ratification of the United States Constitution in February 1788.[24] The festivities incorporated two processions, in which the carefully shaped symbolic geography and ritual of the celebrations of the pre-war city (outlined in the preceding chapter) were re-worked into fresh forms in the service of the civic and national re-construction effort. The convention's business had been conducted at the Long Lane Congregational Church of the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, close to the wharves to the south of the town centre.[25] With the decision on ratification made late on Wednesday 6 February, the Convention adjourned their business to meet again on Thursday morning. When the delegates reconvened, 'a

[21] ibid., 98.
[22] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 51, 97.
[23] Carr, *After the Siege*, 8, 194.
[24] An account can be found ibid., 191-194.
[25] See Melvin Yazawa, *Contested Conventions: The Struggle to Establish the Constitution and Save the Union, 1787-1789* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 111ff. As a result of these events, Long Lane was renamed Federal Street (still its present name).

vote was passed for proceeding in procession to the state-house, and there to declare the ratification'.[26] The town's politicians and grandees again found themselves processing from the waterfront, uphill towards the State House (the re-named Town House of the colonial period), there to be greeted by 'a very large concourse of spectators [who] testified their satisfaction by repeated huzzas'.[27] After the ratification was proclaimed from the balcony of the State House, an 'elegant repast [was] provided for the occasion in the senate-chamber' in which 'the Convention, and a great number of other gentlemen, partook'.[28] The huzzas of the assembled crowds outside were answered by a litany of thirteen 'truly conciliatory' toasts from the diners: beginning by drinking the health of 'His excellency the president', bumpers were also raised to the hope that 'the United States of America [should] be as distinguished for their increase in agriculture, arts and manufactures, as they are for their attachment to justice and the liberties of mankind', and that 'the States of America [should] be the asylum of every distressed son of liberty, throughout the world'.[29] The news was proclaimed throughout the town and beyond by the 'bells of all the churches, &c.' which 'began ringing at early dawn' on Thursday. As the news spread, more Bostonians came to participate in the improvised political theatre. This included a group of what the *Boston Gazette*'s correspondent called the 'hardy sons of Neptune', who 'having procured a boat, which they fixed on a sled […] continued to draw it through the town till near the close of the day, frequently huzzaing, and loudly exulting in the anticipation of reviving and flourishing commerce. In the boat was displayed the flag of the United States, and musick, which kept continually playing.' The boat was followed by another cart, drawn by five horses, over which a British Union Flag was spread. Where the boat had contained a band of music, the

[26] *Boston Gazette*, 8 February 1788.
[27] *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 February 1788.
[28] *Boston Gazette*, 8 February 1788.
[29] *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 February 1788 ('truly conciliatory'); *Boston Gazette*, 8 February 1788.

cart was filled with men 'armed with muskets, who repeatedly discharged the contents of them through the tattered remnants, in contempt of that faithless nation, whose exertions have been unremitted since the peace, to cramp our commerce and obstruct all our nautical proceedings'.[30]

The celebrations culminated in a 'Grand Procession' beginning early in the morning of Friday 8 February: 'an exhibition, to which, America has never before witnessed an equal, and which has exceded any thing of the kind Europe can boast of.'[31] Over 4,500 of the city's artisans and other working people, along with 'their brethren, the husbandmen of the adjacent towns' processed in groups, each bearing a symbol of their trade.[32] Among these were rope-makers who wore belts of hempen rope; hatters carried whole furs; tallow chandlers bore a specially constructed miniature candle press; 'mathematical instrument makers' displayed their sextants and compasses; and, most inventively, the town's shipwrights produced a whole replica dockyard, with 'thirteen ships of various sizes, therein', housed inside 'a large long boat'. The shipwrights followed the most spectacular element of the procession, the 'ship FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, on runners, drawn by thirteen horses, John Foster Williams, Esq., *Commander* […] Manned by thirteen seamen and marines. With full colors flying, followed by captains of vessels, eighty five seamen, dressed in ribbons, and about two hundred and fifty of the principal merchants in town' (see **Figure 1**).[33]

The route of the procession was designed to link together the houses of each of the city's delegates to the Massachusetts Convention – the *Federal Constitution* briefly dropping anchor outside each to give 'three huzzas' and salutes from the

[30] ibid.
[31] *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 February 1788. Carr conflates the events of 7 and 8 of February in error: see *After the Siege*, 191-4.
[32] The capacity of Faneuil Hall is given as 'fifteen hundred men; we are told that 'not above one-third of the procession could get in': *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 February 1788.
[33] ibid.

ship's deck – offering what the procession's organisers hoped would represent a potent symbol of social cohesion between the city's ruling class and working people. When the procession passed the State House, the traditional volleys were offered by 'Capt. Johnson's company of artillery' in a 'salute of thirteen guns'. The procession eventually made its way to Faneuil Hall, where 'refreshment was liberally provided' for those who could be packed inside the building.[34]

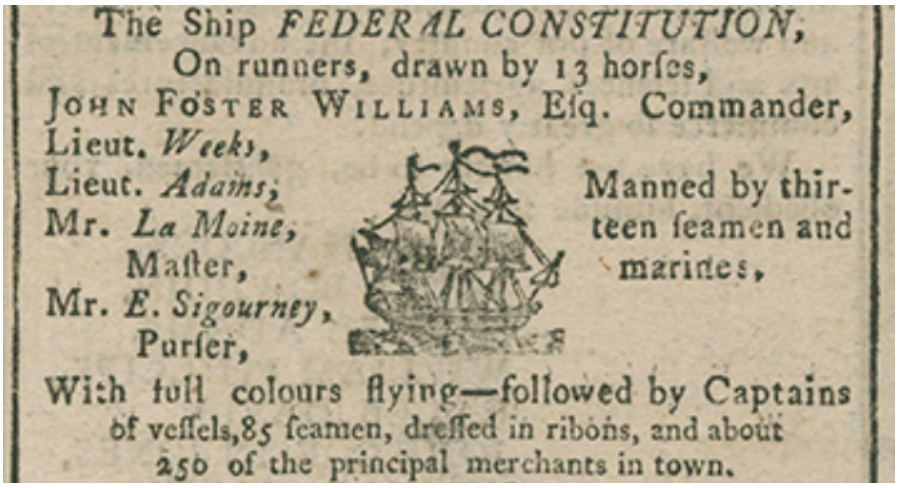
The Ship *FEDERAL CONSTITUTION*,
On runners, drawn by 13 horſes,
JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, Eſq. Commander,
Lieut. *Weeks*,
Lieut. *Adams*,
Mr. *La Moine*,
Maſter,
Mr. *E. Sigourney*,
Purſer,
Manned by thirteen ſeamen and marines,
With full colours flying—followed by Captains of veſſels, 85 ſeamen, dreſſed in ribons, and about 250 of the principal merchants in town.

Figure 1: detail from the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 13 February 1788 (Boston, Benjamin Russell). 24 x 28 cm.

The *Boston Gazette*'s reporting of the event responded warmly to the celebrations' political symbolism, and added some of its own: at dawn on the Thursday, the correspondent wrote, one saw the 'rising sun […] by its brightness and refulgent beams, seem[ing] to break forth from the dusky horizon, with uncommon grandeur, partaking, as it were, of the joy in which an event so propitious immersed the souls of the people.'[35] In the possibilities of this new dawn, a vivid picture emerges of a city uniting in reshaping its past in an embrace of its future: a future in which

[34] ibid.
[35] *Boston Gazette*, 11 February 1788.

citizens still had faith, despite the social and economic catastrophe which still threatened to overwhelm them.

The King's Chapel

The challenges of rebuilding a society in the face of adversity after an existential crisis which faced the city as whole were experienced in microcosm at Boston's King's Chapel. This building, also known as the Stone Chapel after the granite ashlar in which it was rebuilt between 1749 and 1754, still stands on the corner of Tremont and School Streets in Downtown Boston (see **Figure 2**) and has become a prominent stop on the city's Freedom Trail: a United States National Parks Service-maintained walking route which links the city's colonial and revolutionary monuments for tourists. The chapel had been founded, and an original wooden structure thrown up, between 1686 and 88, at the behest of the governor Sir Edmund Andros, as the first outpost of the Anglican church in the Dominion of New England: an important component of the efforts (outlined in the previous chapter) of the ministry of James II to bring an area dominated by dissenters into closer religious alignment with metropolitan Britain. The church was to serve as the place of worship for the city's colonial administrators and patricians, a role it continued to fulfil throughout the eighteenth century.

As we have already seen, Anglicanism, the King's Church, was a religious tradition whose political charge was heightened in this colonial setting. With the monarch as its head, the English church imbued kings with spiritual authority and bishops with temporal power as members of parliament. As politics and religion began to divide England in the mid-seventeenth century, High-Churchmanship had become 'the badge of the royalist party', as much part of its 'cultural clothing as

cavalier hats and lace'.[36] At the Restoration it remained a cornerstone of royalism and Toryism, and retained this position throughout the following century, often as an oppositional position.[37] The church's politics lost none of their intensity across the Atlantic: as James Bell has argued, from its introduction to the colonies to the Revolutionary Wars, 'the extension and expansion of the English church to the American colonies was integral to English imperial policy'.[38] Concerted efforts to extend the reach of the King's Church such as that made by the ministry of James II were linked throughout the long eighteenth century with the expansion of 'royal government and the implementation of imperial policies and appointment of crown officials'.[39] As disagreements and tensions about this process began to build between the colonies and Britain during the 1760s – and often, as we have seen, within the Church itself – individual Anglican churches in the colonies became focal points for the development of conservative attitudes towards the escalating crisis. As Nancy Rhoden has written, the King's Church in general adopted positions High Churchmen had taken since the crises of the mid- seventeenth century in England: it 'deliberately encouraged obedience to monarch and government', standing by its 'traditional doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance' to encourage 'subordination to divinely constituted authority'.[40]

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[36] Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), xl.
[37] See Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J. C. D. Clark, 'The Politics of the Excluded: Tories, Jacobites and Whig Patriots, 1715-1760', *Parliamentary History* 2/1 (1983), 209-222; and Nicholas Rogers, 'Review Article: Party Politics during the Whig Ascendancy', *Canadian Journal of History* 18/2 (1983), 253-260 .
[38] James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607-1783* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2004), 3.
[39] ibid., 26.
[40] Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 64.

Figure 2: Philip Harry, *Tremont Street, Boston*. Ca. 1843. Oil on panel. 35 x 41 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With the exception of the 1827 Tremont Street theatre (the pedimented, stucco-façaded building on the right foreground) much of the streetscape depicted is eighteenth-century.

As was the case with the preaching of Samuel Auchmuty at Trinity in New York, the religious and political climate of the King's Chapel in the years before the outbreak of war can be sensed in a sermon preached in 1763 by the rector, Henry Caner:[41] a man described by a contemporary as 'of unshaken Loyalty to his present majesty and his Illustrious House, of true zeal and courage in the cause of Religion & the

[41] On this striking figure see Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 216-217; Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1779* (London: Constable, 1974), 51-52; and Gregory Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1984), 137.

Church'.[42] Caner's sermon offered a response to the increasing unrest in the port cities of the northern colonies over a series of measures adopted by the British government in 1763 to increase the efficiency of tax collection in America, including the use of naval vessels on peacetime duty to reduce smuggling and collect customs revenue, and a more rigorous attention to sending customs collectors to their posts in the colonies rather than allowing them to remain in London and collect their salaries.[43] Referring to the 'great blessing' of Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War, Caner advised the congregation:

> If therefore you are desirous of rendring this great blessing stable and lasting, be persuaded each of you according to your several stations and opportunities to endeavour to make it so: First of all by cultivating the firmest allegiance to our gracious Sovereign, and a becoming concern for, and dutiful submission to, our excellent established government in church and state, which the divine goodness has still continued to us […] And let us be particularly cautious not to foment divisions, or give countenance to murmuring and discontent, to a turbulent and unruly temper, nor entertain groundless apprehensions as to the administration of affairs whether national or provincial.[44]

A country in which divinely constituted authority was questioned left itself open to foreign domination, just as rebellious Israel had repeatedly been conquered by the nations 'by the hand of divine providence': the 'thing necessary to a permanent peace, the guarding against murmuring and faction at home, […] will very much, if not wholly depend upon ourselves, and provided we are but careful not to give way to a turbulent disposition, to faction and discontent, we may so far confide, in the wisdom of our superiors as to be under very little apprehension of foreign dangers'.[45]

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[42] Timothy Cutler to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 24 May 1727, quoted in Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century*, 216-17.
[43] See Francis D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Political History*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 2016), 24-25, and Craig B. Yirush, 'The Imperial Crisis', in Kamensky and Gray (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, 85-99 (86).
[44] Henry Caner, *The Great Blessing of Stable Times, together with the Means of Procuring It. A Sermon Preached at King's Chapel in Boston, August 11. 1763. Being a Day of Thanksgiving Appointed by Public Authority on Occasion of the General Peace. By Henry Caner, M.A. Minister of Said Chapel* (Boston: Thomas and John Fleet, 1763), 22.
[45] ibid., 3, 9.

When these simmering tensions eventually boiled over into war in the mid-1770s, the King's Chapel experienced a crisis. Several prominent members of the congregation were vocal about their (unsurprising) Loyalist sympathies, and often paid for them with their freedom. Robert Auchmuty (b. 1725, the younger brother of the Reverend Samuel Auchmuty of New York discussed above) is consistently listed among the Chapel's vestry men – the body of 'prominent community members' who in colonial Anglican churches oversaw parish affairs in place of the patrons of livings who performed this function in Britain – in late 1760s and early 1770s.[46] Yet between the Chapel's Vestry Book's listing of vestry men in April 1775 and February 1776, Auchmuty's name disappears:[47] he had been arrested by revolutionary forces attempting to travel to Halifax, Nova Scotia to aid the imperial war effort.[48] Similar fates had befallen many of the prominent members of the congregation: the number of vestry men overall falls from fifteen to five between April 1775 and February 1776.[49] The Chapel archive strikingly bears witness to the final collapse of organised worship after March 1776. The Vestry Book begun in April 1774 has no entries after 14 February 1776. After several blank leaves, an entry dated 5 August 1781 notes that

> Whereas there was a large quantity of Plate, Damask & other Linnin Belongin to said Church, & depossetted in the Care of the Rev^{d} Doct^{r} Caner, & the said Doct^{r} gowing of with the Regugees, and taking the plate & Linnin with him, Therefore Voted That the Church Wardens & Vestry be desired to Use their Endeaver to Assertain the quantity and Value of said plate & linnin as near as may be, and lay in a Clame (in behalf of said Church) one the Estate of the Rev^{d} Henry Caner for the Same—
>
> To Sett wrought Plate Viz.

[46] See Annette Townsend, *The Auchmuty Family of Scotland and America* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1932), 43-54; Massachusetts Historical Society Library (Boston), King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Folder 13 ('Vestry Minutes from April 1753 to 11 April 1773').
[47] King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Folder 15 ('King's Chapel Vestry Book Began April 1774').
[48] David E. Mass, 'Auchmuty, Robert, Jr.', *American National Biography* [http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00036.html].
[49] King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Folder 15 ('King's Chapel Vestry Book Began April 1774').

6 Flagons
6 Cups
4 large Basons
6 Dishes
2 Xtening Basons
6 Salvers
4 Tankards &c
} Estimated at 2800 oz.
A quantity Dammask Linnen Belonging to the Communion & Six Surplis &c.[50]

The priest had run away with all the Chapel's silver. Caner had joined the group of over nine hundred other Bostonian Loyalists who joined the British Army as it retreated from the besieged city to Halifax.[51] As Caner himself put it, the 'unnatural Rebellion of the Colonies against his Majesties Government [has] obliged the Loyal Part of his subjects to evacuate their dwellings and substance, and to take refuge in Halifax, London, and elsewhere […] till it shall please God in the Course of his Providence to change the hearts of the Rebels, or give success to his Majesties arms for suppressing the Rebellion.'[52] He would never return (and neither would the plate and vestments).[53]

Without a priest, sacramental worship had to stop. But the 1781 claim on Caner's estate also testifies to the resumption of organised worship at the King's Chapel in that year. It is in some ways remarkable that this should have occurred at all. Throughout Massachusetts, Anglican clergymen had, like Caner, fled in vast numbers – sixty per cent of all Anglican ministers in the colony, by one estimate – during the war to new lives in parts of the world still loyal to the British crown.[54] Large proportions of the state's Anglican congregations had made the same choice. These actions served to cement the now toxic association of Anglicanism with

[50] ibid.
[51] On the evacuation of Boston, see Thomas N. Ingersoll, *The Loyalist Problem in Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 190ff.
[52] 10 March [1776], in King's Chapel Archive, Box III.1, Volume 41 [XT] ('Register of marriages, 1718-1841').
[53] The Chapel only gave up on attempts to recoup the value of the 'Records, Plate, Linen and Vestments' stolen 'during the late revolutionary war between these United States & Great Britain [when he] removed with the British Garrison, when they evacuated this Metropolis' from Caner's estate in 1805: see King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Volume 34 ('Votes and proceedings of the Wardens and Vestry of King's Chapel in Boston').
[54] Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church*, 201.

Loyalism in the minds of those who remained. As one New England Anglican noted in 1784, 'in the time of our late troubles an Episcopalian and a Tory were looked upon as synonymous terms'.[55] In resuming worship at the King's Chapel – one of the most conspicuous physical embodiments of the city's colonial history, still standing in its massive ashlar blocks in an otherwise gutted streetscape – those members of the congregation who had remained in the city would no doubt have feared the intense hostility, public humiliation and violence from the community at large which had characterised the loyalist experience in the 1760s and 1770s (especially in Boston, where Whig zeal had often burned the hottest).[56] Therefore as the King's Chapel began to function again in 1781 it faced a variety of challenges. The Chapel, as was the case with all the institutions of the King's Church in the new United States, had been cut off from the authority, both spiritual and temporal, of the Bishop of London (under whose jurisdiction the colonial churches had operated) and the financial support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had sustained Anglican churches in colonies, such as those of New England, where the Church was not established. While scraping together money from donations from private citizens to ensure its continued existence, the King's Chapel was forced to transform not only its structure and organisation but also its doctrine and liturgy. All this had to be achieved while demonstrating the congregation's integration into, and support for, the community's efforts to rebuild the city of Boston as a beacon of republican virtue after the ravages of the war and through an economic depression of seismic proportions.

Anglicanism's yoking together of divinely constituted monarchical and episcopal authority meant that the King's church in Britain could not retain its

[55] Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee (of Norwalk, Connecticut) to Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel William Morice, 6 October 1784: quoted ibid., 190.
[56] See Benjamin H. Irvin, 'Tar, Feathers, and the Enemies of American Liberties, 1768-1776', *The New England Quarterly* 76/2 (2003), 197-238.

former administrative and ecclesiological links with the former colonial churches. For instance, the processes of both ordination (entry into the priesthood) and consecration (entry into the episcopate) required oaths to the King, which citizens of the new United States could not now swear.[57] This was, furthermore, written into English law in 1783 following the Treaty of Paris, under which the independence of the colonies was formally recognized: prelates of the Church of England could no longer ordain candidates for Holy Orders from the United States.[58] Another ordination crisis, now along different lines to that experienced by the colonial churches before the war, loomed. Depleted of ordained clergymen by the exodus of Loyalists during the war, the passing of this law created a power vacuum for American Anglicans, who continued to put faith in the *ius divinum* of apostolic succession. The American Anglican church would eventually resolve this question following the consecration of Samuel Seabury of Connecticut as a bishop – therefore possessing the power to ordain new American candidates for the priesthood – by Scottish nonjuring bishops in 1784.[59] Yet Seabury's authority was not immediately recognized by all American Anglicans on his return to the United States in 1785, and in Massachusetts the meetings of the state's clergy held to determine whether his authority should be recognized, and if so how candidates for ordination and consecration should be elected, were arduous and 'rent by factions';[60] not until 1796 was a bishop first elected in the state.[61] As James Bell has noted, the process of

[57] Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism*, 1.
[58] Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church*, 204.
[59] See Gavin White, 'The Consecration of Bishop Seabury', *The Scottish Historical Review* 63 (1984), 37-49.
[60] J. G. Waters and M. Dalrymple (eds.), *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*, 4 vols (Salem, MA: Essex Institute 1905-1914), I [1905]: 196.
[61] Joseph B. Berry, *History of the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1810-1872* (Boston: The Diocesan Library of Massachusetts, 1959), 1-11.

reconstituting the King's Church was often 'slow, complicated, and without an urgent sense of purpose'.[62]

During this period of gridlock, the congregation of the King's Chapel decided to take matters into their own hands. James Freeman had been officiating as a lay reader, awaiting his ordination, at the King's Chapel since 1782. Freeman harboured heterodox views about the nature of the Trinity influenced by English thinkers such as William Whiston, Samuel Clarke, Theophilus Lindsey, and William Hazlitt which, in combination with overall disagreements about the relationship of the Anglican churches in Massachusetts with Seabury, led Bishop Samuel Provost of New York to prevaricate and stall over the issue of Freeman's ordination.[63] 'By our desire', wrote the Wardens of the King's Chapel to Provost in July 1787, Freeman 'has written to you upon the subject [of ordination]. You have been pleased to refer him to the General Convention. It appears from your last letter to him, that that body will not probably sit very soon.'[64] Provost's reply of 13 August informed the Wardens that he had consulted his colleagues and found them 'to be unanimously of Opinion that it would be improper for me to enter into a Discussion of the Business of your Letter, as they think a subject of so much importance to the Church at Large, ought to be reserved intirely for the consideration of the General Convention.'[65] No information was provided about the date of the body's next meeting; the implications were evident.

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[62] James B. Bell, 'North America', in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 160-188 (175).
[63] On a visit to the United States the Englishman Hazlitt provided Freeman with a copy of the Unitarian prayer book used in Lindsey's church in London, the Essex Street Chapel. This sowed the seeds of 'the oldest Episcopal Church in New England' eventually becoming 'the first Unitarian church in America', though a congregation very different to the Unitarian communities with their roots in nonconformism which were becoming more common in contemporary England: Andrea Greenwood and Mark W. Harris, *The Unitarian and Universalist Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56. See also Alan Seaburg, 'Freeman, James', *American National Biography* [http://www.anb.org/articles/08/08-00505].
[64] Thomas Bullfinch and Shrimpton Hutchinson to Samuel Provost, 29 July 1787: King's Chapel Archive, Box VI.1 Folder 22 ('Correspondence 1787').
[65] Samuel Provost to Thomas Bullfinch and Shrimpton Hutchinson, 13 August 1787: King's Chapel Archive, Box VI.1 Folder 22 ('Correspondence 1787').

Therefore when the Wardens and Vestry met on 30 October, they chose a course of action:

> Let the Church, by Vote, ordain; Constitute, and appoint M^r^. Freeman their Minister, with full Power to Preach, Baptize, Administer the Holy Communion, Bury the Dead, and perform all the other Rites and offices usually perform'd by a Minister in Episcopal Orders. […] Let it be read in Public on Some Sunday Evening, after Divine Service. Let the Members of the Church publickly signify their Assent to it. And let M^r^ Freeman publickly Declare that he Accepts of this Ordination and Appointment.[66]

The minutes of the meeting acknowledge that this procedure might be thought 'New and Unprecidented', and therefore go on to set out a series of justifications for their decision, designed to be read to the congregation. The crux of the argument is found where the discussion turns to the source of legitimate authority in the church:

> By the Canons of the Church of England, no Alteration can be made in the Church without lawful Authority, But that lawful Authority is not the Authority of Bishops and preists, or, in other Words, Ecclesiastical Authority, But of the King and Parliament. Whatever the King & Parliment enact respecting the Church is Lawful, tho every Ecclesiastick in the Kingdom should Object. […] In this Country, as the Church is Unconnected with the State, the true Successors of the King and Parliament in Ecclesiastical matters are the People, Whatever therefore the King and Parliament may lawfully do in this Respect in England, the People or any Body of them, Incorporated by the Legislature, may lawfully do here.[67]

This document does more than show the accommodation of traditional Anglian doctrine to the new political reality of the United States and its separation from the crown, walking the ecclesiological tightrope of attempting to hold on to divinely constituted church traditions while adapting to the new political reality. In the Wardens and Vestry's decision to assert the congregation's power to ordain, and their plans to vote on the proposals in a public meeting, they openly demonstrated their faith in the ideas of popular sovereignty and participatory politics which, its supporters held, defined the new nation. The plan was approved, and an order of service drawn up for the ordination ceremony. This was annotated following the

[66] King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Folder 17 ('Minutes, 1787').
[67] ibid.

ceremony with details of the congregation's responses, by a hand at pains to demonstrate the unanimity of the decision: following Freeman's acceptance of the role, we are told, 'The whole Assembly as one man spontaneously responded emphatically AMEN.'[68]

As well as ordaining a priest, the Chapel also needed to revise its liturgy. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer, used throughout the colonial Anglican churches before the revolution, was shot through with reminders of Anglicanism's unique linkage of regal and spiritual authority. Publishing a new revised version of the Book of Common Prayer as it was used in the King's Chapel, in 1785, provided another opportunity for the congregation, Wardens and Vestry to publicly demonstrate their rejection of the politics which were still widely associated with the church, and their support for the new federal government, as it teetered on the brink of economic and political disaster. The preface to the liturgy is quick to allay nagging fears about the Chapel's commitment to the republican project:

> The late happy revolution here hath forever separated all the Episcopal Societies, in the United States of America, from the Church of England, of which the King of that country is the supreme head, and to whom all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of that Church are obliged to take an oath of allegiance and supremacy, at the time of their consecration or ordination. Being torn from that King and Church, the Society for whose use this Liturgy is published, think themselves at liberty, as well justified even by the declarations of the Church of England, in making such alterations, as "the exigency of the times and occasions hath rendered expedient".[69]

As well as the obvious endorsement of the new *status quo*, the Preface also makes use of the subtle distancing of the demonstrative pronouns in 'that country', 'that King and Church' to demonstrate its relationship to the past. The embedded quotation is from the preface to the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, somewhat brazenly re-purposed here as a justification for a congregation electing to change its own liturgy: the

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[68] King's Chapel Archive, Box I.1, Folder 18 ('Plan for the Ordination of Dr. Freeman, 1787').
[69] *A Liturgy, Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer, for the Use of the First Episcopal Church in Boston; Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David* (Boston, 1785), 'The Preface'.

original notes that such 'alterations' are made only at the behest of 'those that are in place of Authority', the example given being that of 'several Princes of blessed memory since the Reformation'.[70] Within the liturgy, many of the changes are purely theological in nature: Freeman's developing Unitarian thought inspired, for example, the replacement of the *Gloria patri* throughout with a new doxology based on examples in Lindsey and Clarke's writings.[71]

But some are more obviously linked to current political circumstances. Prayers for the King, are of, course everywhere excised. Where simple cuts are made, the filleting is carefully done. In the responses at Matins and Evensong, 1662's '*Priest.* O Lord, save the King. *Answer.* And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee' is removed.[72] When the General Convention of the new American Episcopal Church published their adaptation of the prayer book in 1790, a separate effort from the King's Chapel's version, the rest of the responses after this point are also cut: they were, perhaps, too redolent of the past, tainted by association with the prayer for the monarch which preceded them.[73] But the King's Chapel's new liturgy kept the following responses, which include the following: '*Min.* Endue thy Ministers with righteousness; *Asnw.* And make thy chosen people joyful. *Min.* O Lord, save thy people; *Answ.* And bless thine inheritance.'[74] These words carried a powerful political charge in eighteenth-century England, since, as Ruth Smith puts it, they

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[70] Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer*, 209.
[71] The new liturgy's replacement for the trinitarian *Gloria patri* was based on 1 Timothy 1:17 and Romans 16:27: '*Min.* Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God; *Answ.* Be honour and glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. Amen': *A Liturgy, Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer*, sig. A2v. On the Unitarian theological developments introduced into the new prayer book, see Carl Scovel, 'King's Chapel and the Unitarians', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia L. Shattuck (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 214-217. On the development of unitarian doxologies more broadly, see Bryan D. Spinks, 'The Book of Common Prayer, Liturgy, and Worship', in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, 253-269 (261-2).
[72] ibid., 255.
[73] See *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David* (Philadelphia: Hall & Sellers, 1790), sig. B1r.
[74] *A Liturgy, Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer*, sig. C4r.

'enshrin[e] in the liturgy which Anglicans heard (or sang) every day' the widespread contemporary cultural trope of 'equat[ing] the Israelite chosen people with the people of present-day Britain'.[75] Since at least the sixteenth century, the 'Old Testament was understood' in England 'to be an omnipresent account of the trials and deliverance of God's chosen people who, in the early modern present, were English.'[76] This typology, as Linda Colley has set out at length, was one of the key means by which a British proto-nationalism was forged throughout the eighteenth century.[77] By retaining this portion of the liturgy, Morning and Evening Prayer at the King's Chapel provided a means to reshape and re-purpose that narrative to refer not to Britain but to the United States. The King's Chapel's reworked liturgy thus partook in the project of *translatio imperii* which was central to the creation of new American identities – drawing on and transforming the discourses of British nationalism – in the aftermath of the Revolution (to which we will return).

In other places, where material has been excised it is replaced by new text, with the most obvious example the replacement of 1662's '*Prayer for the Kings Majesty*', following the third collect at Matins and Evensong, with a new '*Prayer for the Congress of the United States*'.[78] The process of adaption is at first simple, with the petition 'most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Soveraign Lord King *CHARLES*, and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way' replaced by one to 'with thy favour […] behold the Congress of the American States, and so replenish them with the grace of thy holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and

[75] Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215-216.
[76] Victoria Brownlee, *Biblical Readings and Literary Writings in Early Modern England, 1558-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 52.
[77] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 29-32.
[78] Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer*, 256.

walk in thy way'.[79] However the reshaping becomes more subtle as the prayer continues. Where 1662 invited God to 'Endue him [the sovereign] plenteously with heavenly gifts, grant him health and wealth long to live, strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies', the King's Chapel's revision has 'Endue them [Congress] plenteously with heavenly gifts, that in all their deliberations they may be enabled to promote the national prosperity of the federal union, to overcome all their enemies, and to secure the peace, liberty, and safety of the American States throughout all generations.'[80] Tellingly at this time of economic crisis, the prosperity of the monarch himself ('grant him health and wealth') is here transposed to that of the new state as a whole ('the national prosperity of the federal union'). And the Chapel's commitment to the ideological project of the new government is demonstrated first in the evocation of participatory politics ('in all their deliberations') and secondly, and strikingly, in the model of good government offered later on ('to secure the peace, liberty, and safety of the American States'). The linguistic register in which the new petitions are cast imitates the style of Cranmer, as filtered through the revisions of 1559 and 1662, of the unaltered portions of the prayer book which surround them, again staking a claim to continuity with, and stewardship of, the venerable tradition.[81]

Handel at the King's Chapel

On 10 January 1786 and 16 January 1787, grand musical performances were held at the King's Chapel. The second was largely a re-run of the first, taking the same form – services of Morning Prayer interspersed with musical numbers – and

[79] *A Liturgy, Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer*, sig. C4v.
[80] ibid.
[81] The new prayer's 'throughout all generations' echoing, for instance, Cranmer's rendering of the *Magnificat*'s *a progenie in progenies*: 'his mercy is on them that fear him: throughout all generations'. Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer*, 252. The choice of the phrase imitated is of course itself meaningful in this context.

programming many of the same works: centrally extracts from *Messiah* (HWV 56) and *Samson* (HWV 57). The details of the performances themselves and what evidence has survived of contemporary reactions to them allow us to view them as another part of the project then being undertaken at the Chapel to re-establish itself after the long hiatus of the revolutionary years and come to terms with its new political and theological circumstances in the transformed landscape of the 1780s outlined above. Contemporary notices also set the performances vividly against the backdrop of social and economic crisis the town of Boston, state of Massachusetts and the whole country were undergoing in the post-revolutionary period. The *Boston Gazette* of 22 January 1787 contrasted the 'well executed and benevolent entertainment' of a few days earlier with 'the present distressed situation of the town'.[82] A few days later a report in the same newspaper by the organisers of the concert explained their smaller than expected ticket receipts with reference to a general 'scarcity of money' in the town – gesturing towards general economic deprivation and the crisis caused by lack of specie – and more specifically the 'military expedition and the call on the inhabitants for raising and equipping their men with General Sheppard against ca. 2000 insurgents under Capt. Shays in the vicinity of Springfield'. This referred to the current scramble to muster a response to the rebellion against the new government in western Massachusetts: a rebellion widely acknowledged to have its roots in 'personal debt […] high tax bills, […] depressed economy, and creditors who were increasingly willing to sue to recover their debts' which plagued the inhabitants of rural Massachusetts, just as it did their urban neighbours, during the 1780s.[83] These performances demonstrate the Chapel's commitment to the rebuilding, both literal and metaphorical, of the city of Boston

[82] *Boston Gazette*, 22 January 1787.
[83] *Boston Gazette*, 29 January 1787. Quotation from Sean Condon, *Shays's Rebellion: Authority and Distress in Post-Revolutionary America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 11; see also Richards, *Shays's Rebellion*, 23-42.

during the 1780s, by seeking to create the sense of unity among the city's inhabitants necessary to achieve this aim and weather the economic storm these years witnessed. In doing this, the performances served to prove the Chapel's commitment to the ideology and values of the new government. And in reshaping the cultural fabric of the emerging discourse of British nationalism in the eighteenth century, they contributed to the narrative of *translatio imperii* which was a crucial factor in developing a national identity for the citizens of the young United States.

The performances were organised and directed by William Selby, who had been organist at the Chapel since 1782. William, the brother of the John Selby whose performances of Handel's music in Boston during the pre-revolutionary years the preceding chapter has discussed, faced many of the same problems as did his employers at the King's Chapel after the war. As we have seen, Selby was an Englishman by birth and had emigrated to the colonies in 1773 after a career as an organist in London parish churches. The resulting need to demonstrate his loyalty to the new government was exacerbated by the fact that (as we have seen) his brother, John Selby, who had also emigrated in 1771, held the post of organist at the King's Chapel before the war, but had fled the city with the other loyalist refugees in March 1776.[84] In 1782, in proposing a new publication called *The New Minstrel* – 'a collection of original compositions in Music, one number to come out every month […] engraved with elegance and taste by an adept in the art and educated in Europe' – he provided a public affirmation of his political affiliations, and a sketch of a vision of the cultural politics for the new United States:

> At this age of general civilization, at this æra of the acquaintance with a nation far gone in politeness and fine arts—even the stern patriot and lover of his country's glory, might be addressed on the present subject with not less

[84] Nicholas Temperley, 'Selby, William (ii)', *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25364]. The existence of two Selby brothers doing the same job in colonial Boston proved confusing for early researchers of this period: the matter was cleared up by Barbara Owen in 'The Other Mr. Selby', *American Music* 8 (1990), 477-482.

> propriety than the man of elegance and taste. The promptness of this young country in those sciences which were once thought peculiar only to riper age, has already brought upon her the eyes of the world. She had pushed her resea[r]ches deep into philosophy, and her statesmen and generals have equalled those of the Roman name. And shall those arts which make her happy be less courted than those arts which have made her great? Why may she not be 'in Song unequall'd as unmatch'd in war'?[85]

The nature of the 1786 and 1787 performances suggests that, in part, they served a similar purpose for Selby, as well as for the Chapel as a whole.

Press coverage of these events repeatedly stresses the concerts' role as a catalyst for the creation of unity among Bostonians. The Boston correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Herald*'s coverage of the 1786 performance noted with pleasure that the 'church was thronged with all classes of people, and we were particularly happy in seeing so many of the softer sex present on the occasion'.[86] The *Massachusetts Gazette*'s announcement of the same performance also informed its readers of the attendance of 'all the ministers of all the several religious societies and persuasions'.[87] The instructions 'to the public' printed by the *Boston Gazette* ahead of the 1787 performance warned audience members that 'the pews no 1 and 2 at the upper end of the middle aisle, opposite to the reading desk and pulpit, are reserved for the reverend the ministers of the town of all denominations, and into which it is earnestly requested that no other persons will attempt to sit.'[88] The King's Chapel performances, at their simplest, offered an opportunity to bring the inhabitants of the city – regardless of social class or religious affiliation – together, in much the same way as did the celebrations over Massachusetts' ratification of the United States Constitution in 1788 identified by Barbara Carr as crucial to the city's efforts to rebuild itself during these years. The celebratory concerts offered a new model of

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[85] *Boston Evening Post,* 2 February 1782, quoted in Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 23. The pseudo-Ossianic quotation is likely from the proposed work, which seems never to have been published.
[86] *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 January 1786.
[87] *Massachusetts Gazette*, 2 January 1786.
[88] *Boston Gazette*, 15 January 1787.

event to complement such existing celebrations: another means of uniting citizens who otherwise might have little cause to socialise, and crucially – in one of a series of winters unseasonably cold even for Boston – one that allowed them to stay indoors.[89]

However, the content and structure of 1786 and 1787 performances were also deeply significant. As Nicholas Temperley has noted, the structure of both performances was strongly modelled on that of the central events of British choral festivals such as London's Festival of the Sons of the Clergy and the south Midlands' Three Choirs Festival:[90] 'an Anglican service of morning prayer held in a cathedral or parish church, departing in no way from the normal liturgy as laid down in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but adorned by an orchestra […] and by prominent professional solo singers.'[91] The performances can thus also be set alongside the New York *Messiah*s of the early 1770s, though the nearly two decades that separated the events had once again transformed the significance of the act of cultural transfer.

An extract from the beginning of the programme of the 1786 performance conveys the similarity of the approach adopted at the King's Chapel:

> I. That the Overture in the sacred Oratorio, called the *Occasional Oratorio*, composed by the late celebrated Mr. Handel, be performed by all the musical, instrumental band.
> II. That the first, famous and justly celebrated Recitative, in the Oratorio of the *Messiah*, composed by the inspired Handel, be sung, accompanied by the first and second violin, the tenor and bass instruments. – The words, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people"…

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[89] In particular the winter of 1786-7 brought severe cold and repeated snowstorms to Massachusetts: see David M. Ludlum, *Early American Winters, 1605-1820* (Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1966), 68-72. Benjamin Franklin's sister Jane Mecom wrote to her brother from Boston that December, letting him know that 'Your predictions concerning a hard winter are beginning to be verified in a formidable manner. The snow has been so deep and we no man in the house, that we might have been buried alive were it not for the care of some good neighbours who began to dig us out before we were up in the morning': Jane Mecom to Benjamin Franklin, 17 December 1786, in William Duane (ed.), *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from His Family and Friends, 1751-1790* (New York: C. Benjamin Richardson, 1859), 151-2.

[90] An elegant survey of the development of these festivals can be found in Nicholas Temperley, 'Anglicanism and Music', in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, 365-368.

[91] Nicholas Temperley, *Bound For America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 24.

> III. That the first Song in the same most sacred Oratorio, to be sung, accompanied by the proper instruments. The words, "Every valley shall be exalted"…
> IV. The Morning Service of the Church is then to begin; and after the *Lord's Prayer*, and the four versicles following, then the Doxology […] as set to musick by Mr. *Selby*, is to be performed by all the voices, accompanied by the organ only.[92]

The event of January 1787 took a similar form, with musical numbers interspersed between read and sung elements of the Matins service:

> 6. A violin Concerto is then to be performed as and for the voluntary.
> 7. Then the first lesson for the day is to be read.
> 8. Then the Te Deum, or, 'We praise thee, o Lord'—is to be chanted.
> 9. Then the 2d lesson for the day will be read.
> 10. Then the Jubilate Deo, or 'O be joyful in the Lord'…as set to musick by Mr. Selby is to be sung as and for an anthem, by the voices, accompanied by all the instruments.
> 11. Then the Apostle's Creed will be read.
> […]
> 14. Then from the Oratorio of *Sampson* is to be sung these words—'Let the bright cherubims [sic] in burning row'…
> 15. Immediate after which will be performed the Chorus from Handel's Messiah 'Hallelujah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth'…
> 16. Then the second and third collects, and the prayer for all sort and condition of men will be read.[93]

The advertisement of the 1786 and 1787 concerts in the press suggests the organisers hoped that the concerts would attract an audience significantly broader than that of the King's Chapel's regular congregation. The decision to entwine the musical numbers with the Matins service from the Chapel's newly published liturgy – we can be sure this was used, since the wording of the doxologies given in the press notices for both concerts is that of the new liturgy, not the 1662 Book of Common Prayer[94] – provided a unique opportunity for the Chapel to show off its new form of worship to Bostonians who might otherwise never have heard it. In the preface to the new liturgy as it had been published in 1785, Freeman was keen to defend the innovations it contained, such as the doxologies, as unobjectionable to a broad range

[92] *Massachusetts Gazette*, 2 January 1786.
[93] *Boston Gazette*, 15 January 1787.
[94] The *Massachusetts Gazette* announcement of 2 January 1786 and the *Boston Gazette* of 15 January 1787 give the incipit of the 'Doxology, or Glory to God', as 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible': the new doxology arrived at by Freeman in place of trinitarian formula of the *Gloria patri*. See *A Liturgy, Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer*, sig. A2v.

of (protestant) Christian traditions since they were scriptural: taken 'from the pure word of GOD'. He therefore asserted that the

> Liturgy, contained in this volume, is such, that no Christian, it is supposed, can take offence at, or find his conscience wounded in repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage […] It is not our wish to make proselytes to any particular system or opinions of any particular sect of Christians. Our earnest desire is to live in brotherly love and peace with all men.[95]

The assembled nonconformist ministers in the reserved pews would have no cause to complain. A similar desire to present the impeccable political credentials of the King's Chapel, its worship and its congregation was in evidence in the efforts made in the 1786 and 1787 concerts to dispel the poisonous associations of Anglicanism with Toryism which lingered in the minds of many New Englanders in the 1780s: the *Massachusetts Gazette*'s coverage of the 1786 concert was careful to note the 'Prayer for Congress', nestled between the 'song from the Oratorio of Sampson […] the words […] "Let the bright Cherubims [sic]"' and 'the second Organ Concerto of Mr. Handel'.[96]

As well as their interweaving of the of the musical numbers with the sections of the Matins service, the King's Chapel concerts drew on the model of the British music festival in their charitable nature. As Howard Smither has noted, although in England in the second half of the eighteenth century 'charities increasingly became excuses, rather than reasons for festivals', the association remained strong, especially at the more prominent festivals such as the Three Choirs.[97] The press notices for both the 1786 and 1787 concerts were at pains to stress that the concerts were charity fundraisers. The *Massachusetts Gazette*'s article announcing the 1786 concert opened

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[95] ibid., 'Preface'.
[96] *Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 January 1787.
[97] Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio, Volume 3: The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 215.

and closed with reminders of the fact: readers were first informed that the event had been planned 'for the benefit and relief of the poor prisoners confined in the jail in this town', then later that a committee had been formed

> for the purpose of appropriating all monies, to be raised by the sale of the tickets, and which may accrue from the donations and contributions of the charitable and humane towards the support of the charity. The first appropriation of the money, for the affording necessary cloathing, firing and provisions to the most necessitous prisoners for debt.[98]

The case for attending the event and so contributing to the appeal is stated with considerable urgency, both in the bookending of the announcement with versions of the same information, and in the notice's pleonastic conclusion, where 'contributions of the charitable […] towards the support of the charity' are solicited. Other notices made the same point with comparable force: in 1786, readers were reminded that 'To soften the calamities of our fellow creatures, pour gladness in the heart of the wretched; to clothe the naked, and set the prisoner free, are duties; which our feeling as men, and our religion as Christians, require us to fulfil', a commitment restated in the notices for the 1787 concert, put on, readers were told, 'for the benefit of those among us who have known better days'.[99] As already noted, the organization of poor relief for thousands brought to destitution by the war and the depression of the 1780s was central to civic efforts to rebuild Boston. As Barbara Carr has pointed out, pressures on public finances meant that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century donations of money and food by individual citizens and institutions came to represent the primary source of funding for the city's almshouse, with such donations therefore regarded as a matter of 'community responsibility and compassion.'[100] Contributing to these efforts afforded the King's Chapel and audience members outside its regular congregation an opportunity to demonstrate

[98] *Massachusetts Gazette*, 2 January 1786.
[99] *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 January 1786; *Boston Gazette*, 22 January 1787.
[100] Carr, *After the Siege*, 110-112.

their commitment to the project of civic renewal which dominated Bostonians' lives throughout these years. The performances enacted the healing of a multiply fractured community materially and symbolically.

Handel and the American *translatio imperii*

The organisers of the King's Chapel events managed to do this by re-purposing a distinctively British cultural form – the music festival Matins service, liberally seasoned with Handel movements – to serve the political and social needs of one of the principal seaport towns of the new United States. A sense that these concerts were, in some way, a response to events like the 1784 Handel Commemoration in London – a 'watershed moment in the mounting of major mass entertainments in the name of public charity'[101] – is clearly perceptible in contemporary American accounts. A Philadelphia paper, for instance, announced that the inspiration for a charitable 'GRAND CONCERT' of the works of the 'celebrated *Handel*' held on 4 May 1786 derived from both '*the Commemoration of Handel*, in London, and *the Sacred Concert* in Boston': this must be the event William Selby directed in January 1786, referred to in its own notices as 'a Concert of *sacred* Musick'.[102] In understanding the events in this way, responses to the King's Chapel concerts frequently imagine them as manifestations of the process of *translatio imperii*, from Britain to the United States, which had captured the imaginations of so many contemporaries throughout the young republic in other contexts.

The notion of *translatio imperii* presented itself as a solution to a widely felt sense of cultural inadequacy in the former colonies during the post-war period. Two

[101] Annette Richards, 'The 1784 Commemoration and the Charitable Handel', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 15 (2014), 87-108.
[102] *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser*, 30 May 1786; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 2 January 1786. The 1787 event directed by Selby was referred to in the *Boston Gazette* of 22 January 1787 as 'the *Spiritual Concert*'.

related problems seemed most urgently to require attention. Firstly, the young republic's interlocking economic crises meant that cultural concerns were by necessity often perceived as secondary to the tasks of social and economic rebuilding and recovery; yet, many feared, while this state of affairs continued there was little hope of redemption, since art's humanistically understood capacity to both profit and delight was perceived as necessary to inspire the broader social revival. Secondly, these reconstruction efforts were in the service, it was hoped, of the success of a new nation; yet the cultural fabric of the former colonies was shot through, as the revisers of the King's Chapel prayer book noted, with reminders of the (very recent) imperial past. The former problem exacerbated the second, since it often seemed to anxious commentators that American culture merely represented a shoddy replica of the splendour of the real thing, which was to be found in the Old World. As Kariann Yokota has put it, the 'postrevolutionary generation […] faced the difficult task of establishing both equality with and separation from Great Britain […] It entailed construing differences in the face of undeniable similarities […] and attempting to diminish important differences […] to establish parity. The process of self-understanding entailed wrestling with the legacy of their colonial identity, which was unbecoming British.'[103] The multifaceted problem was already in view in a 1778 letter from Thomas Jefferson to a correspondent in Paris. 'If there is a gratification, which I envy any people in this world, it is to your country its music. This is the favorite passion of my soul, and fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism.' While in the Old World, 'music is cultivated and practiced by every class of men', the 'bounds of an American fortune

[103] Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10-11. See also Billy Coleman, *Harnessing Harmony: Music, Power, and Politics in the United States, 1788-1865* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 13-20, on the problems posed by the fact that 'neither an American identity nor an American culture could be created from scratch', but had to draw on and 'compete against European standards of reference' (18).

will not admit the indulgence' due to 'that economy that we are obliged to observe'.[104] The vicious circle of social and cultural barbarity, and attendant sense of transatlantic inferiority, seemed inescapable. The same concerns bedevilled the former Massachusetts representative Timothy Dwight a decade later: while seeking to rebut the 'European creed, that we are infantine in our acquisitions and savage in our manners', Dwight nonetheless felt 'Candour obliges us to confess' that the 'age of ultimate refinement in America is yet to arrive'. Until the 'vulgar enjoyments of cock-fighting, gambling, and tavern-haunting' were widely superseded by 'improvement in music, architecture, gardening, sculpture, and other elegant arts', the attendant 'progress of population' and 'increase of wealth' would not follow. Yet the necessary spur to such developments in the Old World, the 'patronage and rewards which stimulate to the higher degrees of excellence' customary in 'older countries than our own', were lacking in the economically depressed United States in the late 1780s.[105]

Taking up the conceptual framework of *translatio imperii* and an accompanying *translatio studii* offered concerned citizens of the new republic like Jefferson and Dwight a way of turning those anxieties about the state of American culture into sources of hope and strength. To transfer was once again to metamorphose.[106] The trope had its origins in the ancient world in the foundation myths of Greek and Roman societies in the Trojan War, with its expression in Virgil's *Aeneid* a *locus classicus*: the flame of providentially sanctioned empire and

[104] Unaddressed letter from Thomas Jefferson, 8 June 1778, in H. A. Washington (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Published by Order of Congress from the Original Manuscripts Deposited in the Department of State*, 9 vols. (New York: Townsend Mac Count, 1884), I: 207-210 (209).
[105] [Timothy Dwight], 'An Essay on American Genius', *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine*, 1 February 1787, quoted from Timothy Roberts (ed.), *American Exceptionalism: Volume 2, The American Revolution* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 23-26.
[106] Michel Espagne, 'La notion de transfert culturel', *Revue Sciences / Lettres* 1 (2013) [http://rsl.revues.org/219].

civilisation born westward from Asia to be re-established in Latium.[107] It was taken up with enthusiasm in medieval Latin Europe in a variety of contexts, from the coronation of Charlemagne as *imperator Romanorum* to the literary mythmaking around the origins of the English nation in the fleeing Trojan Felix Brutus, who 'in the west iles', 'fer over the French flod […] / On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he settes / Wyth wynne'.[108] Perhaps the most influential eighteenth-century iteration of the *topos* in connection with Britain's Atlantic colonies is found in Bishop Berkeley's brief 'Verses […] on the Prospect of planting ARTS and LEARNING in *America*', first published posthumously in 1752 but circulating widely in manuscript from 1726. The poem, written during Berkeley's period in Rhode Island to solicit donations from Britain in support of an effort to found a college in Bermuda, urged British readers to 'take notice of the fledgling colonies and to recognize America's spiritual and historical significance'.[109] A tired Europe was on the brink of giving up the *imperium* it had inherited; readers were invited to help carry it westward once more:

> The Muse, disgusted at an Age and Clime,
> Barren of every glorious Theme,
> In distant Lands now waits a better Time,
> Producing Subjects worthy Fame:
>
> […]
>
> In happy Climes the Seat of Innocence,
> Where Nature guides and Virtue rules,
> Where Men shall not impose for Truth and Sense
> The Pedantry of Courts and Schools:
>
> There shall be sung another golden Age,
> The rise of Empire and of Arts,
> The Good and Great inspiring epic Rage,
> The wisest Heads and noblest Hearts.
>
> Not such as *Europe* breeds in her decay;

[107] See Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 37, 41, 55, 68, 82, 229, 236.
[108] See Tullio Gregory, '*Translatio Studiorum*', in Marco Sgarbi (ed.), *Translatio Studiorum: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Bearers of Intellectual History* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1-24; R. A. Waldron (ed.), *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 29-30.
[109] Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 305; quotation from Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1876* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 77.

> Such as she bred when fresh and young,
> When heav'nly Flame did animate her Clay,
> By future Poets shall be sung.
>
> Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way;
> The four first Acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
> Time's noblest Offspring is the last.[110]

The poem was enormously popular in the Atlantic colonies after its publication, and was 'reprinted in virtually every American newspaper and many magazines' from mid-century, during which period 'more and more Americans became convinced that the arts were about to move from Western Europe to America, there to thrive as never before'.[111]

As in Berkeley's conception, the transfer of political power and of learning across the Atlantic would be simultaneous, just as had occurred when 'conquering *Rome* / With *Grecian* Spoils brought *Grecian* Numbers home', and '*Troynouant* […] built of old *Troyes* ashes cold' in Britain, 'in all glory and great enterprise / Both first and second *Troy* [did] dare to equalise'.[112] *Translatio imperii* would encompass the 'westward movement not only of *imperium* but also of learning and the arts, or the whole gamut of "civilization"'.[113] As John Adams wrote in 1755,

> mighty States and kingdoms […] When they have reach'd the summit of Grandeur, some minute and unsuspected Cause commonly effects their Ruin, and the Empire of the world is transferr'd to some other place. Immortal Rome was at first but an insignificant Village, inhabited only by a few abandoned Ruffins [*sic*], but by degrees it rose to a stupendous Height, and excell'd in Arts and Arms all the Nations that praeceeded it […] Soon after the Reformation a few people came over into this new world for Conscience sake.

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[110] [George Berkeley], *A Miscellany, Containing Several Tracts on Various Subjects. By the Bishop of Cloyne* (London, 1752), 186-7.
[111] Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 546.
[112] John Dryden, 'To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse', in [Wentworth Dillon], *An Essay on Translated Verse by the Earl of Roscomon* (London, 1684), sig. Ar., translating here Horace *Epistles* 2.1.156-7 (*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes / intulit agresti Latio*); A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita and Toshiyuki Suzuki (eds.), *Edmund Spenser: The Faerie Qveene* [1590-6], 2nd edn, Longman Annotated English Poets (London: Routledge, 2007), 376-7 (III.ix. stanzas 38 and 44).
[113] Eran Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 34. An effective summary of the *topos* in the historical thought of the early republic can be found in Peter James Holliday, *American Arcadia: California and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xx-xxii.

> Perhaps this (apparently) trivial incident, may transfer the great seat of Empire into America. It looks likely to me.[114]

The explosion of neo-classicism throughout the arts of the early republic drew on and reinforced this *topos*, which with independence had acquired a fresh urgency: the 'revolutionary context accompanied by an ardent belief in the degraded state of Britain became the pretext for asserting repeatedly that America would either re-create Rome on western shores or would enjoy grandeur defined in Roman or classical terms'.[115] Yet the project of *translatio imperii* in the former colonies was just as often understood, as it had been earlier in the century in Berkeley and elsewhere, in relation to the culture and political power of the *imperium* from which the colonies had just established their independence. The 'Political Reverie' of the Bostonian Mercy Otis Warren, first published anonymously in 1775 and reissued during the postrevolutionary period moves from an initial survey of the sack of Troy to take up an extended vision of Berkeley's image of the transatlantic transfer of empire and arts:[116]

> These plunderers of men I'll greatly scorn,
> And dream of nations, empires yet unborn.
> I look with rapture at the distant dawn,
> And view the glories of the opening morn,
> When justice holds his sceptre o'er the land,
> And rescues freedom from a tyrant's hand;
> When patriot states in laurel crowns may rise,
> And ancient kingdoms court them as allies;

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[114] John Adams to Nathan Webb, 12 October 1755, in *Papers of John Adams*, 21 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977-): I [*September 1755-October 1773*, ed. Robert J. Taylor]: 4-7. Adams's reflections were prompted by the current course of the French and Indian War, in which the British Empire was experiencing significant setbacks.

[115] Quotation from Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores*, 30-31. See also M. N. S. Sellers, *American Republicanism: Roman Ideology in the United States Constitution* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 11-19, on the trope as expressed by the 'tangible symbols of the state' in the early republic; and Caroline Winterer, 'From Royal to Republican: The Classical Image in Early America', *The Journal of American History* 91/4 (2005), 1264-1290, on the 'austere neoclassical images that burst upon the scene' beginning in the 1770s and their historical and ideological implications (1264).

[116] Another influential linkage of political with cultural and artistic forms of *imperium* in relation to the former American colonies was made by J. Hector St. John, who understood 'Americans […] as the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them the great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle': [Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecœur], *Letters from an American Farmer; Describing Certain Provincial Situations, Manners, and Customs, Not Generally Known; And Conveying Some Idea of the Late and Present Interior Circumstances of the British Colonies in North America* (London, 1782), 51-2.

> Glory and valour shall be here display'd,
> And virtue rear her long dejected head;
> Her standard plant beneath these gladden'd skies,
> Her fame extend, and arts and science rise;
> While empire's lofty spreading sails unfurl'd,
> Roll swiftly on towards the western world.
> Long she's forsook her Asiatic throne,
> And leaving Afric's barb'rous burning zone,
> On the broad ruins of Rome's haughty power
> Erected ramparts round fair Europe's shore;
> But in those blasted climes no more presides,
> She, o'er the vast Atlantic surges rides,
> Visits Columbia's distant fertile plains,
> Where liberty, a happy goddess, reigns.[117]

Britain's guardianship of the providential *imperium* is relinquished in the poem when 'she, ungrateful, join'd an impious band, / And forging shackles with a guilty hand' attempted to enslave the colonies.[118] That impiety was literal as well as metaphorical: Britain's slide towards absolutism was linked with the notion that her commitment to defending Protestantism was waning. The perceived turn to absolutism in Britain was consistently linked with the malign influence of Catholicism in colonial and early republican political thought in America.[119] The custody of true religion would therefore accompany the other trappings of *imperium* across the Atlantic:

> Then bless'd religion, in her purest forms,
> Beyond the reach of persecuting storms,
> In purest azure, gracefully array'd,
> In native majesty shall stand display'd.[120]

Transported by an angel to view a prospect of heaven, the speaker fears what all this might mean for the assembled British worthies of the past, whose country has now surrendered its greatness and providential protection.

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[117] 'A Political Reverie', in Mercy Otis Warren, *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* (Boston, 1790), 188-194 (189). First published in *Boston Gazette*, 13 February 1775.
[118] ibid., 191.
[119] See Maura Jane Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America, 1620-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapter 3 ('"The Common Word Then Was: 'No King, No Popery'": Anti-Catholicism and the American Revolution'), 69-103; and Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 112-119.
[120] 'A Political Reverie', in *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*, 190.

> Starting, I cry'd—"Oh! sacred form forgive,
> Or me from yonder nether world remove; —
> Has freedom's genius left Britannia's shore?
> And must her sleeping patriots live no more?
> Arise, ye venerable shades! inspire,
> Each languid soul with patriotic fire;
> 'Till every bosom feels a noble flame,
> And emulates a Locke, or Sydney's name."
> The seraph smil'd ineffably serene,
> And shew'd me truth, inscrib'd on her bright mien:
> She said—"The glow from breast to breast is spread,
> From sire to son the latent spark's convey'd;
> Let those bless'd shades rest in their sacred urns,
> Lie undisturb'd—the glorious ardour burns,
> Though far transferr'd from their lov'd native soil."[121]

The custodianship of the tradition of English liberty represented by the seventeenth-century figures of John Locke and Algernon Sydney (1623-1683) has also passed westward across the Atlantic.[122] Those British worthies, the logic of the poem suggests, are now rightly to be considered American national figures, whose 'ownership' Britain has forfeit: 'this far distant corner of the earth, / Shall boast her Decii's and her Fabii's birth; / When the young heroes, wondering, shall be told, / That Britain barter'd worth for lust of gold; / How, lost in luxury her silken sons, / Forgot her Edwards claim'd the Bourbon crowns'. Britain's equivalents of the Decii and Fabii, plebeian and patrician families of the Roman republic famous for patriotic service, and the true heirs of their native worthies like Edward III, the victor of Crécy

[121] ibid., 192.

[122] Since the poem refers to the worthies by their surnames alone, 'Sydney' is able to suggest both Algernon, the political theorist, and his great uncle Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586): best remembered now as the poet of *Astrophel and Stella* and *Arcadia*, but whose death fighting against the Spanish in the Netherlands was celebrated by early American historians as a martyrdom in the cause of republican liberty. Algernon's own work made use of his family history along these lines, making much of a shared commitment to foreign military intervention on behalf of the Protestant cause. The pantheon of worthies invoked is thus expanded towards the collection of cultural and artistic figures who appeared alongside political heroes in depictions such as William Kent's Temple of British Worthies completed at Stowe House in 1735: see George Clarke, 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's Gardening Programme and its Iconography', *Apollo* 97 (1973), 566-571. On the Sidneys, see Michael C. Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 253 n. 14, and Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623-1677*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 49-52.

(and his son Edward the Black Prince who died in the battle) were now to be found across the Atlantic.[123]

Responses to the concerts of 1786 and 1787 frequently present the events, and the music and idea of Handel, in an analogous fashion. As we have seen, the figure of Handel as British worthy and guarantor of the tradition of English liberty was already being invoked in the colonies during the prerevolutionary decade, before the beginning of a significant tradition of American Handel performance: the Handel whose shade, learning the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1765 – that 'FREEDOM comes from fair *Britannia*'s Shore' – could not equal its beauty, despite his axiomatic creative powers ('Were *Handel*'s Self to hear the charming Strain, / He'd strive and strive to imitate in vain').[124] Reports in the American and European press of the Westminster Abbey Handel Commemorations, beginning in 1784, also ensured that its 'influence […] was felt far beyond the shores of England':[125] in particular, they will have made evident to citizens of the United States that the project of canonizing Handel as the national composer of the English was still

[123] The invocation of Edward III works principally as a rejoinder to the comparisons made in Hanoverian regime literature between the monarchs of the contemporary dynasty and the medieval victors of Crécy and Agincourt, as in this apostrophe to the French king in a commemorative poem on the victory at Dettingen: 'Such was the Valour shook your Throne, / In Arms when Godlike *Harry* shone; / And like a Torrent bore your Legions down / Such Vigour cut your Vaunting short, / At *Poitiers*, *Cressy*, *Agincourt*; / And modell'd for an *English* Heir your Crown!' (*A Joyful Ode: Inscribed to the King, on the Late Victory at Dettingen* [London, 1743], 6). Warren made the same point, linking British worthies to Roman heroes within a framework of *translatio imperii*, in a letter of 1774: Britain 'will soon see the Genius which once Animated their Hambdens, Haringtons, & Pyms [seventeenth-century republican writers and soldiers], has taken up her Residence on these Distant shores. The seeds of Empire are sown in this new World, the Ball Rolls Westward fast, and though daily threatned […] each City from Nova Scotia to Georgia has her Decii & her Fabii'. Warren to Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay, 29 December 1774, quoted from Lisa L. Moore, Joanna Brooks and Caroline Wigginton (eds.), *Transatlantic Feminisms in the Age of Revolutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 151-154 (152). The assembled worthies imagined by Warren in the poem and the parallel passage in the letter, ranging from the middle ages through to the recent past are again comparable to the Whig worthies of the Stowe Temple, who also include Edward the Black Prince and Hampden alongside William of Orange, Shakespeare, Milton and Pope.

[124] *A New Collection of Verses applied to the First of November, A.D. 1765, &c. including a Prediction that the S---p A-t shall not take Place in North-America. Together with A Poetical Dream, concerning Stamped Papers* (New Haven, 1765): 17-18. See also the broadside *To the Publick of Connecticut* ([New Haven?], 1765), where 'that excellent Master of Musick (Mr. *Handel*)' is imagined supplying the music for a *Gesamtkunstwerk* on the theme of American liberty to which Hogarth, Swift, Pope, Addison and Gay would also contribute.

[125] Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, 229.

ongoing in the 1780s.[126] As many scholars have noted, the Handel Commemorations functioned similarly to David Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee held at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1769 and its successors, in carrying out 'the cultural work necessary to crystallize Shakespeare and Handel as the iconic artists of Britain'.[127] To a British establishment reeling from defeat in the 'American War, the constitutional crisis between Crown and Parliament, and the turbulent election of 1784', Handel's music emerged in the Commemorations as a national symbol around which to rally.[128] The concept of the nation to which this idea of Handel was yoked in responses to the Westminster Commemorations was frequently still one inextricably bound up with a notion of Britons as continued guardians of liberty: as one widely distributed report has it,

> The present is in reality an æra in the music of Britain; and as, while the soul and the genius of music has existence, it will be our pride that Handel composed his works in England; it will not be forgotten that his works have been so greatly commemorated. He is the Muse for the English character. He writes to the masculine genius of a free people […] if any thing can arouse the faculties and coagitate the masculine passions of the soul, it is the music of Handel, performed by such a band as are now engaged in his commemoration […] Such was the first Exhibition in this exquisite national feast.[129]

Furthermore, the Westminster Commemorations beginning in 1784 had also represented an important staging post in linking Handel's music and the values it was held to embody with the person of the monarch, reinscribing the personal links between Handel and the Hanoverian kings forged during the composer's lifetime. In part through designing programmes for the concerts which linked music from the

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[126] The metaphor is contemporary: the evangelical clergyman and poet William Cowper (1731-1800) noted of the Commemorations that 'A religious service instituted in honor of a Musician, and performed in the house of God, is a subject that calls loudly for the animadversion of an enlighten'd minister […] it would surely puzzle the Pope himself to add anything to [Handel's] Canonization'. James King and Charles Ryskamp (eds.), *The Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), II: 254.
[127] Daniel O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis in the Atlantic Imperium, 1770-1790* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 305; see also Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 185-222.
[128] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 223.
[129] *The Gentleman's Magazine* 54/1 (January-June 1784), 391-2.

oratorios whose plots exploited the typological identification of the British nation with Biblical Israel with music originally composed to celebrate royal occasions such as the 1727 coronation music and the Dettingen Te Deum of 1743 (HWV 283, written to celebrate a battlefield triumph in which George II personally participated), and in part through the conspicuous ever-presence of George III at the events, the Commemoration performances worked to link an artistic devotion to Handel with a political devotion to the monarch and all the institution of monarchy represented: what William Weber has described as 'a kind of Handelomania that revolved around [the] royal person'.[130] A sense of the events as 'a kind of musical ritual to the house of Hanover' was strengthened by skillfully directed political theatre, such as the king's repeated calls for an encore of the 'Hallelujah!' and 'Amen' choruses at the 1784 Commemoration *Messiah* performances: in Charles Burney's politically sympathetic account,

> His Majesty expressed a desire to the earl of Sandwich of hearing the most truly sublime of all Chorusses: "*Allelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth*," a second time; and this gracious wish was conveyed to the Orchestra, by the waving of his lordship's wand. At this second performance of that matchless Oratorio, his Majesty was pleased to make the signal himself, with a gentle motion of his right hand in which was the printed book of the words, not only for the repetition of this, but of the final Chorus, in the last part, to the great gratification of all his happy subjects present; and, perhaps, the subjects of no sovereign prince on the globe were ever before so delighted with the effects of a royal mandate.[131]

Since in large-scale musical performances in Britain during this period, when not directed from the keyboard or violin, the tempo was generally indicated by a roll of paper or parchment, the king could be seen as effectively conducting the performance himself.[132] In the Commemoration performances, contemporaries saw

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[130] See Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 216-229. William Weber, 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', *Journal of British Studies* 28/1 (1989), 43-69 (63).
[131] Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, May 16th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785), 28-9; Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 226.
[132] See Peter Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 69-77. A Latin poem of 1745 compares Handel directing a grand performance as a 'Prince, who by brandishing his sceptre, directs the multitude' (*Agminis ipse*

the fact that 'the British Monarch presided' over proceedings as 'the most splendid tribute ever paid to posthumous fame'; celebrating Handel in 'the same Abbey where his body lies interred' represented 'an honour to the profession, the nation and to the Sovereign'.[133]

The power of these associations, through the logic of *translatio imperii*, could be transformed from a source of cultural anxiety to a source of strength for Bostonians in the 1786-7 events. Since Britain's handling of the imperial crisis and prosecution of the war meant she had relinquished her providential *imperium*, with the 'rise of Empire and of Arts' now underway across the Atlantic, Bostonians could understand their continued appreciation of emblematic facets of British culture as imbued with deep historical significance, and as a source of national belonging as Americans. And since the deeply held colonial Whig faith in the king as a benevolent constitutional broker had finally collapsed in the 'wave of denunciations', a 'rolling cascade that ended in sacrilege and iconoclasm', in the second half of the 1770s, the contemporary British tethering of Handelomania with the person of George III presented a necessary and enjoyable target for rebuttal and deconstruction.[134]

Some observers of the events understood the process principally as a matter of beating Britain at her own game. Now that Handel, along with other British worthies, 'Though far transferr'd from their lov'd native soil', could rightly be

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sui princeps, ac tempore certo / Sceptra manu vibrans, chordas centum, oraque centum / Dirigit); George III's conducting of the encores in 1784 reverses the metaphor. Richard Powney, *Templum harmoniae: carmen epicum* (London, 1745), in Donald Burrows, Helen Coffey, John Greenacombe, and Anthony Hicks (eds.), *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013-), IV: 301-3.

[133] [William Coxe], *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith. With Select Pieces of Music Composed by J. C. Smith, Never Before Published* (London, 1799), 31. Very similar sentiments are found in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of 26 May 1784: 'the ensuing musical feasts in commemoration of Handel do the highest honour to the nation where they are encouraged, and give superior dignity to the Monarch who patronizes them, as well as those of the nobility and gentry who follow so laudable an example'.

[134] McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 250, 258-9.

understood as the cultural property of Americans, the organisers and audiences at the Boston events could find collective purpose and delight in performing his music in (they hoped) an equal or a superior fashion to their British contemporaries. The Boston correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Herald* noted in his report of the 1786 concert that

> The first recitative and the first song in the Messiah were sung as to have done no discredit to any capital singer at the theatre in Covent Garden; but the song of 'Let the bright cherubims [sic] in burning row etc.' in the opinion of several who had heard the oratorio of Sampson at Covent Gardenhouse, was sung, at least as well, in the Chapel Church, on Tuesday by our townsman, as they had ever before heard.[135]

The *Boston Gazette*'s coverage of the 1787 event noted similarly that

> Mr. *Arnold*'s Te Deum was inimitably sung, and Mr. *Rea*'s distinct, sweet over-powering Counter-Tenor voice, was eminently distinguishing in this part of the performance, as in all others in which he bore a share; this Te Deum we are assured, is infinitely more musical and affecting, than the common sing song, half-squalling, half-reading *Te Deum* usually performed in the Cathedrals of England.[136]

In both cases, evident delight is taken in seizing on the talismans of contemporary British culture – Handel performance and the traditions of cathedral music with which it was by then associated – and doing them better than Britons, just the genesis of an American national consciousness in the 1780s more broadly hinged on the narrative of the United States taking up the role of the foremost defender of liberty and Protestantism on the international stage, while Britain (they held) decayed into absolutism and slave-driving.[137]

The process of taking collective ownership of these central strands of Britons' culture, all the while 'unbecoming British', was not achieved only by outdoing Britain. It also involved re-imagining some of those cultural productions – just as the

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[135] *Pennsylvania Herald*, 28 January 1786.
[136] *Boston Gazette*, 22 January 1787.
[137] See J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 57.

celebrations for the ratification of the Massachusetts constitution reshaped the events of Boston's imperial calendar, and the King's Chapel's rewritten liturgy and transformed ecclesiology managed to re-clothe the traditions of the English King's Church in a new garb of republican virtue. Perhaps the most striking example of this process in the responses to the 1786-7 events concerns the undoubted musical highlight of both: the final vocal item on the programme, the 'Hallelujah!' chorus from *Messiah*. The power of the impact this movement had on the audience is palpable in the *Boston Gazette*'s report of the 1787 performance:

> The Song from the oratorio of Jonah, sung by Mr. *Deverell*, was beautifully affecting; but *Handel*! *Handel*! *Handel*!! – The Song from his Oratorio of Sampson, "*Let the Bright Cherubim* [sic] &c." sung by our townsman, Mr. *Rea*, could not be excelled by anything but the *Hallelujah* Chorus in the MESSIAH, in which there appears perfect illumination – the surprise and astonishment of the new audience, at the performance of this divine *Chorus* cannot well be described, especially at those parts where the *Drums* so unexpectedly thundered in and joined in the glorious *Allelujahs* to the "*King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, &c."[138]

This strikingly vivid response draws on many of the tropes found in contemporary responses to the musical sublime, especially in relation to Handel's music, in Britain. The Westminster Commemorations did much to delineate the conventions of these aesthetics as they applied to music in England, and part of what this the use of this kind of language in the *Boston Gazette*'s report accomplishes is a performative demonstration of aesthetic sensitivity, an 'emblem of refinement' and cultivation to be understood in the context of broader anxieties about cultural dependence, inferiority and belatedness outlined above.[139] The same event also provides evidence of Bostonians' awareness of another prominent, and related, trope in Handel's

[138] *Boston Gazette*, 22 January 1787.
[139] Quoted formulation from Kirsten E. Wood, '"Join with Heart and Soul and Voice": Music, Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic', *The American Historical Review* 119/4 (2014), 1083-1116 (1097). On the Handelian sublime in Britain see Claudia L. Johnson, '"Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19/4 (1986), 515-533; and Alexander H. Shapiro, '"Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature": Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime', *Music & Letters* 74/2 (1993), 215-245.

contemporary reception in Britain, in this case concerning the 'Hallelujah!' chorus specifically. This was the tradition of the audience rising to their feet during the chorus: a tradition which persists today in both Britain and America, and one with its roots in the early history of *Messiah*'s reception. As Donald Burrows has noted, the true origins of the tradition are obscure, and the explanations that grew up around it in the eighteenth century were likely convenient fabrications.[140] But whatever the truth of the source of the practice, by the 1780s, Britons tended to understand what had become customary for audiences during the chorus in relation to a likely apocryphal anecdote about George II: according to this version of events,

> When Handel's 'Messiah' was first performed, the audience was exceedingly struck and affected by the music in general; but when that chorus struck up, 'For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth', they were so transported that they all, together with the king (who happened to be present), started up, and remained standing till the chorus ended: and hence it became the fashion in England for the audience to stand while that part of the music is performing. […] You will agree with me, that [this] does great honour to Handel, to music, and to the English nation.[141]

Handel, religious devotion, royalism, and British nationalism are all yoked together in this statement: a heady mixture typical of the defiant mood of national resistance and unity generated by and expressed through the 'Handelomania that revolved around [the] royal person' of George III in the 1780s.[142] The Commemoration performances of *Messiah* strongly reinforced the link between the tradition of standing during the 'Hallelujah!' chorus and the person of the monarch when George III led the audience in the gesture: something one attendee recalled as a moment of 'national assent to the fundamental truths of religion'.[143]

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[140] Donald Burrows, *Handel: 'Messiah'*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 28-29.
[141] James Beattie to Dr. Laing, 25 May 1780: Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: A. and C. Black, 1955), 854-855.
[142] Weber, 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', 64.
[143] Olinthus Gregory (ed.), *The Works of Robert Hall, A.M., with a Brief Memoir of his Life by Dr. Gregory; and Observations on his Character as a Preacher by John Foster*, 6 vols. (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1832), IV: 124. The Baptist minister Robert Hall also recalled the king 'shedding tears' at the moment.

When the *Boston Gazette* published the concert programme for the 1787 King's Chapel event – they advised those with tickets 'to take the papers with them to the church, as a proper assistant' – they included a word of advice to the audience about the 'Halleluiah!' chorus:

> At the performance of this Divine Chorus, called by way of eminence the *Thunder Chorus*, it is usual for the whole audience to rise from their seats, and be upon their feet the whole time of the Chorus, in testimony of the humble adoration of the Supreme Governor of the Universe, our great and universal Parent, and in honour of our blessed Redeemer.[144]

Central to understanding the work this passage achieves is an appreciation of the resonance of the word 'Parent' in contemporary American political discourse. Throughout the crisis in relations between Britain and the American colonies which began in the 1760s, familial metaphors had been ubiquitous in contemporary discussions of the bond between the two parties. For writers of all political persuasions, Britain was figured as the 'mother' of the colonies: one influential English pamphlet of 1766, for example, thundered that the colonies ought to 'blush' at being 'found in a posture of hostility against Great Britain', since there was 'no name of infamy half so reproachful, as that of a base and ungrateful PARRICIDE.'[145] George III was also invariably seen as the colonies' 'father': during the period of colonial Whig devotion to the monarch, the king was consistently imagined as a tender and dutiful parent. The proceedings of colonial assemblies during the pre-revolutionary decade abound in references to the sovereign's 'paternal Care', 'paternal Care and Tenderness', 'paternal regard', and to the king as 'our most gracious Sovereign and Father' and 'the father of all his people'.[146] As was the case

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[144] *Boston Gazette*, 15 January 1787.
[145] Quoted in Edwin G. Burrows and Michael Wallace, 'The American Revolution: The Ideology and Psychology of National Liberation', *Perspectives in American History* 6 (1972), 167-306, which contains a wealth of other examples of this trope.
[146] Quoted in Winthrop D. Jordan, 'Familial Politics: Thomas Paine and the Killing of the King', *The Journal of American History* 60/2 (1973), 294-308 (300). A usefully broad range of instances of the trope can be found between pp. 299-301, though the article's more general strongly Freudian approach to eighteenth-century political history will not appeal to all readers.

with American Whig monarchism more generally, the use of the metaphor reached its height immediately before a sudden and irrecoverable collapse. The 1774 petition from the First Continental Congress to the king in response to the imposition of the 'Intolerable Acts' pleaded

> for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses: That your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.[147]

Loyalists such as the writer styling themself 'Massachusettensis' continued to urge the appropriateness of the metaphor even as its use among Patriots collapsed: in 1775 colonists were encouraged to continue to view 'our sovereign the provident father of all his people, and Great-Britain a nursing mother to these colonies'.[148] Yet by the late 1770s supporters of independence sought frequently to attack these commonplaces by inverting them. If Britain was a mother country to the colonies, then America had outgrown the need for her protection: as Samuel Cooper, the minister of Boston's Brattle Street Church put it,

> Going upon the trite metaphor of a mother country, which has so often been weakly urged against us, like a child grown to maturity, we had a right to a distinct settlement in the world, and to the fruits of our own industry […] Her oppressions, her unrelenting cruelty, have driven us out from the family of which we were once a part […] like children that have been inhumanly treated and cast out by their parents, and at the same time are capable of taking care of themselves, we have found friendship and respect from the world, and have formed new, advantageous, and honorable connections.[149]

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[147] *The Petition of the Grand American Continental Congress to the King's Most Excellent Majesty* (Boston, 1774), 8.

[148] 2 January 1775, in *Massachusettensis: Or, a Series of Letters, Containing a Faithful State of Many Important and Striking Facts, which Laid the Foundation of the Present Troubles in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay; Interspersed with Animadversions and Reflections, Originally Addressed to the People of that Province, and Worthy the Consideration of the True Patriots of this Country* (Boston, 1776), 25-37 (37). The authorship of the 'Massachusettensis' letters is discussed in Colin Nicolson, Owen Dudley Edwards, Jamie Macpherson and Kirsten Nicolson, 'A Case of Identity: *Massachusettensis* and John Adams', *The New England Quarterly* 91/4 (2018), 651-682.

[149] Samuel Cooper, *A Sermon Preached before His Excellency John Hancock, Esq; Governour, the Honourable the Senate, and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, October 25, 1780. Being the*

The benevolent paternal figure of the king similarly became a Saturnian monster, an abusive father intent on destroying his offspring. One of the most notable and sustained instances of this deconstruction occurred in Thomas Paine's enormously influential pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776).[150] The trope as a whole, Paine argued, was effectively a form of insidious crypto-Catholic propaganda, linking its focus on the charismatic person of the monarch with absolutism and popery: 'the phrase *parent* or *mother country*', wrote Paine in 1776, 'hath been jesuitically adopted by the King and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds.'[151] Like the notion of Britain as 'nursing mother', the conceit failed on its own terms since George displayed no proper paternal instincts towards his American offspring and had abandoned them to their fate:

> No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal 19th of April 1755 [*sic*; *recte* 1775] but the moment the event of that day was made known I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England forever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.[152]

In casting the king as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Paine identified him with the host of idols and 'powers of this world' who were emblematically defeated by the God of Israel in the Exodus.[153] As Eric Nelson has demonstrated, *Common Sense* drew

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Day of the Commencement of the Constitution, and Inauguration of the New Government (Boston, 1780), 16-17.

[150] A fine discussion of the metaphor in Paine's *Common Sense* can be found in Stephen Blakemore, *Literature, Intertextuality, and the American Revolution: From Common Sense to "Rip Van Winkle"* (Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012), 11-13.

[151] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, on the Following Interesting Subjects. I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in General, with Concise Remarks on the English Constitution. II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession. III. Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs. IV. Of the Present Ability of America, with some Miscellaneous Reflections* (Philadelphia, 1776), 16.

[152] ibid., 26-7. The 19th of April 1775 marked the beginning of armed hostilities between imperial forces and the Continental Congress at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts.

[153] See for instance Exodus 12:12 ('against all the god of Egypt I will execute judgment: I am the LORD'); and 15:3-18 ('The LORD is a man of war: the LORD is his name. Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red sea […] The LORD shall reign for ever and ever').

heavily on the arguments set out in John Milton's *Pro populo anglicano defensio* of 1651, which condemned human 'monarchy per se [as] an instance of the sin of idolatry'.[154] For Milton, the Hebrew scriptures were unequivocal in their condemnation of the institution: 'God frequently protests that he was extreamly displeas'd with [the Israelites] for asking a King […] As if it were a kind of Idolatry to ask a King, that would even suffer himself to be ador'd, and assume almost Divine Honour to himself. And certainly, they that subject themselves to a worldly Master, and set him above all Laws, come but a little short of chusing a strange God'.[155] Paine likewise points out that the institution of monarchy was initially foreign to Israel:

> Kings had they none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any Being under that title but the Lord of Hosts. And when a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honour, should disapprove of a form of government which so impiously invades the prerogative of Heaven.[156]

The idea of kingship is instead redirected in *Common Sense* towards its only rightful and un-idolatrous application, the sovereignty of God: 'But where, say some, is the King of America? I'll tell you Friend, he reigns above; and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain'.[157] Similarly, *Common Sense* works to push the language of the benevolent and powerful father frequently associated with George III in colonial political discourse away from its idolatrous application to the earthly king, the 'pretended' father, and towards its sole proper object: the *Large Additions to Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of AMERICA* which

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[154] Eric Nelson, *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 114.
[155] John Milton, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salamasii, Defensionem Regiam* (London, 1651), trans. Joseph Washington as *A Defence of the People of England, by John Milton: In Answer to Salmasius's Defence of the King* (Amsterdam [?], 1691), 48.
[156] Paine, *Common Sense*, 8-9.
[157] ibid., 32.

accompanied the pamphlet in its re-editions began with a poem, 'The American Patriot's Prayer', first published in 1759, addressing the

> PARENT of all, Omnipotent
> In Heav'n, and Earth below;
> Thro' all Creation's bounds unspent,
> Whose streams of goodness flow;
>
> Teach me to know from whence I rose,
> And unto what design'd;
> No private aims let me propose
> Since link'd with human kind.[158]

As a nation whose inheritance of Britain's *imperium* encompassed the task of defending the Protestant faith, America's true father and king could be found only in heaven.

The *Boston Gazette*'s observations on the 'Hallelujah!' chorus – inviting the 'whole audience to rise from their seats, and be upon their feet the whole time of the Chorus, in testimony of the humble adoration of the Supreme Governor of the Universe, our great and universal Parent, and in honour of our blessed Redeemer' – work to re-shape the tradition of standing for 'Hallelujah!' away from the royalist religious nationalism it represented in the contemporary British imagination, and towards the unadulterated contemplation of creation and revelation. In so doing they enact the logic of *translatio imperii* by taking ownership of an emblematic British Handelian tradition – since Britons had yielded the *imperium* of power, culture and religious purity this tradition jointly embodied to the infant American republic – and performatively demonstrating how it ought to be understood. The 'Parent' of the *Gazette*'s announcement – invoking the myriad intertexts of the term's use in colonial and early republican political discourse on the question of monarchy – both calls to mind the figure of George III and the tradition of *Messiah* and Handel reception 'revolving around his royal person', and overwrites it: the term properly refers here,

[158] First published in the London *Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette*, 21 April 1759.

as in Paine's *Common Sense,* to the 'Supreme Governor of the Universe'. The contrast is therefore implicitly made between the King's Chapel audience's 'humble' contemplation of the power of God through Handel's music, and the idolatrous, superstitious and popish reverence for the person of the monarch embodied in the contemporary British tradition of standing for 'Hallelujah!'. The performance of this portion of *Messiah* provided the means by which the Bostonians gathered in the King's Chapel in January 1787 could play their part in the process of *translatio imperii* which loomed large in the imaginations of their American contemporaries: the new nation taking up the guardianship of the virtues of liberty and rational Protestantism which, they held, Britain had abandoned. The King's Chapel performances responded to the interlocking civic and federal crises of the 1780s by fostering a sense of national belonging to accompany the display of urban unity discussed above: once again through the performance of Handel's music. The processes were, of course, mutually reinforcing. Cultivating national feeling through performing and thinking about Handel's music worked in a fashion analogous to the civic reconstruction and integration efforts exemplified by the rebuilders of the city of Boston after the destruction of the siege and the revisers of the liturgy at the King's Chapel. While following the 'abominable Ravages' wrought by the breach, it might have felt like starting from scratch was the only option, in the end, you worked with what you'd got.

Washington, Handel, and the American 'chosen people'

In the autumn of 1789, fresh from his installation as the first President of the United States, George Washington undertook the first of a series of tours of the principal settlements of the new federal union. He would visit all thirteen states by 1791, but began with a tour of New England. Washington hoped, as he wrote, to 'acquire

knowledge of the face of the Country the growth and Agriculture there of and the temper and disposition of the Inhabitants towards the new government'.[159] The aim was nation building, variously conceived: to supervise the economic recovery in one of the key regions of the new federal union and, it was hoped, to 'forg[e] the emotional ties with the federal government that we might label as the effective bonds of nationalism or patriotism'.[160] Washington was greeted with pomp and ceremony throughout his journey, and though his visit to Boston was on occasion overshadowed by the tensions between local and national government which had influenced the 'anti-federalist' opposition to the new constitution and would come to dominate the factional politics of the ensuing decades, Bostonians were not to be outdone.[161] The celebrations involved the construction of new monumental architecture, elaborately choreographed street theatre, and music: events were planned to culminate with a 'concert of sacred music' for the President held at the King's Chapel, directed by William Selby, on 27 October with a programme which again included numbers from *Messiah* and *Samson*:[162]

> On Wednesday next, will be performed at the Stone Chapel in this town, an Oratorio, or, Concert of Sacred Musick […] PART THE FIRST 1. Full anthem—composed by Mr. Selby 2. The favourite air in the Messiah, (composed by the celebrated Handel) 'Comfort ye my people'—by Mr. Rea 3. Organ Concerto—by Mr. Selby 4. The favourite air in the oratorio of Samson (composed by the celebrated Handel 'Let the bright Seraphim'—by Mr, Rea 5. Full anthem, composed by Mr. Selby PART THE SECOND The oratorio of *Jonah*, complete, the solos by Messrs. Read, Ray, Brewer and Dr. Rogerson […] as the first performers of this country will be joined by the excellent band of this Most

[159] 5 October 1789 in Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (eds.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, 6 vols. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), V: 452-3.
[160] T. H. Breen, *George Washington's Journey: The President Forges a New Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 4.
[161] On the tensions between Washington and the governor of Massachusetts John Hancock during his 1789 visit see Breen, *George Washington's Journey*, 175-184; on factional divisions during the period of the composition of the constitution and during the Federal Period see Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 200ff,; Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788*, new edn. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), passim; and Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 282-92.
[162] *Massachusetts Centinel*, 28 October 1789. The concert was initially planned to take place on 21 October as a fundraiser for building work at the King's Chapel but was postponed to be performed in Washington's honour: see Arthur S. Marks, 'Benjamin West's "Jonah": A Previously Overlooked Illustration for the First Oratorio Composed in the New World', *The American Art Journal* 28/1-2 (1997), 122-137 (132-135).

> Christian Majesty's squadron, the Publick will have every reason to expect a more finished and delightful Performance than ever was exhibited in the United States.[163]

We cannot be sure which items of this projected programme were in fact performed for Washington, since when he 'honoured the Stone-Chapel with his presence to hear the Concert of Sacred Music', the 'indisposition of several of the first performers' meant that the full programme was impossible to present, and the President heard merely 'Several pieces' from it 'which merited and received applause'.[164] Washington himself simply recorded that 'at 11 [I] went to an Oratorio' (probably using the term in the same sense as the organisers of the event, simply as a synonym for concert of vocal music).[165]

Whichever items were in fact given, the makeup of the intended programme remains intriguing. In many ways the works programmed were, as Arthur S. Marks puts it, 'remarkably suited to the occasion'.[166] In performing a concert of Handel's music and more recently composed music in an obviously Handelian idiom and genre – like the oratorio *Jonah* by the Jamaican composer Samuel Felsted (1743-1802), first published in 1775 – for Washington, the logic of *translatio imperii* is once more perceptible.[167] Frequent uncertainties and disagreements about the styles and protocols appropriate to Washington as the head of state of the republic abounded during the early years of his presidency, often in connection with broader anxieties about the perceived legitimacy of the young United States as a whole on the (European) international stage. In what David Shield and Fredrika Teute have termed the 'Republican Court' which formed around Washington from 1789

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[163] 'the excellent band of this Most Christian Majesty's squadron' refers to musicians from the French naval squadron of two ships of the line and four frigates under Henri Jean Baptiste, vicomte de Pontèves-Giens which had arrived in Boston on 3 September. See Jackson and Twohig (eds.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, V: 459-60.
[164] *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789.
[165] 27 October 1789 in Jackson and Twohig (eds.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, V: 477-9.
[166] Marks, 'Benjamin West's "Jonah"', 135.
[167] On *Jonah*, see Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, 311ff.

onwards, it was widely judged to be vital that a good deal of formality should be observed: as John Adams put it, 'neither Dignity, nor Authority, can be Supported in Human Minds collected into nations or any great numbers without a Splendour and Majisty, in Some degree, proportioned to them […] if the State and Pomp, essential to this great Department, are not in a good degree preserved, it will be in vain for America to hope for consideration, with foreign Powers'.[168] In this early period, a consensus emerged that Washington was in effect a monarch, and had to assume the dignity of a king to convince the republic's own citizens, as well as the 'crowned Heads' of Europe and their representatives, of its legitimacy.[169] 'You are now a king, under a different name', wrote one of Washington's correspondents in 1789: 'That you may reign long and happy over us, and never for a moment cease to be the public favorite is a wish that I can truly say is congenial to my heart'.[170]

Royal styles therefore had to be adopted. After Washington took the oath of office in April 1789, he was acclaimed from the balcony of the New York City Hall with a republican *vivat*: 'Long Live George Washington, President of the United States'.[171] John Adams held that 'A royal, or at least princely title will be found indispensably necessary to maintain the reputation, authority, and dignity of the president'.[172] A committee of the Senate concluded in 1789 that Washington should be addressed with the style 'His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties', and though the recommendation did not have lasting consequences, Washington was frequently addressed as 'your

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[168] David S. Shields and Fredrika J. Teute, 'The Republican Court and the Historiography of a Women's Domain in the Public Sphere', *Journal of the Early Republic* 35/2 (2015), 169-183, and 'Jefferson in Washington: Domesticating Manners in the Republican Court', *Journal of the Early Republic* 35/2 (2015), 237-259. Quotation from John Adams to George Washington, 17 May 1789, in *Papers of John Adams*: XIX [*February 1787 – May 1789*, ed. Sara Georgini], 458-460.
[169] ibid., 459.
[170] James McHenry to George Washington, 29 March 1789, in *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series*, 22 vols. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987-2020), I [*24 September 1788 – 31 March 1789*, ed. Dorothy Twohig]: 461-2.
[171] Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 209.
[172] Quoted in Breen, *George Washington's Journey*, 53.

Excellency' as the king's colonial governors had been.[173] Washington adopted the royal practice of giving weekly levees on Tuesdays to 'preserve the dignity & respect which was due' to his office and government – Washington, attired 'in black velvet ordered from Europe at $5 a yard, along with yellow gloves, silver knee buckles, and glistening dress sword in a white leather scabbard', received guests in a chair-less room, lest any of them should commit the *faux pas* of sitting down – and the many tours of which the Boston visit in 1789 formed a part were obviously in a sense royal progresses (though Washington himself was reluctant to acknowledge this).[174]

The manner of his reception in Boston did little to reduce this impression, with his procession over the Neck into the heart of the town passing under a newly constructed triumphal arch which spanned the entirety of Cornhill Street in front of the Town House 'from side to side' (**Figure 3**).[175] As Washington noted in his diary,

> we passed through the Citizens classed in their different professions, and under their own banners, till we came to the State House; from which, across the Street, an Arch was thrown; in the front of which was this Inscription—"To the Man who unites all hearts" and on the other—"To Columbia's favourite Son" and on one side thereof next the State House, in a panel decorated with a trophy, composed of the arms of the United States—of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—and our French Allies, crowned with a wreath of Laurel was this Inscription—"Boston relieved March 17th. 1776." This arch was handsomely ornamented, and over the Center of it a Canopy was erected 20 feet high with the American Eagle perched on the top.[176]

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[173] David P. Currie, *The Constitution in Congress: The Federalist Period, 1789-1801* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 34-5; and Benjamin Fishbourn to George Washington, 25 September 1789, in *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series*, IV [*8 September 1789 – 15 January 1790*, ed. Dorothy Twohig], 81-83. See also Kathleen Bartoloni-Tuazon, *For Fear of An Elective King: George Washington and the Presidential Title Controversy of 1789* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

[174] George Washington to David Stuart, 26 July 1789, in *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series*, III [*15 June 1789 – 5 September 1789*, ed. Dorothy Twohig], 81-83; Richard Norton Smith, *Patriarch: George Washington and the New American Nation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), 25; Richard J. Ellis, *Presidential Travel: The Journey from George Washington to George W. Bush* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2008), 20-21. Abigail Adams noted that Washington's comportment at these levees displayed 'a grace dignity & ease, that leaves Royal George far behind him': Abigail Adams to Mary Smith Cranch, 9 August 1789, in C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, and Mary T. Claffey (eds.), *Adams Family Correspondence: March 1787 – December 1789* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 397-401.

[175] Breen, *George Washington's Journey*, 192-3.

[176] 24 October 1789, in Jackson and Twohig (eds.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, V: 473-6.

Though the architectural specifics of Charles Bullfinch's design were Italianate, the concept and execution both call to mind monumental architectural gestures such as the triumphal arch erected at Westminster Hall by William Kent for the coronation of George II in 1727, which had been 'topped by profiles of George II and Caroline, alongside the figures of Fame, Neptune, and Britannia'.[177]

Figure 3: Samuel Hill, *View of the Triumphal Arch and Colonnade Erected in Boston in Honor of the President of the United States, Oct. 24, 1789* (Boston, 1790). Engraving. 10.2 x 16.7 cm. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Thus while it is to a degree the case that the Boston celebrations for Washington's 1789 visit represented 'an extraordinary celebration of republican equality' (particularly in the procession of 'different processions […] under their own banners' Washington noted), it is also the case that the events enacted, through the logic of

[177] Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 100.

translatio imperii, the transfer of authority and dignity from the imperial sovereign the former colonies had rejected to the holder of the newly created 'Office [which] by its legal Authority, defined in the Constitution, has no equal in the World, excepting those only which are held by crowned Heads'.[178] The same impression was also conveyed by the newly written musical contributions to the festivities, both with music from William Selby: two choral odes, *Great Washington the Hero's Come*, sung 'on the arrival of The President at the State House', and *Behold the Man! Whom Virtues Raise*, which was due to be performed alongside Handel's and Felsted's music at the King's Chapel.[179] The latter suggested that, following a now accomplished process of *translatio*, Washington would now represent the envy of the Old World: 'Thy glory beams in *Eastern* skies, / See! Europe shares the sacred flame— / And hosts of patriot heroes rise, / To emulate thy glorious name.'[180] The 'glorious ardour' burning 'far transferr'd from [its] lov'd native soil' imagined by Mercy Otis Warren had indeed come to pass, with the New World now illuminating the Old.[181] In the former Ode, performed as Washington passed under the triumphal arch, the *topos* was applied with greater specificity:

> GREAT *WASHINGTON* the Hero's come,
> Each heart exulting hears the sound,
> Thousands to their Deliverer throng,
> And shout him welcome all around!
> *Now in full Chorus join the song,*
> *And shout aloud great* WASHINGTON.
>
> There view *Columbia*'s favorite Son,
> Her Father, Saviour, Friend and Guide!
> There see th'immortal Washington!
> His Country's Glory, Boast and Pride!
> *Now in full Chorus, &c.*
>
> […]

[178] John Adams to George Washington, 17 May 1789, in *Papers of John Adams*, XIX [*February 1787 – May 1789*, ed. Sara Georgini]: 458-460; Breen, *George Washington's Journey*, 196.
[179] *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789. Both are discussed by Nicholas Temperley in *Bound For America*, 43-6. The latter was substituted in the planned programme for Selby's anthem which was due to have opened the concert: see *Massachusetts Centinel*, 27 October 1789.
[180] 'ODE. To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, on his Arrival at BOSTON', in *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789.
[181] 'A Political Reverie', in *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*, 192.

> Nor yet alone through *Paria*'s shores,
> Her fame her mighty trumpet blown;
> E'en *Europe, Afric, Asia,* hears,
> And emulates the deeds he's done!
> *Now in full Chorus, &c.*[182]

The Old World again is imagined humbled by the New, now through a Washington figured as the father of the nation. While the *Boston Gazette*'s critic in 1787, following Thomas Paine, had sought to redirect the tradition of standing for 'Hallelujah!' away from the glorification of George III and towards 'the Supreme Governor of the Universe, our great and universal Parent', the Ode performed in 1789 transferred the status of national political fatherhood directly from the imperial king to the new republican monarch of the former colonies.[183] The same logic underpins the *Gazette of the United-States*'s description of the audience assembled at the triumphal arch to see Washington and hear the Ode:

> The number of people collected to see their beloved President, it is almost impossible to compute—The streets were crouded—
>
> *You would have thought the very windows mov'd*
> *To see him as he pass'd, so many young and old,*
> *Thro casements darted their desiring eyes.*
>
> But from the precautions taken, and more from the occasion of their meeting, no one accident happened to mar the pleasure enjoyed on the auspicious day.[184]

The embedded quotation, from Shakespeare's *Richard II*, describes the entry of Bolingbroke (now king Henry IV) and the captive king Richard into London. Though Henry's usurpation of the crown is not yet complete, and Richard is still

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[182] 'ODE. TO COLUMBIA's FAVORITE SON. Sung on the Arrival of The President at the State House', in *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789. 'Paria' stands metonymically for the Americas: the Paria peninsula in modern Venezuela was the first point on the mainland of the New World Columbus touched, in 1498. See Robert H. Fuson, 'The Columbian Voyages', in John Logan Allen (ed.), *North American Exploration: A New World Disclosed* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 127-188 (179).

[183] On the transfer of the metaphor of national fatherhood from Britain to America and monarch to president in the early republic, and this idea's afterlife, see Heinz Tschachler, *George Washington and Political Fatherhood: The Endurance of a National Myth* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2020), 29-80.

[184] *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789. Italics added.

living, Henry's legitimacy as king is confirmed to the speaker, the Duke of York, by the contrasting reaction of the assembled crowds to Bolingbroke and Richard: 'heaven hath a hand in these events / To whose high will we bound our calm contents. / To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now'.[185] The scene imagined by the correspondent of the *Gazette of the United-States* therefore invokes the ghostly presence of the still living but deposed monarch, on whom 'men's eyes / Did scowl', to contrast with the joyfully acclaimed new king. The transfer of authority and legitimacy is that between two monarchs, though it is accomplished (as York and the *Gazette*'s correspondent seem to imply) through collective popular demand.[186] The proposed programme of the King's Chapel similarly conjures the ghost of the king only to dispel it. Following the Westminster Handel Commemorations beginning in 1784, which had firmly established the 'Handelomania that revolved around [the] royal person' which governed British reception of the composer's music, a Handelian bill of fare would likely have seemed the only appropriate way to honour 'His Most Patriotic Majesty', king George's rightful successor by conquest and popular acclaim.[187] Honouring Washington with a grand Handelian spectacle would have been understood as another part of the 'creation and enhancement of a quasi-royal political culture around his person and leadership', and therefore another means of asserting that the *imperium* latterly possessed by Britain had been ceded to their successors across the Atlantic.[188]

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[185] Act V, Scene 2: in Paul Yachnin and Anthony B. Dawson (eds.), *The Oxford Shakespeare: Richard II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 260.
[186] York's famous metaphor is of a theatre and its audience: 'As in a theatre the eyes of men / After a well-graced actor leaves the stage / Are idly bent on him that enters next, / Thinking his prattle to be tedious, / Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes / Did scowl on gentle Richard'. Ibid.
[187] The future governor of Massachusetts James Sullivan proposed 'His Most Patriotic Majesty' as the text of the inscription when the concept of a triumphal arch for Washington was first mooted: see Breen, *George Washington's Journey*, 190-1.
[188] Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 50. Washington Irving famously reflected in the early nineteenth century on the way Washington had come to act as a direct personal replacement for the king in the early post-war years in the short story *Rip van Winkle* (1819): a New York colonist awaking from a miraculous sleep in the federal United States, returns to the 'small inn, designated by a rubicund portrait of his majesty George the Third' he had previously frequented. To his

Certainly the residents of Trenton, New Jersey had come to the same conclusion when planning their reception of Washington, on his way from Virginia to his inauguration in New York, in April 1789, where as he passed under a triumphal arch constructed for the occasion he was welcomed with 'See the Conquering Hero Comes' from *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV 63): a straightforward choice which makes sense on multiple levels.[189] The actual Handel movements selected for performance in the King's Chapel in October 1789 are perhaps more unexpected: from Selby and his associates' Handelian repertory as demonstrated in the 1786 and 1787 King's Chapel events, no choruses were selected – the 'glorious *Allelujahs*' were left to the Handelian choruses of Felsted's *Jonah* – and just one aria and one recitative. The suitability for the occasion of the text of 'Let the bright Seraphim', removed from the clarifying context in the *Samson* libretto, was perhaps not immediately evident:

> Let the bright Seraphims in burning Row,
> Their loud, up-lifted Angel-Trumpets blow:
> Let the Cherubick Host, in tuneful Choirs,
> Touch their immortal Harps with golden Wires.

The role of the 'Angel-Trumpets' as the markers of the providential victory of God's people in the oratorio – 'Praise we *Jehovah* then, who to the End / Not parted from him, but assisted still, / 'Till Desolation fill'd *Philistia*'s Lands, / Honour and Freedom giv'n to *Jacob*'s Seed'[190] – would have been left largely to the associations of

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bemusement he finds a strange flag flying outside, 'a singular assemblage of stars and stripes', but the inn sign is both familiar and unfamiliar: 'He recognised on the sign […] the ruby face of King George, under which he had smoked so many a peaceful pipe, but even this was singularly metamorphosed. The red coat was changed for one of blue and buff, a sword was stuck in the hand instead of a sceptre, the head was decorated with a cocked hat, and underneath was painted in large characters, GENERAL WASHINGTON'. [Washington Irving], 'Rip van Winkle. A Posthumous Writing of Diedrich Knickerbocker', in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., No. I.* (New York, 1819), 59-94 (67, 82).

[189] See Laura Lohman, *Hail Columbia! American Music and Politics in the Early Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 53. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 47-50.

[190] [Newburgh Hamilton], *Samson. An Oratorio. As It Is Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. Alter'd and Adapted to the Stage from the Samson Agonistes of John Milton. Set to Musick by George Frederick Handel* (London, 1743), 32.

the aria's *obbligato* trumpet (as surveyed in the previous chapter) to convey. The appropriateness of its selection becomes more apparent when it is set alongside what was planned to precede it: the opening *accompagnato* from *Messiah.*

> Comfort ye my People, saith your Lord: speak ye Comfortably to *Jerusalem*, and cry unto her, that her Warfare is accomplished, that her Iniquity is pardoned. The Voice of him the cryeth in the Wilderness, prepare ye the Way of the Lord, make straight in the Desert a Highway for our Lord.[191]

Musically, this might seem a more eccentric choice: a fairly short accompanied recitative, presented, according to the recorded programme, without the aria which follows it in its original context (and to which it is linked tonally, with the recitative closing in a key in which it did not begin – the local subdominant, but the tonic of the following aria – leaving the *accompagnato* performed alone harmonically lopsided). This tonal quirk may indicate that its accompanying aria would also have been performed (as it had been in 1786):

> Every Valley shall be exalted, and every Mountain and Hill made low, the Crooked straight, and the rough Places plain.[192]

The typological implications of the recitative alone, however, will have been sufficient for a Bostonian audience of 1789 to recognise the music's appositeness for the occasion.

As pointed out above, part of the theological, social and political task accomplished by the revisers of the King's Chapel's liturgy in the 1780s involved a specific application of the logic of *translatio imperii*: the appropriation of the concept of the members of the King's Church as God's chosen people enacted in the Prayer Book liturgies which were the revisers' sources. Their efforts to integrate the chapel into the rebuilding community of post-siege Boston involved retaining, for instance,

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[191] [Charles Jennens], *Messiah: An Oratorio, Compos'd by Mr. Handel* (Dublin, 1742), 2; cf. Isaiah 40:1-3.
[192] ibid.; cf. Isaiah 40:4.

the 1662 responses – '*Min*. Endue thy Ministers with righteousness; *Asnw.* And make thy chosen people joyful' – within a new republican framework, staking a claim on behalf of Bostonians and citizens of the new federal union more widely to a providential election which, as the course of the war demonstrated, no longer applied to Britons. Like the broader trope of *translatio imperii*, versions of this claim had been made for many years in the American colonies. Many New England puritans of the early seventeenth century already understood themselves, and their relationship to the homeland they had abandoned, in this fashion: while the English were frequently reminded from the pulpit that they were a nation that God 'hath fostered as tenderly, and adorned as graciously as ever he did Judea', John Winthrop imagined his brethren in the Massachusetts Bay settlement as the faithful remnant of that former chosen people who now like sheep had gone astray.[193] As Daniel Rogers has written, Winthrop's celebrated sermon *A Modell of Christian Charity* (1630) constituted one of the most 'striking acts of the English Reformation' in its 'appropriation of the language of God's chosen people, [its] repurposing of the scriptural text for the New Englander's own circumstances, [its] reading of God's providential hand in every detail of their venture'.[194] As was the case at the King's Chapel, the revolution and its aftermath prompted many Americans to take up this trope with renewed vigour as a way of making sense of their present circumstances. While the *topos* of *translatio imperii* more generally often presented itself as means by which Americans could negotiate their cultural and political inheritance as former Englishmen and 'un-become British', the notion of Americans as a new 'chosen people' often seemed to speak directly to the possibilities open to the young United

[193] From a sermon delivered at Banbury in 1623, quoted in Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 289.
[194] Daniel T. Rodgers, *As a City on a Hill: The Story of America's Most Famous Lay Sermon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 56-7.

States in a 'continental' settler-colonial context.[195] The vast, by European standards, territorial expanses of the states and the possibilities for westward colonial expansion were frequently understood by typological analogy with the return of the exiled Hebrews to the promised land, when the 'wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose'.[196] 'We have an immensity of land courting the industry of the husbandman,' wrote Thomas Jefferson in 1787, contemplating the question of how the United States might hope to compete economically with an industrialising Europe: 'Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which might otherwise escape from the face of the earth. While we have land to labour then […] let our work-shops remain in Europe.'[197] For others, though, the typology was far more specific. As David Copeland has written, 'the covenantal relationship between the chosen people—Americans—and God assumed center stage in the biblical understanding of the conflict with Great Britain' and its aftermath more generally.[198] Almost the whole history of the Biblical Hebrews – including 'the history of the children of Israel in Egypt, their sufferings and oppression under the tyrant Pharaoh, their remarkable deliverance by the hands of Moses out of the state of bondage and oppression, and the trials and murmurings in the wilderness' – seemed to find its analogue in the present reality of the former colonists: the more compelling the parallel, the more

[195] See Alan Taylor, 'Continental Crossings', *Journal of the Early Republic* 24/2 (2004), 182-188.
[196] Isaiah 35:1. This return from exile might be imagined either, as in Isaiah, as the return to the promised land after the Babylonian captivity, or as the Egyptian Exodus.
[197] William Peden (ed.), *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1787] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 164-5. The force of the *topos* in the contemporary imagination is demonstrated by its use by the Deist Jefferson.
[198] David Copeland, 'Religion and News in Eighteenth-Century America', in Diane Winston (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American News Media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 23-36 (31). See also Eran Shalev, *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 15-49.

Americans could take heart in the reality of the broader providential *translatio* they hoped was under way.[199]

As well as in the revision of the King's Chapel liturgy, in Boston this trope was memorably instantiated in the sermon delivered by Samuel Cooper, the minister of the congregationalist Brattle Street Church, to the assembled members of Massachusetts political class – including Hancock the governor, the Senate and House of Representatives – on the adoption of the state constitution in 1780. Preaching on a pericope from Jeremiah on the return of Israel from captivity to 'the land that [God] gave their fathers', Cooper contended that 'The Prophecy seems to have been made for ourselves, it is so exactly descriptive of that important, that comprehensive, that essential civil blessing, which kindles the lustre, and diffuses the joy of the present day'.[200] The 'striking resemblance between our own circumstances and those of the antient Israelites' was set out at length: Cooper's audience in 1780 were encouraged to view themselves as, like the biblical Hebrews,

> a nation chosen by God a theatre for the display of some of the most astonishing dispensations of his Providence. Like that nation we rose from oppression, and emerged "from the House of Bondage": Like that nation we were led into a wilderness, as a refuge from tyranny, and a preparation for the enjoyment of our civil and religious rights: Like that nation we have been pursued through the sea, by the armed hand of power, which, but for the signal interpositions of Heaven, must before now have totally defeated the noble purpose of our emigration […] we have been corrected by his justice, and at the same time remarkably supported and defended by his mercy […] This day, which forms a new æra in our annals, exhibits a testimony to all the world, that contrary to our deserts, and amidst all our troubles, the blessing promised in our text to the afflicted seed of Abraham is come upon us.[201]

The precision of the typological application was offered as an encouragement to view the republican system of government of the state of Massachusetts, and soon

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[199] Nicholas Street, *The American States Acting over the Part of the Children of Israel in the Wilderness, and thereby Impeding their Entrance into Canaan's Rest: Or, the Human Heart Discovering Itself under Trials. A Sermon Preached at East-Haven, April, 1777. And Occasionally at Branford* (New Haven, 1777), 3.
[200] Jeremiah 30:3; Cooper, *A Sermon Preached before His Excellency John Hancock, Esq*, 1. Cooper's pericope is Jeremiah 30:20-21.
[201] ibid., 2-3.

the federal United States, as also divinely sanctioned, since on the Israelites' return to the promised land from Babylon the monarchy was not restored: 'the Hebrew nation, lately redeemed from tyranny, had now a civil and religious constitution of their own choice, and were governed by laws to which they had given their solemn consent […] the Hebrew government, tho' a theocracy, was yet as to the outward part of it, a free republic, and […] the sovereignty resided in the people'.[202]

Again, for Cooper, his Boston congregation's identity as God's holy nation interacted with a broader sense of an ongoing *translatio* from the Old World to the New. Westward the course of empire had taken its way, and continued providential westward expansion within the American continent would be crucial to America's assumption of Europe's *imperium*:

> the natural features of America are particularly striking, Our mountains, our rivers and lakes have a singular air of dignity and grandeur. May our conduct correspond to the face of our country! At present an immense part of it lies as nature hath left it, and human labour and art have done but little, and brightened only some small specks of a continent that can afford ample means of subsistence to man, many millions of the human race. It remains with us and our posterity, to "make the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the desert blossom as the rose;" to establish the honour and happiness of this new world, as far as it must be justly our own, and to invite the injured and oppressed, the worthy and the good to these shores.[203]

This glorious future (a vision which of course erases the existing Native American inhabitants of the land) was assured to Cooper's listeners, if they could remain resolute through the final stages of the war:

> At present the voice of providence, the call of our still invaded country, and the cry of every thing dear to us, all unite to rouze us to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour; upon the success of which all our free constitutions, all our hopes depend. I need not enumerate the former or more recent events of the war, and the favours or chastisements of heaven sent to us in these events: They are known to you; they cannot be forgotten: God grant they may be properly improved! Thro' his aid, amidst all our mistakes and errors, we have already done great things, but "our warfare is not yet accomplished".[204]

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[202] ibid., 11. As noted above, the same point was made by Paine in *Common Sense*, 8-9.
[203] ibid., 52-3; embedded quotation Isaiah 35:1.
[204] ibid., 45.

Cooper manipulates the embedded quotation to remind them that the restoration promised to God's people and their land on their release from captivity in Isaiah had not yet come to pass, while the war was still not yet won. Yet (at least as the organisers of the event planned it) when nine years later Boston's political class, assembled in the King's Chapel in honour of the newly elected president Washington, heard the same Isaianic words of comfort in Handel's setting from the opening of *Messiah*, they heard them in their original form. Their warfare *was* now accomplished. They sat in the presence of the general who had successfully prosecuted the war and the republican monarch who would now lead them in their divinely appointed task: in the words of Selby's Ode, 'His country sav'd, the contest o'er, / Sweet peace restor'd his toils to crown.'[205]

The event's multi-faceted application of the logic of *translatio* allowed it resonate with the themes of the wider celebrations around Washington's visit to Boston in 1789. As in the events of 1786-7, the civic-national project of re-construction was made to work through a process of *translatio* from Britain across the Atlantic in which the rightful guardianship of prominent cultural figures and institutions like Handel and the traditions of Handel performance was taken up, 'tho' far transferred from their lov'd native soil'. In the presence of Washington, who as the logic of his New England progress and reception in Boston demonstrated, felt obliged to play the part of the republican monarch in the interests of the infant federal United States, the performance of Handelian spectacular took on the additional burden of acting as a response and rejoinder to events like the royal Handelomania of the Westminster Commemorations. Such events, in Boston as in Britain, would 'do the highest honour to the nation where they are encouraged, and give superior dignity to the Monarch who patronizes them', and so would work to

[205] 'ODE. TO COLUMBIA's FAVORITE SON', in *Gazette of the United-States*, 4 November 1789.

establish Washington (like Henry Bolingbroke) as a 'rightful usurper' of a reigning monarch, with a legitimacy deriving from providence and popular acclaim, and the United States as the rightful inheritor of the British *imperium*.[206] And, once more through Handel's music, the event would aim to give its audience reassurance amid present socio-economic adversity and hope for a future of divinely mandated greatness by reminding them of their status as God's new elect. A future was at hand in which, as the congregation of the King's Chapel now prayed each day at matins and evensong, God would make his chosen people joyful: when the desert would be made a highway for the Lord.

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[206] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of 26 May 1784.

Conclusion (The United States, 1815-1966)

This study has explored the early American reception of Handel's music through a series of case studies, each of which stressed the significance that those who performed and encountered the composer's music placed on those events as moments of cultural transfer. It has also shown how the 'complex transformative process of [...] reinterpretation' which such transfer entails revealed both the rhetorical power and the ideological malleability of Handel's music.[1] The divisions of pre-war colonial society and the transformed political landscape of the newly independent United States meant that the composer's music was subject to constant re-interpretation and re-negotiation of the meanings it had previously articulated. In New York in 1770 *Messiah* appeared by turns as part of the process of cultural and economic colonial Anglicisation which historians have linked with the origins of the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 70s, and as the rallying point for New York's Tories as they argued for a differently conceived form of integration of colony and metropolis via the King's Church. In the Boston of the early 1770s, Handel's music was more conspicuously contested in opposing performances of *Zadok the Priest* and the 'Hallelujah!' chorus, each speaking on behalf of different visions of the future of the colony and the empire. In the context of the richly semiotic soundscape of Boston's imperial political rituals, the fresh meanings this music acquired across the Atlantic allowed it to intervene on both sides of the colonial city's widening divide. Performing music which in Britain was already bound up with the monarchy and its politics allowed Bostonians to articulate their conceptions of an institution whose contested constitutional role was central to the repeated crises which would result in

[1] Matthias Middell, 'European History and Cultural Transfer', *Diogenes* 48/1 (2000), 23-30 (27).

war and independence. Those meanings had again to be negotiated in post-war, post-independence Boston. The challenges presented by the cultural inheritance of the colonial period were exemplified by the question of how to understand Handel's music. The logic of *translatio imperii* allowed citizens of the infant republic to stake their own claim to a repertory which was at the same time becoming established as the national music of Britain. The royal Handelomania of contemporary Britain could therefore be redeployed in the service of the project of American nation-building.

Some of the possibilities for further research on the reception of Handel's music in America along the investigative and methodological lines employed in this study can be suggested by a whistle-stop tour of some key moments in this process in the two centuries that followed the period the case studies cover. As this brief survey shows, the dynamics established in the initial moments of transfer surveyed in this study set a pattern which can be observed repeatedly in Handel's subsequent American afterlife. Handel's music repeatedly changed hue, as successive interpreters found in it compelling articulations of ideas and aesthetics often strikingly antithetical to those perceived by previous generations or contemporaries. And time and again Americans found themselves preoccupied with the way their own Handelian traditions related to their European sources, and what that might have to say about the relationship between American and European culture more broadly.

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In the nineteenth century North American Handelian traditions built on the foundations established in the colonial period while continuing to respond to new

developments in European practice. The most significant of these was the birth of the amateur choral society, often identified with the formation in England of the Birmingham Oratorio Choral Society in 1806 as an outgrowth of the city's triennial charitable music festival. The most famous of its American imitators, Boston's Handel and Haydn Society – a still-surviving pillar of American musical life – was founded in 1815 in connection with the city's celebrations of the Peace of Ghent: the conclusion of the War of 1812 and so also of the 'long' period of revolutionary conflict between the former colonies and the British empire that had begun in the 1770s. A pre-arranged concert of 'the oratorios of the most favorite authors of Europe' on 16 February 1815 organised by Boston's Second Baptist Singing Society became, when the news of the peace reached Boston on 13 February, an impromptu thanksgiving.[2] The 'Hallelujah!' chorus and selections from *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV 63) and the Dettingen *Te Deum* (HWV 283) – works both originally associated with Hanoverian military exploits – became the music with which Bostonians celebrated victory over the British empire and its Native American allies. The success of this event prompted the organising of an official thanksgiving concert on 22 February: also the date of the late George Washington's birthday. Members of the city and state's political class processed from the Town House to the King's Chapel, much as they had throughout the colonial period, to hear selections from Handel's music interspersed with portions of the chapel's liturgy: more from *Judas Maccabaeus* and the Dettingen *Te Deum*, and the chorus 'The Lord Shall Reign' from *Israel in Egypt* (HWV 54).[3] Again, as had been the case repeatedly during the eighteenth century,

[2] See Howard Smither, *The History of the Oratorio*, 4 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977-2000), IV (*The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* [2000]): 392. Quotation from *Boston Advertiser*, 10 February 1815.
[3] Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts, Vol. I: From the Foundation of the Society through its Seventy-Fifth Season: 1815-1890* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1883-1893), 36.

the performance was directed by an English *émigré*, George K. Jackson (1745-1822).[4] And once more, the participants in the celebration found themselves comparing their efforts with the standards they believed were maintained in the Old World: 'the concert electrified a crowded auditory', wrote one observer, 'and received most unqualified applause from strangers and citizens who have attended the celebrated jubilees in Europe […] it was the best music ever performed in Boston within [my] remembrance'.[5] The process of *translatio imperii et studii* to accompany military victory was still incomplete.

Attendees at these Handelian thanksgivings were prompted by them to take action: 'the impressive services of the Peace Jubilee gave the primary impulse to the establishment of the Handel and Haydn Society'.[6] The organisation they founded in the Spring of 1815 had a constitution that explicitly aimed to revitalise American music making, which the society's founders regarded as 'far from exciting the feelings or exercising the powers to which it is accustomed in the Old World':

> Too long have those to whom heaven has given a voice to perform and an ear that can enjoy music neglected [the] science […] and so absolute has been their neglect, that most of the works of the greatest composers of sacred music have never found those in our land who have even attempted their performance. […] The undersigned do hereby agree to form themselves into a society, by the name of the Handel and Haydn Society, for the purpose of improving the style of performing sacred music, and the introducing into more general use the works of Handel and Haydn and other eminent composers.[7]

That the society's founding members were conscious of their efforts as the continuation of the process of transatlantic cultural transfer is evident in the reminiscences of one such, James Sharp, of the organisation's early years. As an Englishman by birth,

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[4] See Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 123-194; and Smither, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 392.
[5] *Columbian Centinel*, 25 February 1815.
[6] Robert C. Winthrop, opening address at Boston First Musical Festival, 21 May 1857; quoted in Perkins and Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts, Vol. I*, 36.
[7] ibid., 39.

> In 1816 I had passed twenty years of my early life in England,—that twenty years which usually determines and fixes a man's tastes and habits. Music, vocal music, was my passion, and I had lived in a community that encouraged it. My musical companions were the choir of Winchester Cathedral […] and the Southampton Glee Club; and when, on Saturday, April 3, 1816, I went on board (at the London docks) the ship 'Miverva' for Boston, I gave to my friends my little musical library, supposing of course, that I should never again, till I returned to England, hear an anthem, much less an oratorio.[8]

Yet like the appropriately named vessel on which Sharp made his initial voyage, wisdom and learning were frequently plying a westward course Sharp had not anticipated:

> After a three months' boisterous voyage, I arrived in the town of Boston […] I resided at South End; had been in Boston perhaps two weeks, when one Sunday evening I took my solitary walk […] The day was closing, the shades of evening were falling upon the quiet streets, and as I passed occasionally a house where I could see the happy family gathered around the evening lamp, I felt my loneliness; I realized the absence of those friends and those enjoyments from which a wide ocean separated me. Just at this moment, while my feelings were thus subdued, a breath of soft and distant music floated in the air around me,—so peculiar and so unexplained that my fancy almost suggested some supernatural agency. Listening, I discovered from which quarter the sound came, and, guided in that direction, I ascertained more and more distinctly the *theme* that had so fascinated me. It was the favorite minor-keyed and well-remembered subject of one of Handel's choruses, 'And He shall purify the sons of Levi.' You may imagine that I, by entreaty, found admittance to the meeting. That evening I witnessed for the first time a rehearsal of the Handel and Haydn Society,—a society in whose ranks and whose engagements I have passed some of the happiest hours of fifty years of my life […] In this unpretending place were prepared those performances which, afterwards in the King's Chapel and elsewhere, secured to this rising Society reputation and respect; and at these primary meetings were found those gifted men whose judicious and untiring efforts guided the Society to its present elevated and permanent position.[9]

Sharp's account of the apparently providential transatlantic establishment of a Handelian tradition recapitulates many of the themes evident in the design of and contemporary reactions to the Boston Handel performances of the late 1780s discussed above.

As was the case with the British choral societies of the same period, the core repertoire of the society's concerts consisted of just a handful of Handel's oratorios:

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[8] Address to the society at a meeting in 1866, quoted ibid., 40.
[9] ibid., 41.

between 1818 and 1915, the society performed *Messiah* 120, *Samson* 34, *Judas Maccabaeus* 18 and *Israel in Egypt* 10 times altogether. Of Handel's other oratorios only *Jephtha*, *Joshua*, and *Belshazzar* were performed during the same period, in each case just once. Handel's oratorios were joined in the society's repertory by a few newer works which were themselves distinctly Handelian in inspiration: Haydn's *Creation* (71 performances), Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (58) and the Austrian composer Sigismund von Neukomm's *David* (57) were the most frequently performed during the same years.[10] The society's move from its early performances in Boston's King's Chapel to a series of increasingly large halls reflects similar shifts in Britain's music festival and choral society oratorio performances during the nineteenth century as a modern concert hall culture and canon began to crystallise.[11] Performing forces also expanded as the society's membership grew, with modernised reinforcements of Handel's orchestral writing frequently adopted to compete with the swelling ranks of choral singers. The same trends – a repertory centring on just a few of Handel's oratorios, performed by increasingly large choirs – are apparent in the performances of the Handel and Haydn Society's many imitators, and their attendant music festivals which sprang up across the continent during the nineteenth century. Among the most notable choral societies were New York's Sacred Music Society (founded 1824) and Harmonic Society (founded 1849), who inaugurated the annual Christmas *Messiah* tradition in the city which persists today; Philadelphia's Musical Fund Society (founded 1820); Chicago's Musical Union (founded 1857) and Apollo Club (founded 1872); and in Canada Toronto's Metropolitan Choral Society (founded 1858). Significant festivals were held at Worcester, Massachusetts (beginning in 1858), Boston (1857), New York (1846), San Francisco (1870) and

[10] See the collation of the society's performances in Smither, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 399-400.
[11] See William Weber, 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', *International Journal of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8 (1977), 5-21.

Chicago (1880). The gargantuan ensemble – 190 instrumentalists and 5,700 singers – drawn from the ranks of 24 different choral societies who performed the 'Hallelujah!' chorus from *Messiah*, 'The Heavens are Telling' from *Creation* and the national anthem at the Chicago World's Fair in 1892 represents a climax of sorts to this American Handelian tradition.

Nineteenth-century American music critics' responses to these developments of American Handelian performing traditions were mixed. For John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893) – Boston man of letters, founder of *Dwight's Journal of Music* (1852-81), and 'most influential music critic in nineteenth-century America' – Handel's music came to exemplify the aesthetic desiderata of New England transcendentalism and so to participate in another ongoing process of cultural and intellectual transfer from Europe to America.[12] As a member of the Transcendental Club and contributor to the *Harbinger* and *Dial* magazines, Dwight associated with prominent transcendentalists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Margaret Fuller.[13] As Samantha Harvey has noted, for many of its advocates 'the term "transcendental" was itself inherently transatlantic'.[14] Emerson expected in 1841 that 'It is well known to most of my audience, that the Idealism of the present day acquired the name of Transcendental, from the use of that term by Immanuel Kant, of Konigsberg […] The extraordinary profoundness and precision of that man's thinking have given vogue to his nomenclature, in Europe and America'.[15] While American Transcendentalism's status as a 'transplantation and adaption' of European romanticism in the service of a renewal of American national culture meant its relationship to its Old World

[12] Quotation from Judith Tick and Paul E. Beaudoin (eds.), *Music in the U.S.A.: A Documentary Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 165.
[13] See Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J. S. Dwight: The Birth of American Music Criticism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 9-18.
[14] Samantha C. Harvey, *Transatlantic Transcendentalism: Coleridge, Emerson and Nature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 13.
[15] Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'The Transcendentalist' (23 December 1841), in Joel Myerson (ed.), *Transcendentalism: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 366-380 (371).

sources was always dialectical – 'both indebted to and apprehensive about, both attracted to and dismissive of, its rich history and culture' – its advocates were frequently conscious that they were engaging in a process of transfer and translation.[16] For Dwight, the developing Bostonian tradition of European art music performance in the nineteenth century, and its understanding along idealist aesthetic lines imported from Europe, was to be encouraged as part of a spiritual renewal of the population still in the grip of a Puritan worldview: as he would recall later in the century

> the first real and deep interest in music awakened here in Boston was an interest in the greatest kind of music. Handel, and then more irresistibly Beethoven, were the first to take deep hold on thoughtful, earnest, influential souls. This was when the new spirit of culture, in the fullest, freest, highest sense, became in various ways so rife in this community. So that it is scarcely paradoxical to say, that music in this country, "came in with the Conqueror". That is to say, the love for the highest kind of music […] which has for some time been imputed to this once Puritanical Boston and the regions spiritually watered from it, came in with the conquering *ideas* […] ideas which from the time of Channing began to quicken the whole thought and conscience of the young Republic, and which were glowing with fresh fervor of conviction in the light of that ideal philosophy which, where it made one mystic, made a dozen practical and sound reformers […] The great music came in then because it was in full affinity with the best thoughts stirring in fresh, earnest souls. The same unsatisfied, deep want that shrank from the old Puritanic creed and practice […] found just then and here unwonted comfort, courage, and expression in the strains of the divine composers, of which we were then getting the first visitation […] Beethoven, above all, struck the key-note of the age; in his deep music, so profoundly human, one heard, as in a sea-shell, the murmur of a grander future. Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, found no more eager audience than among these "disciples of the newness" (as some sneeringly called them), these believing ones.[17]

Influenced profoundly by early German idealist writers' statements on music – such as E. T. A. Hoffmann's well-known essay of 1817 on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony

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[16] Diane Piccitto, 'Transcendentalism, Romanticism, Transatlanticism', in Julia Straub (ed.), *Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 59-76 (62, 76). See also Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, 'Translating Transcendentalism in New England: The Genesis of a Literary Discourse', in idem and Michael Irmscher (eds.), *Translating Literatures, Translating Cultures: New Vistas and Approaches in Literary Studies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 81-106; idem, '"Every Ship Brings a Word": Cultural and Literary Transfer from Germany to the United States in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *KulturPoetik* 3/2 (2003), 155-172; and Perry Miller, 'New England's Transcendentalism: Native or Imported?' in Carroll Camden (ed.), *Literary Views: Critical and Historical Essays* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 115-29.

[17] John Sullivan Dwight, 'Music as a Means of Culture', *Atlantic Monthly* 26/155 (1870), 321-25, quoted in Tick and Beaudoin (eds.), *Music in the U.S.A.*, 166-170 (166).

and other works – Dwight regarded instrumental music, especially Beethoven's, as the artistic medium *par excellence* for accessing the ineffable and infinite.[18] But Handel's oratorios, in particular *Messiah*, were for Dwight exceptions to the idealist commonplace that instrumental music was necessarily more sublime than vocal, and so were able to participate in the spiritual and cultural renewal Dwight believed Transcendentalism promised. One of Dwight's most extensive critical discussions of Handel's music, published in the first volume of the new Transcendentalist journal *Dial* in 1840, places it squarely in the context of this project:

> MUSIC has made a decided progress in our city this last winter. This has appeared in the popularity of the concerts, compared with other amusements, and in the unusual amount of good music, which has not been wholly thrown away upon us. […] We cannot flatter ourselves for a moment that we of Boston are, or shall be for years to come, a musical people. The devoted lover of the art is only beginning to be countenanced and recognized as one better than an idler. He must still keep apologizing to his incredulous, practical neighbors for the heavenly influence which haunts him. He does not live in a genial atmosphere of music, but in the cold east wind of utility; and meets with few who will acknowledge that what he loves has anything to do with life. Still we are confident we feel a progress. There is a musical element *in* the people; for there is certainly a religious sentiment, a restlessness, which craves more than the actual affords, an inspiration and yearning of the heart for communion, which cannot take place through words and thoughts, but only through some subtler medium, like music. It is not nature's fault, if we want the musical sense or organ. Slow, but sure development, under proper culture, will prove this.[19]

Messiah was first heard in the season Dwight surveyed 'in a manner which made it felt, and conveyed some idea or presentiment of its true grandeur, depth, and beauty. Many hearers then, for the first time, discovered what a treasure the world contained, and were moved to try to appreciate it.'[20] Dwight understood *Messiah*'s theme less in terms of historically specific Israel-focused prophecies of a coming king to extend God's rule over the nations, and more in terms of a generalised human

[18] See Arthur Ware Locke, 'Beethoven's Instrumental Music: Translated from E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana* with an Introductory Note', *The Musical Quarterly* 3/1 (1917), 123-133; and on Dwight and Beethoven, Catherine Jones, 'The Transatlantic Beethoven Hero', *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations* 14/1 (2010), 103-122.
[19] John Sullivan Dwight, 'The Concerts of Last Winter', *Dial* 1 (1840), 124-134 (124).
[20] ibid., 126.

longing for transcendence and communion with the infinite: the 'type forever of the divine restlessness, the prophetic yearning at the heart of humanity'.[21] The oblique dramaturgy of *Messiah* – as noted above, unique among Handel's oratorios not only in portraying no characters (as in *Israel in Egypt*) but also in narrating the Gospel story indirectly through the prophecy of the Hebrew Bible and the reflection of the Pauline literature – also played a part in its contribution to the Transcendental project. For Dwight, importing an argument well-established by German Idealist music critics, this 'impersonality' meant that *Messiah*'s words 'seem one with the music,—as eternal, as sublime, as universal […] They set no limit to the music'.[22] As Robert Lowell wrote in another context, 'Expressionless, expresses God': the distinctive qualities of *Messiah* allowed a critic who in all other contexts was a partisan of German instrumental music to concede that 'We prefer a Beethoven's Symphony to anything ever sung with the single exception of Handel's Messiah'.[23]

Others had less favourable views. William Henry Fry (1813-1864), a composer and critic associated from 1849 with the *New York Tribune* and Dwight's regular disputant in its pages, frequently articulated his dislike for 'Handelian perriwig

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[21] ibid., 126-7.

[22] ibid., 127. According to such critics, the absence of propositional or concrete semiosis in instrumental music allowed it to express the otherwise inexpressible: 'It is the most romantic of all the arts—one might almost say, the only genuinely romantic one—for its sole subject is the infinite. The lyre of Orpheus opened the portals of Orcus—music discloses to man an unknown realm, a world that has nothing in common with the external sensual world that surrounds him, a world in which he leaves behind him all definite feelings to surrender himself to inexpressible longing' (Hoffmann, 'Beethoven's Instrumental Music', trans. in W. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, 5 vols. [London: Faber and Faber, 1981], V [*The Romantic Era*]: 35-6). The idealist aesthetic foundations of apparently self-contained and non-referential 'absolute music' are also notably evident in the early versions of the celebrated formulations of Eduward Hanslick's *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (*On the Beautiful in Music*): 'It is not merely and absolutely through its own intrinsic beauty that music affects the listener, but rather at the same time as a sounding image of the great motions of the universe. Through profound and secret connections to nature, the meaning of tones is elevated high above the tones themselves, allowing us to perceive at the same time the infinite in works of human talent' and 'ascend to an intimation of the Absolute'. See Mark Evan Bonds, 'Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2-3 (1997), 387-420 (414, 417), and for an alternative view, Tiago Sousa, 'Was Hanslick a Closet Schopenhauerian?', *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 57/2 (2017), 211-229.

[23] Dwight, 'The Concerts of Last Winter', 127; Robert Lowell, 'The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket', in *Poems 1938-1949* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 23.

nuisances'.[24] Fry agreed with Dwight about the poor comparison contemporary American musical life offered with its European equivalents, but disagreed vehemently about the steps that ought to be taken to remedy this. While Dwight and his allies argued for the renewal of American musical life and thought through the adoption of transatlantic forms of romanticism, Fry embraced the notion of the 'oceans to wall in the new thought against interference from the old' the Transcendentalists attempted to navigate.[25] Fry's distinctive critical voice combined a quasi-Hegelian progressive view of music history analogous to that of Europe's New German School with a robustly expressed liberal nationalism: for Fry, foreign, especially British, influence frequently had a stultifying effect on American musical culture and political life, which had constantly to be resisted. 'I make common cause', wrote Fry in 1854, 'with Americans [...] who are engaged in the world's Art struggle and against degrading deference to European dictation.'[26] While Fry conceded the existence of strong European models for modern American composers, their role was merely as a spur to fresh creativity: 'We consider the whole basis of prosperous and triumphant Art in this country to rest upon Originality of Production. We may, and must, import true models from Europe; but taking as our standard the recognized excellence or perfection of the masters in Art of that country, we must then originate, re-create, and accord our derived taste and skill to the genius of our own hemisphere'.[27] Neither should European models be slavishly imitated, but treated as aesthetic achievements to be surpassed: 'The American

[24] *New York Daily Tribune*, 23 February 1859. On Fry see Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 56-68.
[25] Margaret Fuller, 'Things and Thoughts in Europe. No. XVIII' [1 January 1848], in Larry J. Reynolds and Susan B. Smith (eds.), *"These Sad But Glorious Days": Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 164; on this passage see Piccitto, 'Transcendentalism', 76.
[26] William Henry Fry, 'Mr. Fry's Letter to Mr. Willis', *Dwight's Journal of Music* 4/18 (4 February 1854), 138-9. On the European articulation of this Hegelian view of music history, see James Deaville, 'The New German School', in Joanne Cormac (ed.), *Liszt in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 48-57.
[27] 'Mr Meignen's Concert', *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (21 April 1845).

composer should not allow the name of Beethoven, or Handel or Mozart to prove an eternal bugbear to him, nor should he pay them reverence; he should only reverence his Art, and strike out manfully and independently into untrodden realms, just as his nature and inspirations may invite him, else he can never achieve lasting renown'.[28] The actual performance of contemporary or older European music at the expense of newly composed national efforts was strongly to be rejected. The burgeoning traditions of nineteenth-century American Handel performance – 'stupid, musty oratorios', for Fry – therefore came under sustained attack.[29] Handel's oratorios' longstanding association with British nationalism and their use of contrapuntal techniques Fry regarded as formulaic made them emblematic of all he disliked in contemporary American musical culture: 'Why the public should be drugged with the tooty-tooty violinism of Handel, and that meanest and stupidest form for vocal music, the fugue, by the hour is not clear', he fulminated in 1861. 'In England, where the worship of old bones is part of the rubric, it does answer — but for a young country with genius — the antique opiate is an overdose.'[30] The political dimension of the rejection of Handel in the service of what Fry called his 'Declaration of Independence in Art' was often explicit:[31]

> the awful infliction of Handel's Israelites in Egypt, with its plagues of frogs, lice, and other delicious materials for music; about as lyrical as bootjacks and old clothes. This dismal rubbish set to twenty odd fugues, more or less, very skilful, and as lyrical as the multiplication table, is the sort of stuff that the rubricites would render eternal. But we are in America, not England; neither a George III. nor an Archbishop of Canterbury here can endorse a whole pile of crude musical forms, filled with much of the barbarisms of the day, without even a good melody; wanting in essential logical progress; and with only occasionally a redemptory passage to fit it to modern ears.[32]

[28] 'Mr. Fry's "American Ideas" about Music', *Dwight's Journal of Music* 2/23 (12 March 1853).
[29] 30 April 1860, quoted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton* Strong, 3 vols. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), III [*Repercussions, 1857-1862*]: 337.
[30] *New York Daily Tribune*, 30 December 1861.
[31] 'Mr. Fry's "American Ideas"'.
[32] *New York Daily Tribune*, 23 February 1859.

Like Dwight, Fry's vision of an American musical future involved a rejection of a version of its colonial past; unlike Dwight, for whom Handel and contemporary European ways of understanding his music were crucial to what should come to replace that past, Fry felt compelled to reject the 'obsolete oratorios' and all they stood for.[33]

As Fry's dismissive remarks made clear, American nineteenth-century Handelian performance traditions followed contemporary Europe in identifying Handel, a few works of monumental church music aside, almost exclusively with oratorio. Handel's English-texted stage works made only sporadic appearances in North American theatres during the nineteenth century, and when they did appear tended to be unsuccessful. The New World première of Handel's masque *Acis and Galatea* (HWV 49) took place, without staging, in New York's Lyceum on 14 February 1839; a staged production was held in the city's Park Theatre in November 1842 but ran for just two performances. The enterprising producers attempted to import a fashion from the contemporary London stage: 'burlesquing' Handel's score with new, often humorous songs by a variety of composers.[34] In its unstaged version critics found Handel's music 'highly pleasing' but thought the overall performance 'destitute of dramatic effect'.[35] But when a staged version arrived, though the music was well received to the extent it reminded audiences of the oratorios they knew – 'The choruses give evidence of the peculiar genius which afterward burst forth in those magnificent works – the Messiah – the Israelites in Egypt [...] and Sampson' –

[33] ibid.
[34] See Roberta Montemorra Marvin, 'Handel's *Acis and Galatea*: A Victorian View', in Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton (eds.), *Europe, Empire and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 249-264.
[35] 'Editors' Tablet', *The Musical Review and Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence* 1/27 (1839), 377-380 (377).

the staging was thought ridiculous and critics called for performance 'merely as a musical work'.[36]

A continuous performance tradition of Handel's operas was not established in North America until the 1920s: again this constituted the transatlantic transfer of a Handelian performing tradition previously established in the Old World. Handel's operas had been revived at Göttingen in Germany by Oskar Hagen (1888-1957) beginning in 1920 with *Rodelinda* (HWV 19). Werner Josten (1883- 1963), a German composer who taught at Smith College, Massachusetts, used the editions of Handel's operas Hagen had prepared for Göttingen to mount semi-professional performances in the college's theatre: most notably *Giulio Cesare* (HWV 17) in 1927, *Serse* (HWV 40) in 1928 and *Rodelinda* in 1931. Hagen's editions featured large-scale cuts, rearrangement of numbers, and the reassignment of castrato parts to basses. The performances at Smith nonetheless prompted rave reviews in the national press. Hagen had spoken of his Handel revivals as a means of establishing 'the most intimate contact with the spirit and form of [the] infinitely more capable past', and many reviewers of Smith's productions found that by importing this revived tradition they could look to the then unfamiliar conventions of *opera seria* as a potential respite from the rapid modernization of society and culture they saw taking place in the present.[37] An interwar cultural climate characterised by a 'profound loss of faith in progress, technology and human purpose', 'a national search for reassurance and stability' which manifested itself in an artistic abandonment of 'flux and fragmentation for clarity and balance' made American audiences and critics, as their German counterparts had been, receptive to what

[36] *The New World*, 26 November 1842.
[37] Quoted in Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 137.

Hagen's Handel opera editions offered.[38] *Time* magazine's review of the 1931 production of *Rodelinda* contrasted Smith's students – 'able, modern girls [who] smoke, drink and carry on in a frank and open way that is distressing to many a rigid alumna' – with a production which 'commends itself to the most conservative'.[39] A 'blatantly conventional' plot was conveyed through 'Handel's clear, direct music'.[40] Olin Downes, chief music critic of the *New York Times*, admired the 'true nobility [and] simplicity' of Handel's style – 'as strong and clear as the sun' – in the Smith revivals, as well as being struck by the stylised dramaturgy of *opera seria*, which reminded him by turns of Greek and Shakespearean tragedy.[41] Rather than attempting to soften them, the Smith productions 'preserved and emphasized' the 'eighteenth century conventionalities' of the operas' music and dramaturgy: the 'stage was baroque to the last detail, just as the music is baroque in style and the plot—most baroque'.[42] Reviewing *Cesare*, Downes was led to wonder whether 'after the war and after the splendid, brilliant, feverish outpourings of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in music, we are especially susceptible to the appeal of this older, saner and more beautiful art.'[43] Handel's music seemed to offer a clean break

[38] Quoted formulations from Erika Doss, *Twentieth-Century American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 75-6. American artistic culture's 'dominant conservative mood in the twenties' has been explored extensively in relation to white audiences' and critics' ambivalent and dialectical attitude to Jazz during these years: see Donna M. Cassidy, 'Jazz Representations and Early Twentieth-Century American Culture: Race, Ethnicity, and National Identity', in James Leggio (ed.), *Music and Modern Art* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 203-226. Quotation from Tyler Stovall, 'Black Community, Black Spectacle: Performance and Race in Transatlantic Perspective', in Harry J. Elam, Jr. and Kennell Jackson (eds.), *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 221-242 (226).
[39] 'Handel at Smith', *Time* (18 May 1931), 32-3.
[40] ibid.
[41] Olin Downes, 'A Handel Revival: First American Production of "Julius Caesar"—Classic Opera After 200 Years', *New York Times* (22 May 1927); idem, 'American Premiere of Handel Opera: "Rodelinda" Is Spiritedly Given by Soloists and Students of Smith College', *New York Times* (11 May 1931). On the 'nuanced' conservatism of Downes's tastes as a critic, see Sophie Redfern, 'Old Divisions and New Debates: Music Criticism in Post-War America', in Cristopher Dingle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 671-692 (676-7).
[42] Downes, 'American Premiere of Handel Opera'.
[43] Downes, 'A Handel Revival'.

from the frenzied psychological intensity of fin-de-siècle, post-Wagnerian European (especially German) 'maximalism':[44] Handel

> Was a man singularly free of the slavery of sex […] The poignancy and sensuousness, "love's dole and teen", which have found expression in modern music are not encountered in [Handel's] compositions, and would in all probability have been absent had he composed "Julius Caesar" in 1923 instead of two centuries earlier. To many this fact is refreshing, after the purple ecstasies of "Tristan" and the extraordinary musical eroticism and neuroticism which have characterized most music since.[45]

Downes celebrated the 'impersonal' qualities he saw in Handel's operatic dramaturgy for reasons diametrically opposed to J. S. Dwight's praise of those same qualities in *Messiah*. This music was now valuable because it was anti-psychological, non-subjective: it 'does not correspond at all to the modern musico-dramatic conception descended from Wagner. Seldom, indeed, is Handel the artist personal or introspective. His personages are types—not individuals […] Handel was […] impersonal in his writings'.[46] 'It is not, of course, modern literary or psychological music-drama that [Handel] produces', wrote Downes of the 1928 *Serse*: 'The characters are neither complicated nor subjective in their feelings. They are clean-cut types'.[47] The aesthetics Downes outlines are largely coterminous with the accounts contemporaries such as Boris de Schloezer gave of their experience of Stravinsky's so-called 'neoclassical' music in the 1920s: this music was 'only a system of sounds, which follow one another and group themselves according to purely musical affinities; the thought of the artist places itself only in the musical plan without ever setting foot in the domain of psychology. Emotions, feelings, desires, aspirations—

[44] As formulated by Richard Taruksin: see *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 2nd edn., 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), IV: 1-58.
[45] Downes, 'A Handel Revival'.
[46] ibid.
[47] Olin Downes, 'A Novel Monteverdi Festival: Women Collegians to Sing His "Combat of Tancred and Clorinda" and the "Xerxes" of Handel', *New York Times* (6 May 1928).

this is the terrain from which [Stravinsky] has pushed his work'.[48] Importing Handel's revived operas could offer American audiences in the 1920s and 30s what Peter Bailey has called in another context 'a packaged conservative modernism' analogous to what Stravinsky was then pursuing in new music: an instance of 'the new aesthetic of abstraction that attracted not only Stravinsky but any number of rightward-leaning modernist artists to the postwar "call to order"—a call they heeded in the name of a resurgent, reformulated "classicism"'.[49]

Perceptions of Handel's operas were quite different when they made their way to the stages of North America's great professional opera houses later in the twentieth century. This began with New York City Opera's landmark production of *Giulio Cesare* in 1966, starring a young Beverly Sills as Cleopatra; a recording of the production was made the following year. Though castrato roles were still sung transposed down an octave, the opera's score appeared in a version much closer to eighteenth-century performances than Hagen's editions had allowed, with most *da capos* left intact. Sills's breakthrough performance quickly made her a household name: she seemed a strikingly contemporary figure, 'America's girl-next-door diva […] a Jewish girl from Brooklyn was big news in an art from that was all about European elitism and wealthy privilege'.[50] Her background resonated for audiences with the project of the City Opera as a whole: a 'people's opera' which by the mid-

[48] *La Revue contemporaine* (1 February 1923), in Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg / Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 130.
[49] Quotations from Peter Bailey, '"Hullo, Ragtime!": West End Revue and the Americanisation of Popular Culture in pre-1914 London', in Len Platt, Tobias Becker and David Linton (eds.), *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1014), 135-153 (148); and Richard Taruskin, 'Stravinsky and the Subhuman', in *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 360-467 (466). On Stravinsky's style in the 1920s and 30s as 'so much more modern than the "modernism", directly descended from Romanticism, with which it then contended', see Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), II: 1599ff., and idem, 'Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology', *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992), 286-303.
[50] Heidi Waleson, *Mad Scenes and Exit Arias: The Death of the New York City Opera and the Future of Opera in America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2018), 30.

1960s was viewed as representing serious artistic competition to the established Met. For its 1966 season the City Opera moved to a new home at the Lincoln Centre, directly adjacent to the Metropolitan Theatre. *Giulio Cesare* was presented that season in direct competition to the Met's season-opening performance of Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*: Barber's opera flopped, while *Cesare* became 'the talk of the town'.[51] Like the company and its star, reviewers found Handel's music markedly modern, speaking directly to contemporary audiences with arresting portrayals of a host of vivid emotions. Many reviewers came expecting a 'museum piece' – perhaps in part encouraged by the stylised stage direction 'patterned after Roman statuary or Egyptian bas-relief' – but were shocked by the 'sometimes even actually sensuous (and sensuosity is not a quality normally associated with baroque music)' aspects of '[t]hose long Handelian melodies'.[52] In particular critics singled out 'Caesar's long soliloquy before the tomb of Pompey' as 'as moving a bit as you will find anywhere in opera', as well as 'nearly all the music sung by Cleopatra, which has a range of feminine mood reaching from guile and pure high spirits to remorse and grief'.[53] One reviewer admitted that though 'not temperamentally a Handelian [...] I am beginning to see the point that Paul Henry Lang [has] been making about Handel – that [...] his operas contain many splendid scenes dealing passionately with love, violence, death, and other very human concerns.'[54]

Much of the reaction to the New York City Opera *Giulio Cesare* was evidently shaped by Lang's influential 1966 biography of the composer.[55] In this text, Lang (1901-1991), a Hungarian-born musicologist then teaching at Columbia University,

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[51] Joseph W. Polisi, *Beacon to the World: A History of Lincoln Center* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), 115; 'Music: "Giulio Cesare" Opens Season by New York City Opera', *New York Times* (28 September 1966). See also Alan Rich's review in the *World Journal Tribune*, 28 September 1966: 'I would give the nod to *Julius Caesar* over anything yet unveiled on the other side of the fountain' (the Met, across the Lincoln Centre fountain).
[52] '"Giulio Cesare" Opens Season'.
[53] *New Yorker* (8 October 1966), 199-200.
[54] ibid., 200.
[55] Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (New York: Norton, 1966).

produced the first major American work of Handel scholarship: one noticeably shaped by the culture of the American 1960s and the politics of the Cold War. Lang drew his portrait of Handel in opposition to the writing of the scholars associated with the Händel-Gesellschaft in Halle (then in East Germany), in particular that of Walter Serauky (1903-1959), whose own biography of the composer had been published between 1956 and 1958.[56] While Serauky had made the case, couched in materialist terms, for a Handel who was a master of church music to set alongside J. S. Bach in the pantheon of great German musicians – an approach caricatured by John Merrill Knapp as 'Marxist with overtones of *Deutschland über alles*'[57] – Lang's Handel was principally a man of the theatre and impresario who enthusiastically embraced his adopted country. Handel's operatic career was foregrounded, and his oratorios presented as 'modern and accessible' quasi-operatic dramas with little to do with their ostensibly religious subjects.[58] Emphasising Handel's talent for writing skilfully in response to the demands of the market, Lang portrayed the composer as 'a "capitalist", a free middle-class citizen running his own business'.[59] Echoing Lang's own biography and the politics it had shaped, his Handel had abandoned 'a Europe ruled by absolutism' for 'a parliamentary state with free institutions' and 'political freedom that brought with it the triumph of individualism'.[60] Lang's

[56] Walter Serauky, *Georg Friedrich Händel: Sein Leben, sein Werk*, 5 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956-8). Serauky's work completed Friedrich Chrysander's unfinished nineteenth-century biography, which had only reached the year 1740 in the composer's life.
[57] J. Merrill Knapp, review of Serauky, *George Friedrich Händel*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12 2/3 (1959), 245-248 (246).
[58] Lang, *Handel*, 16.
[59] ibid., 145. Lang dismissed most assessments of Handel in the GDR as 'socialist cant': ibid., 827. Serauky's work is directly attacked on multiple occasions (most notably at p. 720), along with the Händel-Gesellschaft as a whole: 'It is nothing short of a British national disgrace that with so many competent editors available, the critical edition of Handel's works begun in 1955 should have been surrendered to Halle' (725). See also Toby Thacker, '"Renovating" Bach and Handel: New Musical Biographies in the German Democratic Republic', in Jolanta T. Pekacz (ed.), *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 17-42 (40), and Pamela M. Potter, 'The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic', *The Musical Quarterly* 85/2 (2001), 311-341.
[60] Lang, *Handel*, 154, 132. Lang's account of English society in the eighteenth century as the crucible of later liberal capitalism – particularly in its emphasis on the development of a bourgeois public sphere, 'rapidly gaining under [a] new mass psyche, which gave birth to the ideas and principles of rational

Handel was in essence a '[l]ife-loving' liberal humanist who viewed contemporary political and religious ideological structures with genial disdain: as 'a man altogether untinged by religious mysticism', '[m]etaphysics had no meaning for him'.[61] This worldview, for Lang, stood behind Handel's flair for depictions of nature, eroticism, and dramatic psychology: in a view echoed by the critics (and possibly the producers) of the 1966 *Giulio Cesare*, Handel's remarkable sense for dramatic human character' meant he 'saw men and women where others have seen only historical-mythical busts'.[62] Handel's 'all- encompassing loving eye', his refusal to 'see anything prurient in sex', 'never permit[ting] the passions of his dramatic figures to be derided on moral grounds' made him 'the greatest of musical naturalists'.[63] Just as for Jan Kott – himself a defector to America from the Eastern Bloc – Shakespeare's writings came in the 1960s to embody the ideas and values of the Western *avant-garde* while espousing political defeatism and quietism, Handel became for Lang, and for the many American Handelians of the following generation who drew on his work, an emblem of a particularly American kind of modernity defined through and against developments in contemporary Europe.[64]

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business and the amassing of wealth' (132) – was profoundly influenced by Jürgen Habermas's recently published *Strukturwandel der Öffenlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962), later translated into English as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). On this model, its ideological underpinnings, and its later criticisms and revisions, see Brian Cowan, 'Refiguring Revisionisms', *History of European Ideas* 29 (2003), 475-512, and idem, 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal* 47/1 (2004), 21-46.

[61] Lang, *Handel,* 579, 552.

[62] ibid., 16.

[63] ibid., 546, 643, 269.

[64] Jan Kott, *Shakespeare our Contemporary* (New York: Doubleday, 1964). On the 'post-marxist recoil' of Kott's criticism, see Richard Wilson, 'Pursued by a Bear: Shakespeare and the Economic Cycle', *Critical Survey* 7/1 (1995), 18-33 (22); Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, 'History and Ideology: The Instance of *Henry V*', in John Drakakis (ed.), *Alternative Shakespeares*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), 209-230 (211); and Ton Hoenselaars, 'Shakespeare's English History Plays', in Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (eds.), *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare,* 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 137-152, for whom Kott's Shakespeare was 'a cold-war warrior' (149).

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As this rapid review of some pivotal moments in the history of the American reception of Handel's music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries makes clear, expanding the temporal and geographical focus from the specificity of the main part of this project's case studies, while maintaining its methodological themes, offers numerous possibilities for further research. Many of these turning points would repay further investigation in greater detail, from which a broader picture of Handel's various shifting American guises might be built up.

There is further work, too, to be done on the eighteenth century. While the case studies offered here focus on some of the key moments of Handel's early American reception, his music was performed and thought about beyond Boston and New York. The urban centres of Philadelphia and Charleston stand out as candidates for such work. In Philadelphia, the performances of the Uranian Society in the 1780s and 90s have been noted in recent publications by Laura Lohman and Dorothy Potter.[65] More work, however, remains to be done on the way these performances – explicitly modelled on the Boston events in the 1780s discussed in this study's previous chapter and the Westminster Handel Commemorations – contributed to the creation of Handel as an American national composer, and the rich examples of Handel criticism the performances prompted.[66] The 'earliest example of annotated programs in America' – along the lines of Charles Burney's efforts produced for the Westminster Commemorations – were written in connection with these performances, and like Burney's model featured short critical and

[65] Laura Lohman, *Hail Columbia! American Music and Politics in the Early Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 47; Dorothy T. Potter, *Food for Apollo: Cultivated Music in Antebellum Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 20-23.
[66] 'The first idea of this concert was suggested to the trustees of the Musical Institution by the *Commemoration of Handel* in London and the *Sacred Concert* in Boston': *Pennsylvania Packet*, 30 May 1786.

analytical essays on many of the Handel movements that were performed: the 'Hallelujah chorus: on the extent and duration of Christ's Government' prompted an extensive discussion of the movement's shifting textures in response to the different sections of its composite text.[67]

The turn in the musical culture of Charleston, South Carolina in the early republican period – largely dominated by the performance of French and Viennese music – to a series of very traditional British-style programmes of Handel's music beginning during the Holy Week of 1796 represents a striking departure from local tradition and practice. Programmes customarily comprising music by composers such as Haydn, Ignaz Pleyel, Jean Baptise Davaux, and Marie-Alexandre Guénin were replaced in successive 'Spiritual concerts' at Charleston's French Theatre, directed by the English singer and composer Mary Pownall (1751-96), by numbers from *Messiah*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *L'Allegro*, *Samson* and the *Occasional Oratorio*.[68] This turn might be set in the context of the 'gathering hostility' to the French state and French culture in the American Republic of the 1790s, and its local manifestations in Charleston, which had received the controversial Girondin ambassador Edmond-

[67] Quoted in Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 114-115.
[68] For the typical French-Viennese programme, see the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 15 April 1795; Guénin (1744-1835) and Davaux (1742-1822) were both violinist composers active in contemporary Paris. See Jean Mongrédien, 'Paris: The End of the Ancien Régime', in Neal Zaslaw (ed.), *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*, Man & Music 5 (London: Macmillan, 1989) 61-98 (75). The Viennese Pleyel lived and worked in Strasbourg in the late eighteenth century. For the 'Spiritual concerts', see *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 22, 23, and 25 March 1796 . On the French Theatre, see Nicholas Michael Butler, *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1820* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 186. On Pownall, see Glenda Goodman, 'The Power to Please: Gender and Celebrity Self-Commodification in the Early American Republic', in Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes (eds.), *Consuming Music Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730-1830* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 176-202.

Charles Genêt in 1793:[69] another way in which 'Revolution in France provoked people to [re-]define the meaning of patriotism in America'.[70]

Outside the scope of the present study, though eminently worthy of further investigation, is the way the American reception of Handel can be traced through the study of music by other composers which engages imitatively with Handelian models. The aspects of Handel's style which composers working in colonial, revolutionary and early republican America such as William Tuckey, William Selby and Rayner Taylor incorporated into their own music have been discussed in published work by Nicholas Temperley and John Ogasapian.[71] Additional analytical and critical study of this music, and that by other American composers, and its mimetic relationship to Handel would both provide further context for the significance of their activities as performers of Handel's music (such as those investigated above) and help to develop a composite picture of what was significant and valuable in the composer's style for eighteenth-century American audiences.

One of the most ambitious Handelian compositions produced in the colonial Atlantic world during the eighteenth century was the Jamaican composer Samuel Felsted's oratorio *Jonah*, first published in 1775.[72] This piece – whose biblical libretto and musical style are both unmistakably Handelian in inspiration – was often performed in connection with Handel's own music in America in the eighteenth century, as in the performances in Boston in the late 1780s discussed in the chapter above. The oratorio's literary and musical Handelian mimesis – as well as the fact

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[69] Quotation from Peter P. Hill, *French Perceptions of the Early American Republic, 1783-1793* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1988), xiii. On Genêt in Charleston, see Micah Alpaugh, *Friends of Freedom: The Rise of Social Movements in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 370ff.

[70] Lloyd S. Kramer, 'The French Revolution and the Creation of American Political Culture', in Joseph Klaits and Michael H. Haltzel (eds.), *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 26-54 (42).

[71] Temperley, *Bound for America*, 34-7 (Selby), 110-113 (Taylor); John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620-2000* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 70 (Selby), 88 (Tuckey).

[72] *Jonah an Oratorio, Disposed for a Voice and Harpsichord: Composed by Samuel Felsted, Organist of St. Andrew's, Jamaica* (London, 1775).

that *Jonah* is still lacking a modern critical edition – are obvious spurs for further work along the methodological lines set out in this study. In particular, the oratorio's theme of the possibility and impossibility of westward sea travel make it an attractive possibility for exploration as an instance of creative cultural transfer of Handelian traditions in the colonial Atlantic.[73] *Jonah*'s position as a Jamaican work – produced within the British Atlantic world but, in the Caribbean, outside the geographic focus of the present study – suggests more possibilities for future research. The approach taken in the preceding chapters' tightly temporally and geographically focused case studies might be extended to multiple further locations: in each case, building a fuller picture of Handel's global reception in the years following his death. In particular, such work might juxtapose the kinds of meanings Handel's music was able to suggest within the Anglophone cultural contexts of Britain and the British colonial Atlantic with how the music was understood in different cultural settings.

How, for instance, might the organisers, performers and audiences of the performances of a number of Handel's oratorios and other English-texted works – including *Messiah*, *Alexander's Feast*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, and *Acis and Galatea* – in Florence in the late 1760s and early 1770s have understood them? Performed at the court of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo I, the works were freshly translated into Italian, often in free 'singing' paraphrases which are frequently in effect *contrafacta*.[74] How might works like *Messiah* – music initially conceived by its creators as a rejoinder to Deism and other forms of religious scepticism and as a defence of Protestant orthodoxy, and more recently deeply enmeshed in the project of royal and national recovery and reconsolidation in the Britain of George III – have

[73] For a theorisation of the possibilities for 'community in discontinuity' in a colonial context, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 199.
[74] See John Rice, 'An Early Handel Revival in Florence', *Early Music* 18/1 (1990), 63-72.

interacted with the civic, social and religious programme of reform of Pietro Leopoldo's government, in which 'state power and "enlightened" [Catholic] religion came […] to be closely associated'?[75]

Or how might a pre-history of the Viennese Handel – a story which tends to begin in most accounts with Haydn's visits to London and Mozart's *Requiem* in the 1790s – be written as part of this broader history of global transfers? Handelian influence appears in Mozart's music before it is convenient for many biographical narratives of the composer's changing style – influenced by the critical discourse of 'late style' – to recognise.[76] Contemporaries heard Handel in Haydn's oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia* (1775), long before his direct encounters with British Handelian traditions in the century's closing decade. Further work is required on this earlier period, to set alongside existing scholarship on later Viennese versions of Handel, in developing a fuller account of critical and mimetic responses to the composer's music along the lines set out in relation to the nineteenth-century German reception of Palestrina by James Garratt.[77] What did the 'fire to be found previously only in Handel's compositions' contemporaries heard in *Il ritorno di Tobia* mean in the wider cultural, social and political context of Vienna?[78]

As well as demonstrating the obvious possibilities for pursuing the kinds of investigation employed in this study in relation to other composers who emerged as part of the developing canon in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – an American Mozart, for instance, to set alongside the American Beethoven

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[75] Renato Pasta, 'The Enlightenment at Work: Ideology, Reform, and a Blueprint for a Constitution', in Corey Tazzara, Paula Findlen and Jacob Soll (eds.), *Florence after the Medici: Tuscan Enlightenment, 1737-1790* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 41-62 (45).
[76] See Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), for a brilliant analysis and historicization of this critical trope.
[77] See his *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On the later Viennese iterations of Handel see for instance Nicholas Mathew, 'Beethoven's Political Music, the Handelian Sublime, and the Aesthetics of Prostration', *19th-Century Music* 33/2 (2009), 110-150.
[78] *K. k. priv. Realzeitung der Wissenschaften*, 6 April 1775.

described by Michael Broyles and the American Handel who begins to take shape in the preceding chapters here[79] – I hope that this work might also make a useful contribution to historical musicology more broadly in the approach it models to unpicking music's historical, social, political and cultural entanglements. I have tried to take seriously Carolyn Abbate's diagnosis of a culturally and historically focused musicology which has little connection to the way music as sound and practice is actually experienced, while at the same time declining to confine the discussion of music's potential historical meanings to those of its texts.[80] This study's focus on individual historical performances and the responses they prompted, and its attempt to account for music's meaning via an account of musical semiosis which interacts with the specific contexts of those performances, I hope can demonstrate one potential way forward from the apparent impasse created by Abbate's work. The connections between music, as performed in a particular time and place, and the 'high' politics of discourse and ideas are still open for investigation, without falling prey to the misunderstandings around the phenomenology of music identified by Abbate even in the 'soft hermeneutics' she discusses: via the interaction between the historicised semiotics of topic theory and musical rhetoric and the sounds, actions and events of the geographically and temporally specific contexts in which the music was performed, heard, and understood.

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[79] Michael Broyles, *Beethoven in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).
[80] 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?', *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004), 505-536.

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